PAUSANIAS'S
DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

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TRANSLATED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

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CONTENTS

CORRIGENDA

Page 156, *line* 13 *from foot.* *For* him *read* Micon.
,, 209, ,, 24 ,, ,, *After* statues of *add* Dionysus and.
,, 289, ,, 2 ,, ,, *For* xxxiii. *read* xxxiv.
,, 504, ,, 6 ,, ,, ,, coloured grey *read* coloured red, grey, blue and purple. *N.B.—The references in the text are to the older plan of Eleusis published in Mr. L. Dyer's* Gods of Greece, *for which, after the text was printed off, the later and fuller plan given by Mr. D. Philios in his work* Eleusis (*Athens,* 1896) *was substituted. The new plan was adapted as far as possible to the description in the text, but some discrepancies remain. The references to the plan on pp.* 504, 505 (*for* yellow *read* blue), 509 (*for* dotted hatchings *read* green, *etc.*), 510 (*for* blank circles *read* yellow circles) *should be corrected accordingly.*

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

BOOK FIRST

ATTICA

PAUSANIAS describes Attica in the following order: Sunium and the coast from Sunium to Piraeus (i. 1. 1); the harbours of Athens (i. 1. 2-4); Cape Colias and the road from Phalerum to Athens (i. 1. 5-i. 2. 1); the road from Piraeus to Athens (i. 2. 2-3); Athens itself (i. 2. 4-i. 29. 1); the road from Athens to the Academy and Colonus Hippius (i. 29. 2-i. 30. 4); the Attic townships (i. 31); the Attic mountains (i. 32. 1-2); the Attic townships again, namely, Marathon (i. 32. 3-7), Brauron (i. 33. 1), and Rhamnus (i. 33. 2-8); Oropus and the sanctuary of Amphiaraus (i. 34); the Attic islands, particularly Salamis (i. 35. 1-i. 36. 2); the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis (i. 36. 3-i. 38. 7); the road from Eleusis to Eleutherae (i. 38. 8-9); the road from Eleusis to Megara (i. 39. 1-3); Megara (i. 39. 4-i. 44. 2); the harbour of Megara (i. 44. 3); the mountainous district of Megara, with the towns Pagae and Aegosthena (i. 44. 4-5); the road from Megara to the Isthmus of Corinth (i. 44. 6-10).

Of special works dealing with the topography of Attica, apart from that of Athens, the most important is the series of large maps of Attica drawn by officers and officials of the Prussian Headquarter Staff, and published by the German Archaeological Institute, with explanatory text, chiefly by Professor A. Milchhöfer. Twenty-one of these maps have been published (D. Reimer, Berlin, 1881-93), but the series is still (October 1894) incomplete. Next in importance to this monumental work is Leake's *Demi of Attica* (second edition, London, 1841). Of less importance are L. Ross's *Demen von Attika* (Halle, 1846), and P. Kastromenos's *Demen von Attika* (Leipzig, 1886).

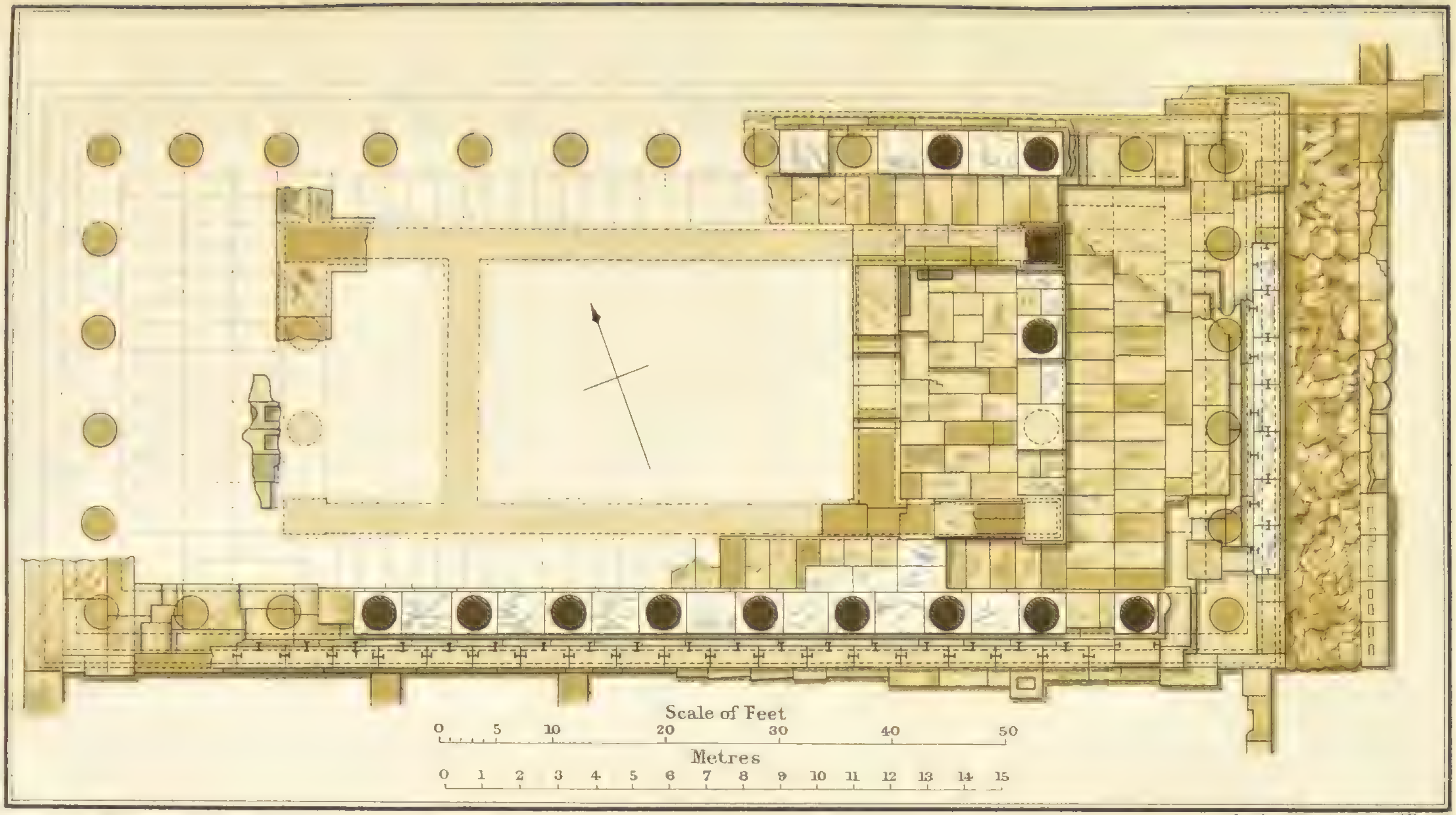
1. 1. Cape Sunium. Cape Sunium, now called Cape *Collona* or *Kollonnaes*, from the far-seen columns which crown its brow, is a massive and lofty headland of rugged crystalline rock running far into the sea and joined to the mainland by a low sandy isthmus. The sides of the headland fall sheer into the sea in cliffs about 200 feet high. On the eastern side of the isthmus is a narrow creek where sailing vessels, unable to weather the cape, take shelter. The bay on the western side of the isthmus is roomy, but is exposed to the full fury of

the south wind. The summit of the cape is overgrown with shrubs, and is surrounded by a ruined fortification wall except on the brink of precipices that render all fortification needless. The wall, about 11½ feet thick, is faced outside and inside with squared blocks of white marble laid in regular courses; the core is of earth and pebbles. It is flanked with square towers, which project 10 feet from the curtain at intervals averaging 65 feet. The best-preserved piece of wall is on the north side, towards the east end. On the west side it is less carefully constructed, and there are no towers. The circuit is over half a mile.

On the extreme and highest point of the cape is the ruined temple of Athena. The platform on which the temple stands is supported on the north and west by substructures of massive blocks, built to eke out the small level space on the summit of the headland. The temple was of the Doric order, with six columns at each of the ends and thirteen (not twelve, as has sometimes been asserted) columns on each of the flanks, the corner columns being reckoned twice over. The stylobate (the pavement on which the columns rest) was 31.15 metres long by 13.48 metres broad (about 102 feet by 44 feet). Nine columns of the peristyle are standing on the south side and two on the north; they still support their architraves. The columns are 6.10 metres (20 feet) high; their diameter is 3 feet 4 inches at the base and 2 feet 7 inches under the capital. In diameter and in taper they correspond almost exactly to those of the so-called Theseum at Athens. They have only sixteen flutings, instead of twenty, the usual number in Doric columns. Besides the eleven columns of the peristyle, there are standing the north *anta* of the fore-temple (*pronaos*) and its adjoining column, with some blocks of the south *anta*. The German Transfeldt, who was at Sunium in 1674, saw seventeen columns, including two *antae*. When Wheler visited Sunium in 1676 there were nine columns standing on the south side, five on the north, and two pilasters (*antae*) and part of the fore-temple. The stone of which the temple is built is a fine-grained white marble, tinged with a light bluish-gray. The quarries in which it was hewn are in the valley of *Agrilesa*, two and a half miles to the north of Cape Sunium. A carefully constructed and well-preserved ancient road leads thither over a low pass. Circular bases of columns, matching the columns at Sunium in diameter, can still be seen in the quarries. The marble is less durable than the Pentelic; hence it weathers more rapidly, and the originally sharp flutings of the columns at Sunium are now worn and blunted. Nor does it take on, by exposure to the atmosphere, that beautiful golden-brown patina which now covers the columns of the Parthenon. The reason of this is that whereas the Pentelic marble contains an admixture of iron, which by oxidation produces a golden-brown patina on surfaces exposed to the air, the *Agrilesa* marble has no tincture of iron. Hence the pure glistering white of the columns at Sunium is remarkable, and, contrasted with the blue sky against which they stand outlined and the deep green of the shrubs in the foreground, makes a brilliantly coloured picture.

In front of the fore-temple (*pronaos*) lie strewed thirteen slabs of a yellowish-white marble, with large crystals. The slabs are adorned

TEMPLE OF ATHENA AT SUNIUM.



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with much-defaced reliefs, among which Mr. Fabricius, who has studied them with care, believes that he can make out a battle between Centaurs and Lapiths, a battle between the gods and the giants, and Theseus taming the Marathonian bull.

Excavations conducted at Sunium by Dr. Dörpfeld in March 1884 revealed the fact that the marble temple stands on the foundation of an older temple built of common stone, and only a trifle smaller than the later marble temple. Dr. Dörpfeld found a great many drums of the columns and several pieces of the architrave of the older temple; the drums are all unfluted. It may be conjectured that this older temple was destroyed by the Persians. The date of the erection of the marble temple is not known, but on architectural grounds we may place it in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Dr. Dörpfeld, whose opinion on all such questions is entitled to the greatest respect, inclines to consider it later than the Parthenon, and nearly contemporary with, though rather later than, the so-called Theseum at Athens.

To the north of the temple and slightly below it is an artificial terrace about 50 feet long by 30 broad, supported on the north and west by a well-preserved wall of white marble. On the east side the terrace abuts on the fortification wall which encloses the summit of the cape. Near the north-eastern corner of the platform lie two Doric capitals differing both from each other and from those of the temple. Since the publication of *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (London, 1817) it has been generally supposed that this platform supported a *propylaeum* or portal leading into the sacred precinct, consisting of two gateways one at each end of the platform, each gateway being formed by two Doric columns between *antae* with a pediment over them. But it is possible that the platform served as a basement for an altar or chapel of Poseidon, who was worshipped at Sunium (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 560, with the scholiast; Scylax, *Periplus*, 57). The regattas held at Sunium (Lysias, *Or.* xxi. 5) were no doubt in honour of Poseidon. Cp. Herodotus, vi. 87; Paus. ii. 35. 1 note.

The earliest mention of Sunium is in the *Odyssey* (iii. 278), where it is said that Menelaus's pilot Phrontis was struck down at the helm by Apollo's shafts as he was steering past the sacred headland of Sunium. In the winter of 413-412 B.C., during the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians fortified Sunium to protect vessels bringing corn to Athens (Thucydides, viii. 4). On one occasion the slaves in the neighbouring mines of Laurium broke out, murdered their guards, and seized the fortress of Sunium, from which they laid waste Attica with fire and sword (Posidonius, cited by Athenaeus, vi. p. 272 e f). Sunium was a township (*deme*) of the tribe Leontis (Strabo, ix. p. 398; Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Σούνιον; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 864), and had the reputation of admitting run-away slaves to the rights of burgesses without inquiring too nicely into their antecedents (Anaxandrides, quoted by Athenaeus, vi. p. 263 c). The woods which clothed the headland in the days of Sophocles (*Ajax*, 1217 *sqq.*) have disappeared; but the hills of Laurium, rising from the shore on the landward side of the cape, are still well wooded.

The view of the solitary temple at Sunium overhanging the sea has been famous since the publication of *Childe Harold*. Byron found the view of the ruins more striking from the land than from the sea (note on *Childe Harold*, canto ii. stanza 86). The prospect, too, from the temple over the sea to the islands of the Aegean and the coast of Peloponnese is one of surpassing loveliness.

See J. G. Transfeldt's 'Descriptio promontorii Sunii,' in *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 105 sq.; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 448 *sq.*; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 6 *sqq.*; *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (Society of Dilettanti, London, 1817), pp. 53-56, with ten plates; *Antiquities of Ionia*, Part II. (Society of Dilettanti, London, 1817), pp. 20-23, with plates ix.-xiv.; Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 1. p. 539 *sqq.*; Leake, *Topography of Athens and the Demi*, 2. p. 62 *sqq.*; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 176 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 55 *sqq.*; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 64 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, 2. p. 150 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, 1. p. 354 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 36 (1864), p. 240 *sqq.*; H. Belle, *Trois Années en Grèce*, p. 237 *sqq.*; K. Lange, 'Tempelsculpturen von Sunion,' *Mittheil. d. deutsch. archäol. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 233-237; W. Dörpfeld, 'Der Tempel von Sunion,' *ib.* 9 (1884), pp. 324-337; E. Fabricius, 'Die Skulpturen vom Tempel in Sunion,' *ib.* pp. 338-353; Baedeker, *Griechenland*,[3] p. 135 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, *Grèce*, 1. p. 191 *sqq.*; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläuternder Text*, Heft iii.-vi. p. 28 *sqq.* As to the marble of which the temple at Sunium is built, see G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 27-29.

1. 1. **Laurium, where the Athenians once had silver mines.** The south-eastern extremity of the Attic peninsula is occupied by a well-marked and nearly isolated group of rugged and barren, but low and somewhat tame hills clothed with brushwood and firs. The highest summits do not much exceed 1000 feet. Limestone, and especially mica-schist, are the rocks that chiefly crop up on the surface. The main valleys run north and south; they are fruitful and well cultivated; clumps of olive-trees, with here and there an oak, rise in the middle of corn-fields. There are many sweet sequestered nooks in these valleys, their smiling and rustic aspect contrasting agreeably with the bareness of the Athenian and Eleusinian plains. Such are the hills of Laurium; they extend about eleven miles north and south, and about five miles east and west. In places they are honeycombed with the shafts and galleries of the ancient silver mines, and heaps of slag and the ruins of furnaces are to be seen everywhere. More than 2000 ancient shafts have been counted. Some are perpendicular, and vary in depth from 65 to 400 feet. In the sides of these perpendicular shafts there are holes in which ladders were probably fixed. Other shafts are slanting, with steps cut in them. The shape of the shafts is almost invariably square, and they measure about 6 feet across. At a depth of from 80 to 150 feet the galleries begin. The roofs of these galleries are supported by pillars consisting sometimes of pieces of the native rock left standing, sometimes of built piers. As the pillars of native rock contained ore, the proprietors were tempted by cupidity to remove them. This dangerous practice was a capital offence at law, and in the time of the orator Lycurgus the death-penalty was actually inflicted on one

Diphilus, who had enriched himself by this unscrupulous proceeding ([Plutarch,] *X. Orator. vit.*, *Lycurgus*, p. 843 d). In the sides both of the galleries and of the shafts niches for lamps may be seen; some of the miners' lamps, made of clay, have been found, and are exhibited in the small Museum at *Ergastiria* or *Lavrion*, as the modern mining town is called. The noxious atmosphere of the mines at Laurium was remarked by the ancients (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 6. 12; Plutarch, *Compar. Nic. et Crass.* 1), and ventilation shafts were accordingly constructed (*Etymol. Magn.*, *s.v.* *ψυχαγωγία*, p. 819), some of which have been discovered descending to depths of 260 to 360 feet. The ore seems to have been brought to the surface partly by machinery and partly by slaves. The state owned the mines, and granted them on perpetual leases to private persons, who obtained possession by paying a sum of money once for all as purchase or entry money (Demosthenes, xxxvii. p. 973; Böckh, *Public Economy of Athens*,[2] p. 644 *sqq.*)

It can hardly be doubted that Athens owed not only her commercial but even her political greatness in large measure to the possession of these silver mines. For Greece is very poor in the precious metals; the only other place where silver is said to have been found was the island of Siphnos (Herodotus, iii. 57; cp. Paus., x. 11. 2 note). Hence a state like Athens in the possession of rich silver mines enjoyed a great advantage over its neighbours. During the splendid period of Greek history the Athenian silver coinage had by far the widest circulation, and its reputation for purity of metal and accuracy of weight stood so high, not only in Europe but in the heart of Asia and Arabia, that it was deemed inexpedient to make any improvement in the types, lest its circulation should be diminished. For barbarous peoples get used to certain kinds of coins, and prefer them to all others. For example, Maria Teresa dollars are accepted to this day in Abyssinia. This explains why Athenian coins, contrary to what we might have expected, have always a certain rude and archaic appearance, and are amongst the least artistic of Greek coins. The earliest coins of Athens, dating from early in the sixth century B.C., present us with the head of Athena on the one side and her owl on the other, and these types were maintained, with hardly any variation, to the last. See P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 47 *sq.*; Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 18. The greatness of Athens as a naval power dated from the time when Themistocles persuaded his countrymen, instead of dividing amongst themselves the revenue derived from the mines, to expend it in building a fleet of two hundred warships (Herodotus, vii. 144). According to other authors the number of warships added to the Athenian navy by Themistocles on this occasion was one hundred (Aristotle, *Constit. of Athens*, 22; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 4; Cornelius Nepos, *Themistocles*, 2; Polyaenus, i. 30. 6). Aristotle says (*l.c.*) that the money was derived from the mines of Maronea. There was a Thracian city named Maronea, but according to Harpocration (*s.v.* *Μαρώνεια*) there was a place of the same name in Attica. It may have been in the district of Laurium.

The date when the mines of Laurium began to be worked is not known. Xenophon says that they had been worked time out of mind

(*De vectigalibus*, iv. 2), but that they were less productive in his day than formerly (*Memorabilia*, iii. 6. 12). In Strabo's time, about the beginning of our era, the mines were thought to be almost exhausted, and the miners were reduced to extract silver from the old slag by resmelting (Strabo, ix. p. 399). Diodorus, too, writing about the same time, says (v. 37) that persons who mined in Attica spent great sums, and often got no return for their money. A century and a half later all mining operations had ceased, for Pausanias speaks of the mines as a thing of the past. This is one among many proofs that he described Greece as it was in his own day, instead of borrowing his descriptions from old books, as some recent critics accuse him of having done.

In 1865 a French company undertook, with the help of improved modern machinery, to resmelt the old slag. They were successful; in a short time 8000 to 10,000 tons of lead (containing 12 to 22 ounces of silver a ton) were exported annually. There are now two principal mining companies at Laurium, a French and a Greek. The former appears to confine itself to mining proper, the latter to resmelting the old slag. There is this difference between the ancient and modern operations at Laurium, that whereas the ancients sought only to extract the silver from the ore, the moderns now aim chiefly at extracting the lead, together with some zinc. The modern mining town of *Laurium* contains about 5000 inhabitants, and is connected with Athens by a railway.

See Dodwell, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 537-539; Leake, *Topography of Athens*, 2. p. 65 *sq.*; Böckh, 'Dissertation on the Silver Mines of Laurion,' *Public Economy of Athens*,[2] pp. 615-676; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 178; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 149 *sqq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 36-79; Vischer, *op. cit.* p. 63 *sq.*; Bursian, *op. cit.* 1. p. 352 *sq.*; H. Belle, *Trois Années en Grèce*, p. 231 *sqq.*; I. H. Hansen, *De metallis Atticis* (Hamburg, 1885); Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, pp. 225-229; Baedeker,[3] p. 133 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 188 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, Heft iii-vi. p. 22 *sqq.*; H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, 4. pp. 33 *sq.*, 144 *sqq.*; A. Kordellas, *Λαυρεωτικαὶ ἀρχαιότητες*, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 238-244.

1. 1. the island of Patroclus. This is the bare rocky island about three miles to the west of Cape Sunium. It is now called *Gaidaronisi* (Ass's Island). Wild thyme grows on it, and the herdsmen of the mainland pasture their goats on it. At the north-east corner of the island may still be seen the fortification wall, constructed of rough stones, which, as we here learn from Pausanias, was erected by the Egyptian admiral Patroclus. The island was also known in antiquity as 'the palisade (*charax*) of Patroclus' (Strabo, ix. p. 398), whence comes the name *Charaka*, which is still applied to the desolate bay on the opposite coast of the mainland. See Chandler, p. 9; Dodwell, 1. p. 540; Bursian, 1. p. 355 *sq.*; *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, Heft iii.-vi. p. 31. As to the siege of Athens by Antigonus, and the attempt of the Egyptian fleet under Patroclus to relieve the city, see especially iii. 6. 4 *sqq.* with the note; cp. i. 7. 3; i. 30. 4.

1. 2. Piraeus. Piraeus is a rocky peninsula which runs into the sea from north-east to south-west for a distance of about two and a third

miles. It is composed of two masses, each about a mile and a quarter wide, which are united to each other by a somewhat low and narrow ridge or isthmus. The south-western mass, anciently known as the Acte (Aristotle, *Constit. of Athens*, 42 and 61; Dinarchus, *c. Philocl.* 13; Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 17 and 55; Diodorus, xx. 45. 3; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀκτή; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 370; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 1. pp. 316-318), rises gradually on all sides to a height of 187 feet. The north-eastern mass attains a height of 280 feet in the steep rocky hill of Munychia. The ancients believed that the peninsula of Piraeus had been formerly an island, and had received its name because it was the land across (*peran*) the water (Strabo, i. p. 58; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 201; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐβμαρός εἰμι; *Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Πειραιεύς, p. 667 *sq.*) Modern observation confirms the belief that Piraeus was once an island. The peninsula is joined to the mainland by a stretch of low swampy ground, nowhere more than 2½ metres (about 8 feet) above the level of the sea. This stretch of low land, which the ancients called Halipedon (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 30; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἁλίπεδον), appears to be formed of alluvial soil brought down in the course of ages by the Cephisus, which falls into the sea a little to the east, and which has by its deposits gradually converted the rocky island into a peninsula. See Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 157 *sq.*; Kaupert, in *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1879, p. 621; *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. p. 10.

Piraeus includes three harbours, namely, the great harbour of Piraeus, technically known as the harbour of Cantharus, on the north-west side of the peninsula, and the two nearly circular harbours of Zea and Munychia, on the south-eastern side. Of the two latter the western-most and larger is Zea. That Piraeus had three natural harbours is mentioned by Thucydides (i. 93), the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Peace*, 145), and Hesychius (*s.v.* Ζέα), as well as by Pausanias in the present passage. The harbours of Zea and Munychia were first properly identified by H. N. Ulrichs. Previous scholars had wrongly identified Munychia (the modern *Phanari*) with Phalerum, and Zea (the modern *Pasha Limani*) with Munychia. Ulrichs confined the name of Cantharus to the south-western bay of the great harbour of Piraeus, and in this he has been followed by most subsequent writers. But Professor Dörpfeld and Professor Curt Wachsmuth are probably right in thinking that Cantharus, or, more correctly, the harbour of Cantharus, was the official name for the whole of the great harbour, though in popular usage this harbour was known *par excellence* simply as the harbour of Piraeus, or (as Pausanias calls it in the present section) the largest harbour. See Aristophanes, *Peace*, 145, with the scholiast; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 28; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 807, col. *c*, lines 26-35; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 808, col. *d*, lines 95-103; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 811, col. *c*, lines 6-10; C. Wachsmuth, in *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Classe, 39 (1887), pp. 378-381. (In a later writing, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. pp. 55, 56 *sq.*, Professor Wachsmuth leaves it an open question whether the name

Cantharus applied to the whole of the great harbour or only to the south-western bay of it.)

In his archonship, 493-492 B.C. (see note below), Themistocles induced the Athenians to fortify Piraeus (Thucydides, i. 93). The fortifications were destroyed by the Lacedaemonians at the end of the Peloponnesian war in 404 B.C. (Plutarch, *Lysander*, 14 *sq.*; Diodorus, xiii. 107; xiv. 3), but were restored about ten years later. The credit of the restoration is commonly given to Conon, who is supposed to have incited and helped the Athenians to rebuild the fortifications in 393 B.C. after he had defeated the Lacedaemonian fleet at Cnidus in the preceding year. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 9 *sq.*; Diodorus, xiv. 85. But an inscription found at Piraeus a few years ago shows that the Athenians had begun rebuilding the walls of Piraeus in 394 B.C. even before Conon had won his victory at Cnidus; and from other inscriptions it appears that the work was not finished till the archonship of Philocles (392-391 B.C.) See Foucart, in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 11 (1887), pp. 129-135; C. Wachsmuth, in *Berichte über die Verh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil. hist. Cl., 39 (1887), pp. 370-373; *id.*, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. p. iii. *sq.*; Lechat, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 12 (1888), pp. 347-351; Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 49-54; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 830-832. In 87-86 B.C. the Mithridatic army under Archelaus occupied Athens and Piraeus, and offered a desperate resistance to the Romans under Sulla. At last the place fell, and Sulla, exasperated by the long defence, razed the fortifications and burnt the arsenal and the docks (Appian, *Mithrid.* 41; Strabo, ix. p. 396; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14). The walls of Piraeus were never afterwards rebuilt.

The line of the fortification wall may still be traced almost all round the peninsula, and in most places the foundations are still so well preserved that it is possible to reconstruct the plan of the fortress as a whole. The sea wall runs along the shore at a distance of 20 to 40 metres (65 to 131 feet) from the water, out of reach of the waves and yet near enough the sea to prevent an enemy from bringing siege engines into play on the shore. It is from 3 to 3.6 metres (9 feet 10 inches to nearly 12 feet) thick and is very carefully built of blocks of the native limestone without mortar. The quarries in which the stones were hewn may be seen at many points both behind and in front of the wall. In places where the stones have been taken away from the wall to furnish building material for the modern town, we can see the grooves or channels cut in the rock in which the stones were originally bedded. These grooves are each 70 centimetres (2 feet 3½ inches) wide, and run parallel to each other, showing that only the outer and inner facings of the wall were of solid masonry, and that the core must have been (as in many ancient Greek walls) filled up with rubble and earth. In the best-preserved portions the wall is still standing to a height of nine courses. It is flanked by towers 6 metres (19 feet 8 inches) long, which project 4 to 6 metres (13 feet 1 inch to 19 feet 8 inches) from the curtain at intervals of 50 to 60 metres (about 55 to 66 yards).

In addition to this sea wall which skirted the coast, the mouths of

Vol. II. To face page 8



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the three harbours were contracted by moles which ran out to meet each other on either side, leaving only a narrow entrance between their extremities. (1) The great harbour of Piraeus (the harbour of Cantharus) has the widest mouth (310 metres broad), and therefore needed the longest moles to close it. Each of its two moles (one on the north, the other on the south) measured 130 metres, and thus the mouth of the harbour was narrowed to 50 metres. The northern mole remains almost entire; the southern has been washed away by the waves to a depth of 4 metres (13 feet) under the surface of the water. These moles now support the red and green lights which at night mark the mouth of the harbour. (2) The harbour of Zea is naturally stronger, and therefore needed less elaborate fortifications. It consists of a circular basin lying about 200 metres inland from the sea and is approached by a channel 100 metres broad. Walls ran along this channel on either side, so that an enemy's ships endeavouring to enter the harbour would have to run the gauntlet of a cross fire. At its inner end the channel was flanked on either side by a tower of solid masonry built out into the water, but connected with the fortification walls. (3) The third harbour, Munychia, the smallest of the three, is farthest removed from the business and bustle of the modern town, and hence has, in some respects, best preserved the relics of antiquity. Originally it was a mere open bay, and therefore needed vast constructions of masonry to convert it into a war harbour. The moles built for this purpose are described by Lieutenant von Alten, who examined them with attention, as the most magnificent specimens of ancient Greek fortification which have survived. The southern mole is 190 metres long and is built on a reef. The northern mole, about 31 feet wide, is 170 metres long, of which 95 are built on a spit of land, the rest in the sea. In some places on the outer edges of the moles the colossal blocks of which they are composed have been piled up in wild confusion by the heavy surf, and project like islets above the surface of the water. Each mole terminated in a tower; and the entrance to the harbour, 37 metres wide, was between the towers. The tower on the north mole is still standing to a height of 13 feet. It is round, but is built on a square base, of which the sides are about 39 feet long. The tiny harbour is commanded by the hill of Munychia, which rises steeply from the shore. In time of danger each of the harbour-mouths could be closed with a chain stretched between the two towers which flanked the entrance. The chain seems to have been coated with tar to prevent it from rusting in the water. See Vitruvius, v. 12. 1; Aeneas, *Comment. Poliorcet.* 11. The harbours of Byzantium and Carthage were thus closed with chains (Dio Cassius, lxxiv. 10; Appian, *Libyc.* 96). Harbours which could be thus blocked against an enemy were called by the Greeks 'closed' (κλειστοί), and this epithet is expressly applied to the three harbours of Piraeus (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 145).

On the landward side the peninsula was defended by a wall, which started from the harbour of Munychia, ascended the hill, and followed the edge of the plateau first westward and then northward. Where the

plateau sinks northward to the plain, the wall again turned west and gradually descended to the shallow northern bight of the great harbour. Instead of making a circuit round this bight, the wall seems to have been carried straight through it on a mole or dam. On the west side of the bight the wall continues to run westward for a distance of about 240 metres, then turns south and follows the western coast of the long rocky promontory of Eetionia (Thucydides, viii. 90; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἠετιώνεια), which encloses the great harbour on the west. This landward wall, to judge from its existing remains, appears to have been a masterpiece of military engineering, every opportunity offered by the nature of the ground for strengthening the fortifications having been unerringly seized upon and turned to account. The naturally weakest place in the whole circuit was where the wall crossed the flat between the hill of Munychia and the great harbour. Here accordingly we find the wall especially strong; it is 8 metres (26 feet) thick and is constructed of solid masonry in large squared blocks, without any core of rubble. The gates were naturally in this landward wall and opened north. Remains of four of them can be distinguished. The principal gate, flanked by two square towers on oval bases, stood in the flat ground between the north-east end of the great harbour and the heights of Munychia. Through it doubtless ran the highroad to Athens: and here at a little side portal for foot passengers probably stood the image of Hermes, which the nine archons dedicated when they set about fortifying Piraeus (see Philochorus, quoted by Harpocration, *s.vv.* πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι Ἑρμῆς and Ἑρμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι; [Demosthenes.] *c. Euerg. et Mnesib.* p. 1146). About 160 metres east of this principal gate is another, through which the road to Athens went between the two Long Walls. The gate is double, that is, it is composed of a court nearly square with a gate at each end. The reason of this construction, which is common in Greek fortifications, was that, if an enemy should force the outer gate, he would still have a second gate in front of him, and would in the meantime find himself pent in a narrow court, as in a trap, from the walls of which he would on all sides be assailed by the missiles of the defenders. Farther to the south-east, on the hill of Munychia, are the scanty remains of a third gate: it stood just outside (south of) the point where the middle Long Wall joined the wall of Piraeus. A fourth gate, flanked with two round towers, may be seen at the north end of Eetionia, at the angle where the wall turns southward.

According to Thucydides (ii. 13) the whole circuit of the fortifications of the Piraeus measured 60 Greek furlongs (*stades*), which is equivalent to 10,644 metres, the Greek furlong (*stade*) being reckoned at 177.4 metres (see below, p. 13). Mr. Kaupert estimated the circuit at 11,045 metres.

On the fortifications of Piraeus see especially von Alten, in *Karten von Attika. Text*, Heft i. pp. 10-22; B. Graser, 'Meine Messungen in den altathenischen Kriegshäfen,' *Philologus*, 31 (1872), pp. 1-65; Kaupert, 'Die Befestigungsmauern von Alt-Athen,' *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1879, pp. 608-638 (this last article deals also with the fortifications of Athens and the Long Walls); P.

Foucart, 'Les fortifications du Pirée,' *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 11 (1887), pp. 129-144; H. Lechat, 'Fouilles au Pirée,' *ib.* pp. 201-211; *id.*, 'Fouilles au Pirée. Les fortifications antiques,' *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 12 (1888), pp. 337-354; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. pp. 1-50. On the topography and antiquities of Piraeus in general, see Dodwell, 1. pp. 416-467; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 363-412; Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. pp. 156-208; Vischer, pp. 208-216; Bursian, 1. pp. 264-271; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 112-120, 191-195; Hirschfeld, 'Topographischer Versuch über die Peiraieustadt,' *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl., 30 (1878), pp. 1-31; Baedeker,[3] pp. 111-115; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. pp. 154-160; *Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i.; Milchhöfer, article 'Peiraieus,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1195-1201; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 306-336; *id.*, 2. pp. 1-176. An article by Mr. T. W. Ludlow on 'The Harbors of ancient Athens' in *The American Journal of Philology*, 4 (1883), pp. 192-203, is a futile attempt to revive long exploded errors.

There can be no doubt that the transference of the port of Athens from the open roadstead of Phalerum to Piraeus and the fortification of the latter constituted one of the most momentous steps in the history of Athens. Coupled with the construction of a large permanent war-fleet it made Athens the first naval power in Greece, and so determined her subsequent history. All three measures originated in the far-seeing mind of Themistocles, who thus in a sense created Athens, and proved himself thereby one of the greatest of statesmen. He saw that Piraeus was more important to the Athenians than Athens itself, and often advised them, if ever they were hard put to it by land, to evacuate Athens and settle at Piraeus, where with their fleet they could defy the world. If they had taken his advice, Athens might perhaps have played a still greater part in history. See Thucydides, i. 93; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 4 and 19; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 98 *sqq.*

1. 2. **a township from of old.** Piraeus was a township (*deme*) in the tribe Hippothoontis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πειραιός). As to the townships (*demes*) of Athens see note on i. 31. 1.

1. 2. **the archonship of Themistocles.** According to Dionysius Halicarnensis (*Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 34) Themistocles was archon *eponymus* (*i.e.* he was the archon who gave his name to the year) in Ol. 71. 4 (493-492 B.C.); and in the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (vol. 2. p. 100, ed. A. Schoene) it is said that Piraeus was fortified by Themistocles in Ol. 71. 1 (496-495 B.C.) There seems no sufficient reason for doubting that the archonship of Themistocles in 493-492 B.C. was the same archonship of Themistocles to which Thucydides (i. 93) and Pausanias refer, though some scholars have conjecturally placed the archonship of Themistocles and with it the fortification of Piraeus in Ol. 74. 3 (482-481 B.C.) See Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*[6] 2. p. 814; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 1. p. 513, note 2; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 2. p. 126; Holm, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, 2. p. 41; Kenyon and Sandys, on Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 22. Eusebius assigned the fortification of Piraeus to the right Olympiad but to the wrong year. A work of such magnitude must have occupied a good many years; it is not therefore surprising that it was incomplete in 480 B.C., when the Persians invaded Greece.

1. 2. **Phalerum was the port of Athens** etc. Pausanias here tells us that Phalerum was the point of the coast nearest to Athens, and

elsewhere (viii. 10. 4) he tells us that the distance was 20 Greek furlongs. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Birds*, 1694) says that it was 20 furlongs from the Acropolis to the Phaleric bay. The point on the sea-coast nearest to Athens is at the east end of the bay of Phalerum, near the low rocky height which is now crowned by a chapel of St. George. Its distance from the foot of the Museum hill at Athens is about two and a half miles, which agrees fairly with the 20 Greek furlongs given as the distance by Pausanias and the scholiast on Aristophanes. (As to the Greek furlong or *stade*, see below.) Near the chapel Dodwell and Ulrichs found a Doric capital with the upper part of a fluted column, which measured 2 feet 8 inches below the necking. On a hill a little to the south-east are two cisterns hewn in the rock; and potsherds and fragments of tiles are scattered about (Dodwell, 1. p. 427 *sq.*; Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 158 *sqq.*) In the sea near the chapel Sir Patrick Colquhoun discovered by diving the foundations of a mole built of solid ancient Greek masonry (Dyer, *Athens*, p. 115). Here then we may place the ancient Phalerum. According to Thucydides (ii. 13), the length of the Long Wall which united Phalerum to Athens was 35 Greek furlongs. Mr. Kaupert believed that he detected traces of this wall at three places in the neighbourhood of Athens: (1) in the bed of the Ilissus at the point where the present highroad to Phalerum crosses it; (2) at the watchhouse on the saddle between two low hills 530 metres south-west of the first point; (3) 550 metres farther south-west, in a ravine east of the highroad to Phalerum. Mr. Kaupert is of opinion that the wall was carried to a point on the coast 1050 metres south-west of St. George; and he calculates that the total length of the outer front of the wall, measured out and in the projecting towers, was 6438 metres (about 36 Greek furlongs), which is a close approximation to Thucydides's measurement. See Kaupert, in *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1879, p. 632 *sq.* Professor Milchhöfer would place Phalerum near, but rather to the west of, the chapel of the Saviour (*Sotir*), which stands on a conspicuous rocky elevation about a mile and a quarter north of St. George, and distant 1300 metres from the sea. To the west of the chapel are some ancient remains, which Prof. Milchhöfer conjectures may be those of Phalerum. See Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. p. 24 *sq.*, Heft ii. p. 1 *sqq.* But against placing Phalerum near the chapel of the Saviour it may be urged: (1) Phalerum was the old port of Athens (Herodotus, vi. 116; Diodorus, xi. 41; Cornelius Nepos, *Themistocles*, 6; Pausanias, i. 1. 2), and must therefore have been on the coast, whereas the chapel of the Saviour is nearly three-quarters of a mile from the sea. To this Prof. Milchhöfer replies that the stretch of marsh land and sandy dune which now separates the chapel from the sea may have been formed since the classical age. (2) The chapel of the Saviour is only about a mile and a half from Athens; how then could the Long Wall between the two places have measured 35 furlongs, as Thucydides says it did? (3) If the Long Wall to Phalerum followed the direction indicated by Mr. Kaupert (see above), it did not pass near the site where Prof. Milchhöfer would place Phalerum. (4) If Sir Patrick Colquhoun was right in

believing that he had discovered the remains of an ancient Greek mole under water near St. George, this practically settles the question. Phalerum must have been there.

On these grounds I agree with most writers since Ulrichs in placing Phalerum at St. George.

The precise length of the furlong (*stadium*, *stade*), which Greek writers, including Pausanias, employ as the highest road-measure, has been a good deal discussed; but it seems possible to determine it with approximate accuracy. Roman writers regularly reckoned the Greek furlong (*stade*) as equal to 125 paces or 625 Roman feet, 8 Greek furlongs making 1 Roman mile (= 1000 paces = 5000 Roman feet). See Columella, v. 1. 6; Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 85; Isidore, *Origines*, xv. 16. 3; Hultsch, *Metrologie*,[2] p. 81, note 3. But this appears to have been merely a rough reckoning adopted for convenience of reducing Greek furlongs to Roman miles. For the careful Polybius, as we learn from Strabo (vii. p. 322), reckoned $8\frac{1}{3}$ Greek furlongs to the Roman mile. Now the Greek furlong was always equal to 600 Greek feet (Aulus Gellius, i. 1; Suidas, *s.vv.* μίλιον and στάδιον). Hence, according to Polybius, $8\frac{1}{3} \times 600 = 5000$ Greek feet = 1 Roman mile = 5000 Roman feet. Whence we see that Polybius regarded the Greek foot as identical with the Roman. This is confirmed by independent determinations of the length of the Greek and Roman foot. For from a variety of considerations we may fix the length of the Roman foot, with some certainty, at .2957 metre (see Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 88 *sqq.*; cp. Ridgeway, article 'Mensura,' Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*,[3] 2. p. 159 *sq.*): and from a careful series of measurements of the Parthenon, and particularly of the cella of that temple, which is known to have measured 100 Greek feet, Dr. Dörpfeld has arrived at the conclusion that the Greek (Attic) foot was precisely equal to .2957 metres. See W. Dörpfeld, 'Beiträge zur antiken Metrologie,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 277-312. Hence the Greek furlong (*stade*) = $.2957 \times 600$ metres = 177.42 metres = 194 yards 1.34 inches. Thus we can hardly be far wrong in reckoning the Greek furlong (*stadium*, *stade*) as equivalent to 177 metres or 194 yards. But the English furlong, being the eighth of an English mile, is equal to 220 yards. Hence the Greek furlong (*stadium*, *stade*) was 26 yards shorter than the English furlong; and 9 Greek furlongs (1746 yards) are very nearly equivalent to 8 English furlongs or 1 mile (1760 yards). Hence a distance given in Greek furlongs (*stades*) can be readily turned into English miles by dividing by nine. In the present translation of Pausanias 'furlong' always means a Greek furlong (*stade*, *stadium*).

The Greek furlong (*stadium*) gave its name to the Greek foot-race-course, because the foot-race-course was always 600 Greek feet long (Aulus Gellius, i. 1). The stadium at Olympia was, indeed, exceptionally long (see note on vi. 20. 8); but there seems to be no reason to suppose that the length of the Olympic stadium (192.27 metres) was ever used as a road measure.

1. 2. **Theseus —— sailed from Phalerum** etc. Cp. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17 and 22.

1. 2. there were ship-sheds there down to my time. The truth of this statement has been called in question by Mr. Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 54 *sqq.*) We know that the arsenal and docks of Piraeus were burnt and the walls pulled down by the Romans under Sulla in 86 B.C. (see above, p. 8). Cicero's friend Servius Sulpicius, writing in 45 B.C., says that when he was sailing from Aegina to Megara, the once flourishing towns of Aegina, Megara, Piraeus, and Corinth lay prostrate and in ruins on all sides of him (Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* iv. 5. 4); and Strabo says (ix. p. 395 *sq.*) that the numerous wars had destroyed the walls of Athens and the fortifications of Munychia, and had reduced Piraeus to a small settlement round about the harbours and the sanctuary of Zeus. But Pausanias, in addition to the sanctuary of Zeus, mentions one of Aphrodite, two colonnades which were used as separate markets, and some ship-sheds. All this, Mr. Kalkmann thinks, is inconsistent with the picture which Strabo draws of the desolation of Piraeus in his time; whence Mr. Kalkmann concludes that Pausanias cannot be describing Piraeus as it was in his own time, but must have copied his description of it from an old book or books which depicted Piraeus as it had been in happier days before the Roman sack. But between the time of Strabo and the time of Pausanias a century and a half elapsed, during which Greece enjoyed profound peace and basked in the sunshine of imperial favour. It is rash to assume that during this long period Piraeus remained in precisely the same state of ruin and desolation to which it had been reduced by Sulla's sack more than two hundred years before. Mr. Kalkmann even remarks with apparent surprise that Pausanias mentions no heaps of ruins in the whole of Piraeus. This is much as if a traveller who visited Magdeburg in 1831 should be expected to describe from personal observation the blood-stained ruins in which Tilly left the city after his ferocious sack in May 1631. Criticism of this sort hardly deserves notice, but as it is popular at present in certain circles in Germany and imposes on some people, I think it well to expose it.

There is, moreover, a good deal of positive evidence to show that Piraeus revived under the Roman empire. An inscription, which seems to date from about the middle of the second century A.D., and hence to be contemporary with Pausanias, contains a decree of the people as to the sanctuaries and sacred precincts of Athens and Piraeus. All such holy places as had been profaned by being appropriated by private persons were to be restored to the gods and heroes to whom they rightfully belonged, and the sale or purchase of such places was to be strictly forbidden for the future. The inscription expressly mentions the dockyards (*νεώρια*) both in the harbour of Zea and in the great harbour, the colonnades, and the bazaar or exchange (*δεῖγμα*) dedicated by Magnus (Pompey the Great?), several public buildings, sanctuaries of Aesculapius, Dionysus, and Aphrodite, precincts of Good Fortune and Theseus, etc., all of which seem to have been situated at Piraeus. A copy of the inscription was to be deposited in the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena at Piraeus. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pp. 165-172.

As to the date of the inscription, see C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. p. 12, note 1; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 238 *sqq.* Prof. Bruno Keil would date the inscription in the first century B.C., on the ground of the numerals employed in it (*Hermes*, 25 (1891), pp. 317-320); if he is right, the inscription proves that Athens soon began to recover from the state of prostration into which it had been thrown by Sulla. The Magnus mentioned in the inscription is probably Pompey the Great; for Pompey is known to have given the Athenians fifty talents to help them to repair their buildings (Plutarch, *Pompey*, 42).

The mention of the dockyards in the inscription shows that they had been at least partially rebuilt after their destruction in 86 B.C. The docks and ship-sheds were probably used by ships of the Roman navy; the tombstones of two marines of the Roman navy have been found at Piraeus. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), p. 341; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 1447; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 2. p. 11. The trade of the port seems also to have revived; for an inscription found at Piraeus contains the letter of a Roman emperor regulating the traffic in the market (*Philologus*, 29 (1870), pp. 693-695); and another inscription records the dedication of a statue of Appia Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, by the merchants of Piraeus (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 287-289). This last inscription was, therefore, contemporary with Pausanias; for Appia Regilla died in his lifetime (see vii. 20. 6 note). Another inscription tells us that a statue of Tiberius Claudius Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus Marathonius, son of Herodes Atticus, was set up by the inhabitants of Piraeus for some benefit which he had conferred on them (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 309-311). The colossal statue of a Roman emperor (Claudius ?) and a good bust of Augustus have also been found at Piraeus, attesting to some extent the returning prosperity of the port and the favour of the emperors (*Philologus*, 29 (1870), p. 696 *sq.*; *Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. pp. 33, 50 *sq.*) The wealthy Proclus of Naucratis, the teacher of Philostratus, had a house at Piraeus (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 21), and remains of Roman villas have been found there (*Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. p. 33). Extensive remains of Roman baths were brought to light by excavation close to the harbour of Zea in 1892 (Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, for 1892, pp. 17-29). These baths were certainly later than Sulla's destruction of the dockyards, since they are actually built over the remains of some of the ancient ship-sheds.

The ship-sheds at Piraeus were one of the glories of Athens. Demosthenes mentions them along with the Parthenon and the Propylaea (xxii. 76. p. 617). Isocrates tells us (vii. 66) that they were built at a cost of 1000 talents, and were sold by the Thirty Tyrants as building material for three talents. Lysias says that the Thirty pulled down the dockyards (xii. 99), and he speaks of the ship-sheds going to ruin (xxx. 22). In 347-346 B.C. the Athenians, incited apparently by Eubulus, set about building new docks, ship-sheds, and an arsenal. The works were interrupted by the war with Philip, but were afterwards resumed and carried on till 323-322 B.C. at least; for we

learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 270) that from 347-346 B.C. to 323-322 B.C. a tax of ten talents was annually levied on citizens and resident aliens to defray the cost of these works. See also Dinarchus, i. 96; Aeschines, iii. 25; Philochorus, Frag. 135, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 406. The resumption of the interrupted work and its final completion were chiefly due to the energy and patriotism of the orator Lycurgus. See [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* vii. pp. 841 d, 852 c; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 497 a, 12 *sqq.*, ed. Bekker; Longinus, in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 9. p. 545 *sq.*; Hyperides, *Frag.* 121, ed. Blass; Paus., i. 29. 16. We have seen above that the docks and arsenal were burnt by Sulla in 86 B.C., but that the docks were afterwards rebuilt.

With regard to the number of the ship-sheds, we know from inscriptions that in the years 330-329, 326-325, and 323-322 B.C., the total number was 372, of which 196 were in Zea, 82 in Munychia, and 94 in Cantharus (the great harbour). (See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 807, col. *c*, lines 27-35; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 808, col. *d*, lines 95-102; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 811, col. *c*, lines 6-10.) This agrees fairly with the strength of the Athenian navy at this time; for under the administration of Lycurgus it numbered about 400 warships. See i. 29. 16 note; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 1. p. 599, note 1. Thus the number of ships slightly exceeded the number of ship-sheds; but this could scarcely have caused inconvenience, as some ships must always have been in commission. The number of 400 ships seems rarely, if ever, to have been exceeded even in the time of Athens's greatest power. See Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 2. p. 62.

Very considerable remains of the ancient ship-sheds are still to be seen in the harbours of Zea and Munychia. In 1871 Mr. Graser found that the foundations of fifty of them were sufficiently well preserved to enable us to estimate the original dimensions of the sheds; thirty-eight of the fifty were in Zea, and nine in Munychia. Excavations conducted on the east side of the harbour of Zea by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1885 laid bare the foundations of some of the sheds so fully that Dr. Dörpfeld was able to restore their original plan with certainty. The flat beach all round the basin of Zea was enclosed by a wall of ashlar masonry, which ran round the harbour in the form of a regular polygon with somewhat obtuse angles, at a distance of about 50 to 60 feet from the water's edge. This formed the back wall of all the ship-sheds, which extended at right angles to it and parallel to each other down to the water. The average breadth of each ship-shed or berth was about 6.50 metres. The sheds were separated from each other by rows of unfluted columns of Piraeic limestone, the foundations of which, bedded on the shelving rocky beach, descend in steps to the edge of the water, and are continued under the water at the same angle for some distance. These columns supported the roofs, which were probably wooden, for no remains of a stone roof have been found. Between these partition-rows of columns the rock has been hollowed out and smoothed, so that it forms an inclined plane descending gradually, like the rows of columns, to the water and continued under

the surface of the water for some way. Each of these inclined planes, cut in the rock and bounded on either side by a row of columns, was the floor of a ship-shed. In the middle of each of these floors is built a stone pier, about 10 feet wide and a yard or so high; in some places the native rock, hewn out at the sides, has been left standing in the centre so as to form a pier of similar dimensions. These piers, whether built or consisting of the native rock, slope gently into the water; and on them the ancient ships were hauled up and down. A groove for the ship's keel was probably cut down the middle of each pier. Remains of these piers may still be seen all round the harbour of Zea running out under the clear water.

Similar constructions, including pieces of the back-wall running round the harbour and of the stone piers extending into the water, are also to be seen in the harbour of Munychia, where, however, the breadth of the ship-sheds (6.25 metres) seems to have been somewhat less than that of the ship-sheds in Zea. At Munychia a stone with a groove for the ship's keel has been found; also three stones to which ropes seem to have been fastened for the purpose of hauling up the ships to their berths. In the great harbour the ship-sheds were situated in the bay which forms the southern extremity of the harbour, to the right of the entrance; for here the stone piers on which the ships were hauled up could still be seen in the first half of the present century.

See Graser, in *Philologus*, 31 (1872), p. 1 *sqq.*; *Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. pp. 14 *sq.*, 48 *sq.*; *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας* for 1885, pp. 63-68, with plates 2 and 3; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 60-74. The remains of the ship-sheds in the great harbour are mentioned by Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 181. Other vestiges of ancient Greek ship-sheds have been found at Syracuse and Oeniadae in Acarnania. See Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 2. p. 61, note 3. Round the war-harbour at Utica in Africa there are remains of two rows of chambers, the one above the other. The lower chambers opened on quays at the level of the water, and it has been suggested that they were the Carthaginian ship-sheds or dry docks. But they were perhaps rather storehouses. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 3. p. 391 *sq.*; Tissot, *La province Romaine d'Afrique*, 2. p. 62 *sq.*, with the Atlas, plates ii. iii. vi. The ship-sheds in the war-harbour of Carthage are described by Appian, *Libyc.* 96. Remains of them are thought still to exist, buried under sand and reeds. See Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* 3. p. 381; Tissot, *op. cit.* 1. p. 598 *sqq.*

The only remains of ancient ships which have been found at Zea are some plates of Parian marble representing great eyes. Clearly these were the ships' eyes which were fastened to the bows of ancient Greek vessels (cp. Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 95). Pollux tells us (i. 86) that the ship's name was painted beside its eye. Philostratus describes the picture of an Etruscan pirate ship painted blue with fierce eyes at the prow to frighten the enemy (*Imagines*, i. 18). In a list of missing or unserviceable ships' furniture (Böckh's *Urkunden über*

das Seewesen, ii. lines 68, 75) mention is twice made of a broken (ship's) eye. In the ships' eyes found at Zea the iris is painted red or blue; where the pupil should be there is a round hole, through which doubtless passed a nail, probably with a shining knob, to fasten the eye to the ship's side. Some of the eyes show traces of red paint on the back; the paint probably adhered to them from the ship's sides; for ships' bows were sometimes painted red (hence the epithet *μιλτοπάρηοι* 'red-cheeked' applied to ships, see Leaf on Homer, *Il.* ii. 637). See Lolling, 'Schiffsaugen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.* 5 (1880), pp. 384-387; *Karten von Attika, Text,* Heft i. p. 58 *sq.* The ship's eyes are clearly marked on a Greek vase in the form of a prow in the British Museum (4th Vase Room, case D, on top); they also appear on the prow of Ulysses's galley in a painting found at Pompeii, which represents Ulysses passing the Sirens (British Museum, 4th Vase Room, Wall Case 6). They are also marked on two terra-cotta boats found in Cyprus (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 259), and they are depicted on vase-paintings. See Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. xlvii; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 6 (1885), p. 21; E. Assmann, in *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Instituts*, 4 (1889), p. 99. Modern Italian sailors sometimes still paint an eye on the bow of their vessel (J. J. Blunt, *Vestiges of ancient manners and customs discovered in modern Italy and Sicily*, p. 39). Every craft owned by a Chinaman, from a sampan up to an English-built screw steamer, has a pair of eyes painted on its bows, that it may see its way and spy out sunken rocks, shoals, and other dangers of the deep. Indeed, in all places in eastern Asia where many Chinese travel, the local steamers, whether owned by Chinese or not, all have eyes; otherwise no Chinaman would travel in them or send his goods by them (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1. p. 81; J. H. Gray, *China*, 2. p. 259). Cambodian racing boats all have eyes at the bow, with gold leafage round them (Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge*, 1. p. 190).

Another famous structure in Piraeus was the arsenal, which formed a necessary adjunct to the ship-sheds of the navy. We know from ancient authors that it was built from designs furnished by the architect Philo, who explained them to the people in a speech which won him a high reputation for eloquence. The building was admired for its elegance, and the Athenians were proud of it. (See Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14; Strabo, ix. p. 395; Valerius Maximus, viii. 12. Ext. 2; Cicero, *De Oratore*, i. 14. 62; Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 125; Vitruvius, vii. prooem., 12.) We know from an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 270, see above, p. 15 *sq.*) that the arsenal was begun, or at least that a tax to defray the cost of it, was first levied in 347-346 B.C.; and it must have been finished in 330-329 B.C. For an inscription of that year (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 807, col. b, line 88 *sqq.*; Böckh's *Urkunden über das Seewesen*, No. xi.) contains a list of various building materials which had been left over from the arsenal, including twenty-five new iron nails. Now we know that the boards of the roof were fastened on with iron nails (see below); hence the arsenal must have been roofed in 330-329 B.C. It must also have had its doors on in that year; for in the same inscription (col. c, lines 48 *sqq.*) there

is mention of a new door which had been removed from the arsenal, probably because it did not fit. The new arsenal constructed by Philo replaced an older one, which is mentioned in the inscriptions at first as 'the arsenal' simply and at a later date as 'the old arsenal' (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 793, col. a, line 13, and col. e, line 37; Böckh's *Urkunden über das Seewesen*, No. iv. pp. 312, 323; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 795, col. f, line 78 *sq.*; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 807, col. b, line 153; Böckh's *Urkunden*, No. xi. col. b, line 160, p. 412). While the new arsenal was in process of construction, wooden arsenals were used as temporary store-houses (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 807, col. c, line 26; Böckh's *Urkunden*, No. xi. p. 414). The great arsenal, the pride of Athens, was finally burnt by Sulla in 86 B.C. (see above, p. 8); and no certain vestiges of it have been as yet discovered. But by an extraordinary piece of good fortune the directions given to the contractors for its construction have been preserved to us. They were discovered in 1882 engraved on a slab of Hymettian marble not far from the north-east side of the harbour of Zea, at the foot of the hill of Munychia. The directions are so full, clear, and precise that we now know Philo's arsenal from roof to foundation better than any other building of ancient Greece, though not a stone of it has been found. A brief description of the arsenal, derived from the inscription, may not be out of place here.

The architect was to be Philo of Eleusis, son of Execestides; and with him was associated, though in what relation is not clear, a certain Euthydomus, son of Demetrius; the latter was perhaps the public overseer of the work. The arsenal was to be built to store the 'hanging-gear' (rigging, tackle, sails, cables for undergirding the ship, curtains or screens which were stretched along the gunwales, etc.) The 'wooden gear' (masts, spars, oars, punting-poles, rudders, etc.) seems to have been kept beside the ships in the ship-sheds. (See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 793, col. c, line 10 *sqq.*; col. d, line 10 *sqq.*; and on the 'hanging gear' and 'wooden gear' in the Greek marine, see Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen*, pp. 111-166; A. Cartault, *La trière Athénienne* (Paris 1881) p. 170 *sqq.*) The arsenal was to be built at Zea, which was the principal war-harbour. It was to begin at the gateway which led from the market and was to extend to the back of the ship-sheds. It was to be built of Piraeic limestone, an excellent building material often mentioned in inscriptions (Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 167) and still much in use. The old quarries are to be seen in the centre and towards the western edge of the Acte peninsula (*Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. p. 55). The general plan of the building was to be this:

It was to be a long narrow structure, 400 feet long by 50 feet wide on the inside, or, including the walls, 405 feet long by 55 feet wide. Internally it was to be divided into three aisles by two rows of columns running down its whole length. The central aisle, flanked by the double row of columns, was to be kept clear as a passage for the public; while the two side aisles were to serve for storing the tackle. For this purpose each of the side aisles was divided into two stories by a wooden flooring. On the ground story the sails and other canvas gear were kept in presses; and in the upper galleries the ropes were to be coiled

on open shelves. Thus the arsenal closely resembled what we should call an arcade, except that the sides were occupied by store-rooms instead of shops. The walls were to be 27 feet high, the blocks being laid lengthwise and crossways in alternate courses (alternate courses of 'stretchers' and 'headers' is the technical English phrase). A triglyph frieze and a cornice were to run all round the outside of the building. It was to be lit by windows three feet high and two feet broad, one window being placed opposite each intercolumniation in the long sides, and three windows in each of the gable ends; the windows were to be closed with tight-fitting bronze shutters. In each of the gable ends there were to be two doorways nine feet wide each, opening into the central aisle or arcade. These doorways were to be fitted with doors plated with bronze on the outside. The columns of the interior, thirty-five in each row, were to be 20 feet high with capitals of Pentelic marble. The order of the columns is not mentioned; but from the proportions, which were slender, Dr. Dörpfeld infers that they were Ionic. The whole of the interior was to be paved with stone flags closely fitted together, their upper surface being worked smooth and level. In the two rows of columns which flanked the central arcade there was to be a stone balustrade, with a latticed gate in the middle, betwixt each pair of columns. These gates gave admission to the side aisles. In these side aisles on the ground floor, as already mentioned, the sails and canvas gear were to be stored in presses which were to be placed against the columns and the side walls. The presses placed against the side walls were to open in front; those placed against the columns were to open at the two sides, in order that people passing through the arsenal might see all the gear that was stored in it. In the galleries above these side aisles the cordage was to be stowed away on open wooden shelves. The roof of the building was to be constructed of strong wooden rafters overlaid with boards which were to be fastened on with iron nails; and the whole was to be covered with close-fitting Corinthian tiles. To secure that the building should be well aired, which was especially necessary in a magazine of this sort, lest the tackle should suffer from damp, slit-like openings were to be left in the walls between the joints of the stones, the number and situation of these air-holes being left to the discretion of the architect. Such was, in outline, the great arsenal of the Piraeus. Thither on the burning days of summer, one may suppose, crowds were glad to escape from the blinding glare and stifling heat of the streets, and to promenade in the cool, lofty, and dimly lighted arcade, often stopping to gaze with idle curiosity or patriotic pride at the long array of well-ordered tackle which spoke of the naval supremacy of Athens.

See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1054; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 352; Foucart, 'L'arsenal de Philon,' *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 6 (1882), pp. 540-555; T. W. Ludlow, 'The Athenian naval arsenal of Philon,' *American Journal of Philology*, 3 (1882), pp. 317-328; E. Fabricius, 'Die Skeuothek des Philon,' *Hermes*, 17 (1882), pp. 551-594; W. Dörpfeld, 'Die Skeuothek des Philon,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 147-164; Choisy, *Études épigraphiques sur l'architecture Grecque*, pp. 1-38; Bruno Keil, 'Bemerkungen zur Reconstruction

der philoneischen Skeuothek,' *Hermes*, 19 (1884), pp. 149-163; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1199; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 75-89.

Lastly, before quitting the war-harbours of Athens, we may notice the *Choma*, a quay near the mouth of the harbour on which, when an armament was fitting out for sea, the Council of the Five Hundred held their sittings daily till the squadron sailed. When all was ready, every captain was bound by law to lay his vessel alongside the quay to be inspected by the Council. The inspection over, the fleet weighed anchor and proceeded on its voyage. It must have been a heart-stirring sight to witness the departure of a fleet for the seat of war, as gallant ship after ship passed, in long procession, through the mouth of the harbour and stood out to sea, followed by the gazing eyes and by the hopes and fears and prayers of thousands assembled on the shore.

See Demosthenes, l. 6. p. 1208, li. 4, p. 1229; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 46; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 809, col. a, line 185 *sq.*, col. b, line 15 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 94-96.

1. 2. **beside the largest harbour is the grave of Themistocles.** Diodorus the Periegete, a contemporary of Theophrastus, wrote a work 'On Tombs' in at least three books (see Polemo, ed. Preller, p. 170 *sqq.; Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 2. p. 353 *sq.*) The work is lost, but Plutarch has preserved several fragments of it, in one of which (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 32) Diodorus thus describes the situation of Themistocles's grave: "At the great harbour of Piraeus a sort of elbow juts out from the headland of Alcimus; and when you have rounded this elbow, on the inner side, where the sea is somewhat calm, there is a large basement of masonry, and the altar-like structure on it is the grave of Themistocles. And he (Diodorus) imagines that the comic poet Plato bears him out in the following passage:

> 'Fair lies thy tomb
> For it will speak to merchants everywhere;
> It will behold the seamen sailing out and in,
> And mark the contests of the ships.'"

Tradition places the site of the tomb on the shore of the Acte peninsula, near the modern lighthouse, some way to the south of the entrance to the great harbour. This identification is confirmed by Prof. Milchhöfer. A square space, measuring about 19 feet on the sides, has been levelled in the rock; and its outer margin has been cut and smoothed to a breadth of 2½ feet, apparently to form the bed of a wall. Within this square space are three graves, a large one and two small ones; and just outside it, on the side away from the sea, is a large sepulchre hewn in the rock. Prof. Milchhöfer supposes that when this square space was surrounded by its wall and the interior space was filled up with rubble, it may have been the 'altar-like structure' described by Diodorus the Periegete, and that the rock-hewn tomb behind it and sheltered by it from the surf and spray of the neighbouring sea, may have been the supposed grave of Themistocles. There is a little bay here, which, he thinks, tallies with Diodorus's description. Aristotle

(*Hist. Anim.* vi. 15, p. 569 b, 9 *sqq.*) mentions a 'Themistocleum' in a shady and marshy spot; but whether this 'Themistocleum' is the tomb described by Diodorus and Pausanias seems doubtful. (See Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. p. 54; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 320 *sq.*; *id.* 2. p. 169 *sq.*) Thucydides tells us (i. 138) that there was a monument to Themistocles in the market-place at Magnesia (where he died), but that his relations asserted that at his own request his bones had been brought home and laid secretly in Attic earth; for as a banished traitor he had no right to burial. This seems to show that in Thucydides's time the spot where his bones were said to have been laid in Attica was not generally known; so the later identification of the site may have been merely a popular guess. The "contests of the ships" referred to in the lines of Plato may have been the regattas; for we know that the boats raced from the great harbour round to the harbour of Munychia (see note on ii. 35. 1), and therefore must have passed close to the spot which, if Prof. Milchhöfer is right, was traditionally identified in antiquity as the grave of Themistocles.

1. 3. a precinct of Zeus and Athena. Their full titles were Saviour Zeus and Saviour Athena (Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 17; Strabo, ix. p. 396; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 325 and 326; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 281). As the sanctuary was clearly the chief one in Piraeus (see below) we may assume that there was a temple within the sacred close, though neither Pausanias nor Strabo refers to it. Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 74) and an anonymous grammarian (in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 91. 6 *sq.*) certainly mention a temple of Saviour Zeus, but their authority does not count for much. In the close there were cloisters containing fine paintings by distinguished artists, and there were statues in the open air (Strabo, ix. p. 396). The colonnade is mentioned in two inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 325 and 326). Among the paintings, as we learn from Pausanias, were portraits of Leosthenes and his sons by Arcesilaus (see below). Among the statues was a bronze one of the father of Leocrates (Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 136 *sq.*) The image of Athena, which was admired, was by Cephisodotus (see below). From Pausanias we learn that it was of bronze and held a spear. The altar of Zeus in the sacred precinct was also by Cephisodotus, and was a fine work of art (Pliny, *l.c.*) A sum was annually granted from the public chest for adorning the altar at the public sacrifice offered to Saviour Zeus (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 27; [*id.*,] *Vit. X. orat.* viii. p. 846 d). On the occasion of this festival there was a regatta (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 471, line 29 *sq.*) and a procession in honour of Saviour Zeus through certain wide streets. For we find a decree of the people (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 337) ordering that the wide streets through which the procession of Saviour Zeus passed should be levelled and put in the best order. (The decree incidentally throws some light on the state of the streets in Piraeus; for it ordains that all persons who have shot rubbish in the streets shall be compelled to remove it, and that for the future no one shall be allowed to shoot rubbish or throw out dung on the streets.) On the last day of the year a sacrifice was offered to Saviour Zeus (Lysias, xxvi. 6).

The expenses of the sanctuary seem to have been partly met by

levying a tax of one drachm on every vessel which put into the port (*C. I. A.* i. No. 68). Moreover, persons who had escaped from danger, for example seafaring men who had come safe to land, commonly brought thank-offerings to the shrine (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1174 *sqq.*) From a fragment of the comedy of *The Painter* by Diphilus (preserved by Athenaeus, vii. p. 292 b) we see that, among the long-shore sharks who lay in wait on the quays of Piraeus for sailors fresh from a voyage, there were cooks with an eye to business. For in the passage in question one of the fraternity tells us how, whenever he spied a jolly tar just stepping ashore, ready for a spree, with a bulging purse and an expansive smile on his sun-burnt face, he used to rush up to him, shake him warmly by the hand, drop a delicate allusion to Saviour Zeus, and proffer his services at the sacrifice. The bait took, and soon he was to be seen heading for the sanctuary with the sailor man in tow.

The sanctuary of Saviour Zeus, as already remarked, seems always to have been the principal one in Piraeus. It was so in the second century B.C. (see Livy, xxxi. 30. 9), and it is the only one mentioned by Strabo, who says that in his day, about the beginning of our era, the once busy mart of commerce had shrunk to a petty town clustering about the harbours and the sanctuary of Zeus (ix. p. 395 *sq.*, see above, p. 14). In the second half of the second century A.D. we have the evidence of Pausanias that the precinct of Saviour Zeus was still the chief sight in Piraeus; and this is confirmed by the evidence of the perhaps contemporary inscription which records a comprehensive scheme for the restoration of holy places; for it is directed that copies of that inscription shall be deposited in the shrine of Athena Polias on the Acropolis at Athens and in the sanctuary of Saviour Zeus and Saviour Athena at Piraeus (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 167 *sqq.*, see above, p. 14 *sq.*)

The exact site occupied by the sanctuary is not known. Prof. Milchhöfer would place it a little way inland from the north-east corner of the great harbour, somewhat above the modern church of the Trinity (Hagia Triada), where some large, well-preserved marble capitals of the Doric order have been found. These capitals, Prof. Milchhöfer conjectures, may have belonged to the temple of Saviour Zeus. See *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. p. 41 *sq.* Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 141-145.

1. 3. **Athena holds a spear.** This image was much admired: it was by the sculptor Cephisodotus (Pliny, xxxiv. 74, where, however, the MSS. read Cephisodorus). There were two sculptors of this name (see note on viii. 30. 10). Prof. v. Brunn conjectured that after the restoration of the fortifications of Piraeus in 394-391 B.C. (see above, p. 8) the patron deities Saviour Zeus and Saviour Athena may have been provided with new images (v. Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, 1. p. 269 *sq.*; cp. K. O. Müller, *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 5. p. 169). The conjecture is plausible, and if we accept it we must suppose that the sculptor who made the image of Saviour Athena was the elder, not the younger Cephisodotus. This view is assented to by Prof. Overbeck (*Geschichte der griech.*

Plastik,[4] 2. p. 7), Mr. A. S. Murray (*History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 244), Prof. Milchhöfer (*Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. p. 42), and Prof. C. Wachsmuth (*Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 585, note 2; *id.*, 2. p. 144, note 2). Prof. W. Klein, indeed, claimed the statue for the younger Cephisodotus; but Prof. v. Brunn easily showed that his argument rested on a misunderstanding. See W. Klein, in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 4 (1880), p. 21 *sq.*; H. v. Brunn, 'Zur griechischen Künstlergeschichte,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 1880, p. 454 *sqq.* Various attempts have been made to identify existing statues as copies of this image of Athena. Thus Prof. Furtwängler formerly suggested that the Farnese Athena (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xix. No. 202) is a replica of it; Prof. Milchhöfer believes that the Athena of Velletri (Müller-Wieseler, *op. cit.*, 2. pl. xix. No. 204; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1434) is a replica of it, and this view is now advocated by Prof. Furtwängler, though he would assign the original, not to Cephisodotus, but to Cresilas (*Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik*, pp. 303-311). Dr. Wolters dissents from them, and regards a helmeted bust of Athena, found at Herculaneum and now at Naples, as a replica of the bust of the image. His ground for doing so is the resemblance of the face of the bust to the face of the statue of Peace by Cephisodotus (see i. 8. 2, note). See P. Wolters, 'Athena des Kephisodot,' *Jahrbuch d. k. d. archäolog. Instituts*, 8 (1893), pp. 173-180.

1. 3. **a painting of Leosthenes —— by Arcesilaus.** Leosthenes was slain while besieging Lamia in Ol. 114. 2 (323 B.C.), according to Diodorus (xviii. 13). A painter of merit, Arcesilas, son of Tisicrates, is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 146). He may be the Arcesilaus of Pausanias. Cp. v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 157 *sq.* As to Leosthenes, see i. 25. 5 and Index.

1. 3. **the Long Colonnade.** Callicrates or Menecles, quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Peace*, 145) tells us that in the harbour of Cantharus (that is, in the great harbour of Piraeus) there were "the docks, then the sanctuary of Aphrodite, then five colonnades round about the harbour." The same edifices are mentioned in the same order in an inscription of Roman date which has been already referred to: "in the great (harbour) —— the docks and the sanctuary of Aphrodite and the colonnades as far as the bars" (of the harbour?) (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170). The Long Colonnade mentioned by Pausanias was doubtless one of these five colonnades which skirted the shore of the harbour; and it is almost certainly identical with the colonnade which Thucydides (viii. 90) describes as the largest colonnade and as situated in Piraeus immediately adjoining the promontory of Eetionia. This fixes the situation of the Long Colonnade. It must have stood on the north side of the harbour, extending westward to the point where the town-wall of Piraeus crossed the shallow northern bight on a mole to the peninsula of Eetionia (see above, p. 10). The town-wall must thus have run all along the back of the Long Colonnade and may even have formed the back-wall of that edifice. We can thus see how easy it was for the aristocratic party, after

fortifying themselves on the peninsula of Eetionia (411 B.C.) to cut off the Long Colonnade from the rest of Piraeus by a cross-wall (Thucydides, viii. 90). This cross-wall doubtless ran from the outer fortification wall of Piraeus past the east end of the Long Colonnade and terminated on the shore of the harbour. The reason why the aristocrats included the Long Colonnade within the line of their fortress is not clear at first sight. They feared an attack from the popular party in the town of Piraeus, and their defensive position would have been far stronger if they had confined themselves to the peninsula of Eetionia. For in that case an attacking party which should have attempted to assail them by land from within the town of Piraeus, could only have reached them by crossing the narrow mole, a few feet wide, which carried the town-wall through the shallow northern bight of the harbour; and this narrow front the defenders could have rendered practically impregnable. Whereas by placing their line of defence to the east of the Long Colonnade instead of on the mole, they extended their assailable front from a few feet to about 130 yards, the latter being approximately the length of the cross-wall by which they cut off the Long Colonnade from the rest of Piraeus.

But the Long Colonnade seems to have been a public granary. For the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 548) tells us that in Piraeus there was a certain colonnade, built by Pericles, in which the corn of the city was stored and in which meal was sold; and that this was the Long Colonnade is made practically certain by a passage in Demosthenes (*Or.* xxxiv. p. 918), where it is said that in a time of scarcity bread and meal were sold to the people at low prices in the dockyard and in the Long Colonnade. Thus by including the Long Colonnade within their lines the aristocrats victualled themselves for a siege, and they may very well have thought that this more than compensated the attendant disadvantage of an extended front. But perhaps this explanation of their motives is more plausible than true; for it would seem to have been easier to cart the sacks of meal from the granary into their fort than to build a defensible wall 130 yards long.

From the eastern end of the Long Colonnade the other four colonnades probably ran southward in a long line beside the eastern shore of the harbour. Together the five colonnades doubtless formed the public mart or emporium, as it was called. The southern limit of the emporium is marked by a boundary-stone which still stands in its original position a little way inland from the south-east corner of the harbour; it bears the inscription "Boundary of the emporium and of the road" in letters of the fifth century B.C. (*C. I. A.* i. No. 519; see Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 192 *sqq.*) A few yards to the north of this boundary-stone, at the crossing of the two modern streets of Artemis and Notara, a portion of an ancient colonnade was excavated in 1886. The style of masonry is of the good Greek period, and the colonnade faced towards the harbour. Hence it was probably one of the five colonnades which skirted the shore; and if so, it must have been the most southerly of them all. (See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. for 1886, pp. 82-84, with pl. 2.) One of the most important buildings

in the emporium was the so-called *Deigma*, a sort of exchange where foreign merchants exhibited samples of their wares and where bankers seem to have sat at the receipt of custom (Timaeus, Harpocration, Suidas, and *Etymol. Magnum* (p. 259. 51), *s.v.* Δεῖγμα; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, I. p. 237. 20 *sq.*) It must have been close to the quays and the shipping, as we learn from Polyaenus's description (vi. 2. 2) of the successful raid which Alexander of Pherae once made on the bankers' counters in it. One day a squadron was seen standing into the harbour. The loungers on the quays watched it with idle curiosity till the ships came alongside the wharfs, when a crowd of armed men leaped from the ships' sides, drew their swords, and with a flourish of trumpets made a rush for the exchange, where they swept the counters clean and then returned with the booty to their ships, without stopping to notice the panic-stricken crowds who were fleeing in all directions. Again, in a 'cutting out' expedition which the Lacedaemonians made with twelve ships into the harbour of Piraeus, a handful of men jumped ashore, laid hold of some merchants and skippers in the exchange, and hurried them on board (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 1. 19 *sqq.*) It was in the exchange that the Boastful Man in Theophrastus (*Characters*, 23) used to stand talking with foreigners about the great sums he had at sea, while he sent his page to the bank where he kept the sum of tenpence. Probably the exchange was one of the five colonnades mentioned above. It continued to exist in imperial times; for in an imperial letter, preserved in an inscription (*Philologus*, 29 (1870) p. 694), it is ordered that a copy of the letter be engraved and set up in front of the exchange. From another inscription of Roman times, already referred to (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170), we infer that Pompey built an exchange at Piraeus; but perhaps he only repaired the old one, which may have perished in the sack of 86 B.C.

On the east side of the harbour of Piraeus two boundary-stones have been found in the water, not far from the bank. They both bear the inscription "Boundary of the station of packet-boats" (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 520, 521). One of the stones was fished up at the north end of this side of the harbour, opposite the modern square of Apollo, the site where the Long Colonnade probably stood. The other was fished up towards the south end, at the promontory which seems in antiquity to have divided the commercial from the military part of the harbour, and on which the modern Custom House stands. These heavy stones probably fell into the water not far from their original positions: hence we may infer that at these two points there were wharfs for packet-boats in antiquity. It would be too much to suppose (as Mr. C. Curtius and, formerly, Prof. C. Wachsmuth supposed) that the whole stretch of shore between these points was occupied with the landing-stages of packet-boats. One line of packet-boats plied between Piraeus and Aegina. In Plato's time the fare was twopence, but in Lucian's day it had risen to fourpence (Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 511 d; Lucian, *Navigium*, 15). Curiously enough, the two points where the stones were fished up are stations for wherries at the present day.

See C. Curtius, in *Philologus*, 29 (1870), p. 691 *sqq.*; Graser, in *Philologus*, 31 (1872), p. 54 *sq.*, note; *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. pp. 50, 68; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1197; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 157; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 323; *id.*, 2. p. 99 *sq.* As to the commercial harbour of Piraeus with its mart, exchange, etc., see especially L. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. pp. 156-203; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 96-126; cp. W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 236 *sqq.*

1. 3. statues of Zeus and the People, a work of Leochares. For other works of Leochares, see i. 3. 4; i. 24. 4; v. 20. 10. He flourished in the middle of the fourth century B.C., and was one of the sculptors who worked with Scopas at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 30). He made a much admired group of the eagle soaring to heaven with Ganymede (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 79; Tatian, *Or. contra Graecos*, 34, p. 136, ed. Otto). Several copies or imitations of it have come down to us; the best known one is in the Vatican (O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 24 *sq.*; v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 388; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 95 *sqq.*; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 323 *sq.*) Several inscribed bases of statues by Leochares have been found at Athens (Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Nos. 77-83). Some authorities hold that the original of the Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican was a work of Leochares (see note on x. 23. 1).

Personifications of the People (*dēmos*) were not uncommon in Greek art. In Athens itself there was a statue of the People by Lyson (Paus. i. 3. 5), and a painting of the People by Euphranor (i. 3. 3). Parrhasius painted a picture of the Athenian People, which is said to have embodied all the most opposite qualities, the figure appearing at once passionate, unjust, inconstant, and yet merciful and pitiful, at once boastful and humble, at once bold and cowardly, etc. (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 69). At Sparta there was a colossal statue of the Spartan People (Paus. iii. 11. 10). The people of Byzantium resolved to set up a group of three colossal figures, each sixteen cubits high, representing the Athenian People being crowned by the People of Byzantium and the People of Perinthus (Demosthenes, xviii. p. 256). Hiero and Gelo of Syracuse set up in the Exchange of Rhodes a group of statuary representing the People of Rhodes being crowned by the People of Syracuse (Polybius, v. 88). There was a statue of the People of Synnada in Phrygia, as we learn from an inscription (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 7 (1883), p. 301). Among existing monuments of antiquity there is an Athenian relief representing a man being crowned by the People, who appears in the guise of a bearded citizen. Similar figures of the People seem to have been common in late art. And on late coins of allied cities the People is sometimes depicted carrying an image of the deity of the city. Thus on an alliance-coin of Pergamus and Ephesus, each city is represented by a draped male figure carrying the images of Aesculapius and Artemis respectively. (See P. Gardner in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 79; Dumont, in *Monuments publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques en France*, 1 (1872-1881), p. 37 *sq.*) The Peoples of Antioch and Seleucia appear to be represented on federal coins by two Zeus-like heads united, the coins bearing the inscription

ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ ('Brother Peoples'), (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 656). On coins of Tarentum and Rhegium between 479-431 B.C., there occurs a seated male figure which numismatists identify as the People of these towns (P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 101). On an ancient lead token there is a bearded head with the letters ΔΗΜ, whence it appears that the head is that of the People (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 8 (1884), p. 7, pl. i. No. 27).

The People was not only personified but deified by the Greeks. At Athens there was a precinct of the People and the Graces in which statues of public benefactors and decrees in their honour were set up. It seems to have stood at the northern foot of the hill on which the so-called temple of Theseus stands. The worship of the People and the Graces was cared for by a priest. (See *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 467, 469, 470, 471, 605; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1891, pp. 40-55; Josephus, *Antiquit.* xiv. 8. 5). The priest had a seat allotted to him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 265); the office was once held by a certain T. Coponius Maximus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 661). The image of the People of Synnada had a temple and an altar (see the inscription published by Prof. W. M. Ramsay, in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 7 (1883), p. 301); and at Magnesia on the Maeander the worship of the People was cared for by a priest, as we learn from a recently discovered inscription (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, p. 83).

1. 3. another market for those who dwell farther from the harbour. This was doubtless the Hippodamian market-place, as it was called after the Milesian architect Hippodamus, who laid out the town of Piraeus on a regular plan (Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 8, p. 1267 b, 22 *sq.*; Harpocration and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἱπποδάμεια; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 266; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἱπποδάμου νέμησις). It must have been a spacious open space, for we hear of troops mustering in it (Andocides, i. 45). The distinguished general Timotheus had a house on the market-place, and it was here that he lodged his two royal visitors, Jason of Pherae and Alcetas king of Epirus, when they came to give evidence at his trial. The general had impaired his private fortune by his exertions in the public service, and when his distinguished visitors arrived late one evening, he had to send out his Caleb Balderstone in haste to borrow some bedding and silver plate (Demosthenes, xlix. pp. 1190 *sq.*, 1200). From the market-place a street led up hill to the sanctuary of Artemis on the hill of Munychia. It must have been a wide street; for in the street-fighting at the revolution which overturned the tyranny of the Thirty and restored the democracy, the troops of the tyrants formed in order of battle in the market-place and then marched up the street, while the democratic party under Thrasybulus, also in order of battle, charged down the street and met them (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 11 *sqq.*) From an inscription (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 337) we learn that in 320-319 B.C. it was ordered that the market-place in Piraeus be levelled and put in good repair and that for the future no one should be allowed to shoot rubbish or dump down dung in it.

The market-place was most probably situated on the level ground to the east of the great harbour, about the site of the modern *Karaiskaki* Square. A broad street led eastward from it up hill to the sanctuary of Artemis (see above); another led south through a gateway to the arsenal and dockyards of Zea (see above, p. 19); and doubtless one or more streets led westward to the great harbour. Evidence of the regularity with which the ancient town was laid out by Hippodamus is afforded by the numerous foundations of ancient houses still to be seen running in lines which form accurately straight streets on the eastern side of the Acte peninsula. Further proof is furnished by the discovery of a number of boundary-stones with inscriptions of the fifth century B.C., which marked the limits of public buildings, streets, quarters, etc. See Hirschfeld, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Phil. hist. Cl., 30 (1878), p. 2 *sqq.*; *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. pp. 29, 41, 55 *sq.*, 72; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1198; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 130-134. On the architect Hippodamus, see M. Erdmann, 'Hippodamos von Milet und die symmetrische Städtebaukunst der Griechen,' *Philologus*, 42 (1883), pp. 193-227.

The broad straight streets of the new town of Piraeus must have formed a striking contrast to the narrow and crooked streets, lined with mean houses, which Athens itself seems always to have retained (Dicaearchus, in *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 2. p. 254). Aristotle perhaps had this contrast in his mind when he recommended for his ideal city a mixture of the two modes of building, remarking that the new straight streets in the style of Hippodamus were handsomer and more convenient, but that the old crooked streets could be better defended against an enemy (*Pol.* vii. 11, p. 1330 b, 21 *sqq.*) In modern Europe we can still remark the contrast in style between the towns which have grown up irregularly in the course of ages, and those which have been created at once, on a regular plan, by the will of a despot. The two most regularly built cities in Europe are probably Turin and Mannheim. Turin still stands on the lines laid down by Augustus when he founded a colony on the site; Mannheim was built by the Elector Palatine Frederick the Fourth in 1606. We may observe the same contrast between Madrid the new, and Toledo the old, capital of Spain; though Madrid, a creation of Philip the Second, does not equal Turin or Mannheim in mathematical regularity of construction.

1. 3. **Beside the sea Conon built a sanctuary of Aphrodite.** Callicrates or Menecles, describing the great harbour of Piraeus, says that there were "the docks, then the sanctuary of Aphrodite, then five colonnades round about the harbour" (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 145), and the same structures are mentioned in the same order in an inscription (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170). Now we know that the ship-sheds or docks of the navy occupied the southern bay of the great harbour (see above, p. 17), and that the colonnades, beginning a little farther north, stretched along the eastern side of the harbour (see above, p. 24 *sq.*) Somewhere, therefore, between the point where the docks ended and the colonnades began we should

expect to find the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Now between the two points in question there runs out a promontory on which stands the modern Custom House. This would be a suitable site for a temple built to a marine goddess in gratitude for a naval victory. That the sanctuary actually stood here is made probable by the discovery on or near this spot of an inscription containing a dedication to Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage by a certain Argius son of Argius who was archon in 97-96 B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1206; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 2. p. 740, No. 1069, cp. p. 429). As the victory for which Conon dedicated a sanctuary to Aphrodite was a naval one, and as the victory was won off Cnidus where, as we learn from Pausanias, Aphrodite was worshipped under the title of the Goddess of the Fair Voyage, it seems probable that the sanctuary erected by him at Piraeus in memory of his victory was also dedicated to Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage, and this probability is strengthened by the inscription just mentioned.

But there was at least one other sanctuary of Aphrodite at Piraeus. For Ammonius, a contemporary of Plutarch, in a work 'Upon Altars' has recorded that after the battle of Salamis Themistocles dedicated a sanctuary of Aphrodite at Piraeus (Schol. on Hermogenes. *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 6. p. 393). Ammonius is the more likely to have been well informed on everything relating to Themistocles, as he had for a pupil a namesake and direct descendant of the great man (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 32). Ammonius's evidence is confirmed by the inscription of Roman date, already mentioned, which, among the sanctuaries to be restored, speaks of the one "which Themistocles founded before the sea-fight at Salamis" (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170). The inscription is unfortunately mutilated and the name of the deity to whom the sanctuary was sacred is almost obliterated, but enough remains to show that it was a goddess; and on the strength of Ammonius's evidence we may conclude that this goddess was Aphrodite. The circumstance that Ammonius speaks of the sanctuary having been dedicated *after* the battle, while the inscription says it was founded *before* it, is not very material; tradition might vary on the point. That a sanctuary of Aphrodite existed at Piraeus before Conon dedicated his, is proved by an inscription which enables us also to fix the site of the sanctuary approximately. The inscription, which is dated in the archonship of Eubulides (July 394 B.C.—July 393 B.C., cp. Unger in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. class. Altertums.* 1. p. 589), was found in the outer wall of Piraeus, at the north end of Eetionia, near the ancient gateway. It relates to that restoration of the walls which is commonly ascribed to Conon after his victory at Cnidus, but which, from this and another inscription, we now know to have been begun about two years before Conon arrived in Athens (see above, p. 8). The inscription records that a certain Boeotian named Demosthenes had contracted to bring stones for the rebuilding of a portion of the wall, which is defined as extending for 790 feet "from the mark to the middle column in the gate at the sanctuary of Aphrodite, on the right as you go out" (*ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἀρξάμενον μέχρι τοῦ μετώπου τῶν πυλῶν*

τῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξιόντι, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 11. (1887), p. 131 *sq.* As to μέτωπον in this sense, see Fabricius, in *Hermes*, 17 (1882), p. 570; Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 155, 157 *sq.*) The gate mentioned in the inscription is probably the existing ancient gate near which the inscription was found; and the sanctuary of Aphrodite seems to have been close to it. As the inscription was engraved sometime in the year July 394—July 393 B.C., and Conon seems not to have arrived in Athens till the summer of 393 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 7-10), it is impossible that the sanctuary of Aphrodite mentioned in the inscription can be the one erected by Conon. The situation of the sanctuary is also against the identification; for the gate near which it stood is some little distance (about 200 yards) from the shore, whereas the sanctuary dedicated by Conon is expressly said by Pausanias to have been beside the sea.

On the whole then it appears that there were at least two sanctuaries of Aphrodite at Piraeus, one on the promontory near the south-eastern corner of the great harbour, the other at the northern extremity of Eetionia, and that the former was founded by Conon and the latter by Themistocles.

See Foucart, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 11. (1887), p. 129 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.*, Phil. hist. Cl., 39 (1887), p. 370 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 119-122; Hirschfeld, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil. hist. Cl., 30 (1878), pp. 9 *sq.*, 27; *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft i. p. 49; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1196 *sq.*; Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 247 *sq.* (Professor Wachsmuth assumes that Conon must have built his new sanctuary on the site of the old sanctuary mentioned in the inscription. I see no reason for this assumption.) The Syrian Aphrodite was worshipped by a religious society (*orgeōnes*) at Piraeus, as we learn from an inscription (Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 2. p. 429, No. 809; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 627). In 333-332 B.C. the Cyprian merchants of Citium settled at Piraeus received permission to erect a sanctuary to Aphrodite (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 168; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 355), probably the Heavenly Aphrodite, for a dedication to the Heavenly Aphrodite by a woman of Citium has been found at Piraeus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1588; Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 198).

1. 3. **Aphrodite of the Height.** Cp. ii. 32. 6. On the promontory of Olympus in Cyprus there was a temple of Aphrodite of the Height, which women might not enter nor look upon (Strabo, xiv. p. 682).

1. 3. **Aphrodite of the Fair Voyage.** The worship of Aphrodite under this title is attested by inscriptions at Piraeus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1206, see above, p. 30), at Aegae in Cilicia (*C. I. G.* No. 4443; R. Walpole, *Travels in various countries of the East*, p. 558), and at Olbia in the south of Russia (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1874, p. 103).

1. 4. **a temple of Munychian Artemis.** The temple stood on the hill of Munychia, above the Hippodamian market-place, from which

a broad street led up to it (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 11), but the exact site of the temple is not known. The sanctuary is perhaps mentioned in a very mutilated fragment of a description of Piraeus which Mr. Flinders Petrie discovered in Egypt. In the same fragment there is mention of the ship-sheds. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*. 9 (1889), pp. 1546-1548; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. cxx.) A curious legend was told about this sanctuary. Once on a time, it is said, there was a bear in the sanctuary, but the Athenians killed the bear and were visited with a plague in consequence. An oracle told them that the plague would be stayed if one of them would sacrifice his daughter to Artemis. A certain man Embaros offered to do so on condition that his family should always be priests of the goddess. He then dressed up his daughter, but hid her and sacrificed in her stead a goat which he had clothed so as to resemble his daughter. See Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 732, p. 331 (Eustathius quotes as his authority Pausanias, but this Pausanias is probably the lexicographer of that name); Apostolius, vii. 10; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, Appendix Proverb. ii. 54, vol. i. p. 402; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἔμβαρός εἰμι. This legend, taken in connexion with the similar legend about the Brauronian Artemis and the bear-dance performed by unmarried girls in her honour (see note on viii. 13. 1 *Essenes*), points to a worship of the bear. See Mr. Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2. p. 211 *sqq.*

Before we quit the peninsula of Piraeus it may be observed that, though Pausanias mentions no theatre at Piraeus, the remains of two ancient theatres are still to be seen there. One is on the western slope of the hill of Munychia, about half-way up the hill; the other is situated a little to the west of the harbour of Zea. The former is the older, and it is to it that Thucydides (viii. 93. 1), Lysias (xiii. 32), and Xenophon (*Hellenica*, ii. 4. 32) refer. This theatre belonged to the municipality, but was let out to contractors who were bound to keep it in repair (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 573; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 297). It is probably "the old theatre" mentioned in the inscription of Roman date to which reference has been repeatedly made (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 169 *sq.*) See *Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. p. 63; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 320; *id.*, 2. p. 135; Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 240, note 15; Hirschfeld, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.*, Phil. hist. Cl., 30 (1878), p. 20 *sqq.* The theatre to the west of Zea seems to have been built by subscription about the middle of the second century B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 984). It was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1880. The stage, orchestra, and a great part of the seats are preserved. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑτ. for 1880, p. 47 *sqq.*; *id.*, for 1884, p. 14; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 195 *sqq.*; *id.*, 1885, p. 62 *sqq.*; *Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. p. 66 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 135 *sq.*

1. 4. a sanctuary of Demeter. This sanctuary was burnt by the Persians and remained in ruins down to Pausanias's time. See x. 35. 2. Prof. Milchhöfer would identify it with the Thesmophorium or sanctuary

of Lawgiver Demeter which is mentioned in two inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 573 b, p. 421 *sq.*; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1059), and which, as appears from these inscriptions, lay outside the town of Piraeus in a district partly wooded and partly suited for tillage. His reasons for identifying them are that the festival of the Scira seems to have been celebrated at this Thesmophorium (as we infer from the former of the two inscriptions), and that Pausanias mentions a temple of Sciradian Athena in close connexion with the sanctuary of Demeter. See Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft ii. p. 3 *sq.*; *id.*, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1200.

1. 4. **a temple of Sciradian Athena.** It was said to have been founded by a certain Scirus (i. 36. 4), who had a sanctuary at Phalerum (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17). At the festival of the Oschophoria ('Fruit-bearing') two young men, disguised as women, carried clusters of ripe grapes from the sanctuary of Dionysus to the sanctuary of Sciradian Athena at Phalerum. The parents of the young men had to be alive. See Proclus, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 322 a, ed. Bekker; Aristodemus, in Athenaeus, xi. p. 495 f; Schol. on Nicander, *Alex.* 109; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 23; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ὀσχοφόροι; Hesychius, *s.vv.* ὠσχοφόρια and ὠσχοφόριον; Alciphron, *Epist.* i. 4, iii. 1. Aristodemus says (*l.c.*) that this ceremony took place at the festival of the Scira, from which we should infer that the Oschophoria was part of the Scira; but this is doubtful. On the festival of the Oschophoria see K. O. Müller, *Kleine deutsche Schriften*, 2. p. 163 *sq.*; Schömann, *Griechische Alterthümer*,[3] 2. p. 487 *sqq.*; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 271 *sqq.*; K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, § 56; Stengel, *Die griech. Sakralaltertümer*, § 116, p. 157 *sq.* There was a sanctuary of Sciradian Athena in Salamis (Herodotus, viii. 94; see note on i. 35. 2). Some think that there was another temple or sanctuary of Sciradian Athena at Scirum on the road from Athens to Eleusis (see note on i. 36. 4).

1. 4. **altars of gods named Unknown.** It is impossible from Pausanias's expression to determine whether there was one altar or several altars of Unknown Gods at Phalerum; and, supposing there were several, we cannot tell whether each altar was dedicated to the Unknown God (in the singular), or to Unknown Gods (in the plural). At Olympia there was a single altar to Unknown Gods (v. 14. 8). St. Paul saw an altar at Athens dedicated to the Unknown God (*Acts* xvii. 23). The Greek commentator Oecumenius, on this passage of *Acts*, says that the full inscription on the altar was: "To the gods of Asia and Europe and Libya, to the Unknown and Strange God" (quoted in Lomeier, *De veterum gentilium lustrationibus*, p. 32). Tertullian says that there was an altar at Athens dedicated to Unknown Gods (*Ad Nationes*, ii. 9). Philostratus speaks of altars of unknown divinities at Athens (*Vit. Apollon.* vi. 3. 5; Suidas, *s.v.* Τιμασίων). There seems in fact to have been a number of such altars in Attica, and an explanation of them, which has every mark of probability, is given by Diogenes Laertius (i. 10. 110). He says that when Athens was wasted by a plague, the seer Epimenides was fetched from Crete in the year 496-495

B.C. to put an end to it. He did so in the following way. He took some black and white sheep to the Areopagus and there turned them loose, with orders that the sheep should be followed, and that wherever any one of them lay down it should be sacrificed to the appropriate god. In this way the plague was stayed. "Whence," adds Diogenes, "you may find to this day nameless altars in the townships of the Athenians, a memorial of the expiation which was then accomplished." Similarly, when the Philistines, after capturing the ark of God, were grievously distressed by a pestilence, they put the ark on a new cart, yoked two milch kine to the cart, and let them draw it where they pleased. The kine went with the ark to the land of Israel, and when the cart came to a stand the Israelites sacrificed the kine (1 *Samuel* vi. 1-14). Greek legends of the founding of cities on spots indicated by animals are based on the same belief in the correct religious instinct (so to say) of the lower creatures (see note on x. 6. 2).

In the dialogue *Philopatris*, attributed to Lucian, a certain Critias raps out a number of oaths by the old heathen gods and goddesses, for each of which he is gravely taken to task by his comrade Triephon, who has just been initiated into the sublime mysteries of the Christian theology by a person of a Hebrew cast of countenance, whom he describes as a bald-pated, long-nosed Galilaean. At last Critias swears by the Unknown God at Athens (§ 9), and this oath is allowed to pass unchallenged by Triephon, who winds up the dialogue thus: "Let us, having found out and worshipped the Unknown God at Athens, raise our hands to heaven and give him thanks that we have been found worthy to be subject unto so great a power; but let us leave other folk to babble, satisfied ourselves with applying to them the proverb 'Hippoclides doesn't care.'"

The cautious spirit of polytheism which induced the Athenians to set up altars to Unknown Gods is illustrated by the practice of the Romans on the occasion of earthquakes. Not feeling sure what god or goddess caused an earthquake, whenever a shock was felt they proclaimed a holy day, but without mentioning the deity to whom the day was holy; and if the day were desecrated, the expiatory sacrifice was offered not to any definite deity but to a being designated vaguely as "whether god or goddess" (Aulus Gellius, ii. 28). Minucius Felix refers to the custom of erecting altars to unknown gods and ghosts (*Octavius*, vi. 2). Varro distinguished the uncertain gods from the certain (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 3): and it was the custom of the Roman pontiffs at all sacrifices, after invoking the special deities, to call upon the gods in general (Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 21). Similarly, when the Zulus sacrifice an ox to the Amatongo or spirits of their forefathers "they unite all the Amatongo in one invitation, for some of them they no longer know by name; but the dead know all of the living, and continually help them and do not forsake them: and on that account the living say, 'Come, all of you, and eat.' For at first those who were known were called by name; but by doing so they summoned disease, and it was very great: and they went to the diviner, saying, 'Hau! what is the meaning then of this, that we have

killed so great an ox of our tribe, and yet cannot get any breathing time? What is the meaning of this?' And the diviner tells them, there is a man whom they have not worshipped, whom they do not know, an old woman or an infant; it is they who find fault. And thus arose the custom of making no distinction; and all are now invited together" (Callaway, *The religious system of the Amazulu*, pt. 2. p. 176 *sq.*)

We find the worship of an Unknown God among the Incas of Peru. Garcilasso de la Vega says: "Besides the sun they worshipped Pachacamac (as has been said) inwardly, as an Unknown God. They held him in greater veneration than the sun. They did not offer sacrifices nor build temples to him; because they said that he was not known to them, never having allowed himself to be seen. In its proper place we shall speak of the famous and most wealthy temple in the valley called Pachacamac, dedicated to this Unknown God" (*Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, First Part, bk. ii. ch. 4, Markham's translation). The enlightened Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, is said to have built a temple "to the Unknown God, cause of causes" (Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, 2. p. 106 note; cp. J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 473 *sq.*; Bancroft, *Native races of the Pacific States*, 3. p. 196 *sq.*)

1. 4. **altars —— of heroes.** These heroes were probably Nausithous and Phaeax, who had shrines at Phalerum beside the sanctuary of Scirus. Nausithous was said to have been the steersman, and Phaeax the look-out man of Theseus's ship on his voyage to Crete. A festival called Kybernesia ('steering festival') was held in their honour. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17.

1. 4. **Phalerus sailed with Jason.** Cp. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 96; *Orphic hymns*, *Argonautica*, 144 *sq.*

1. 4. **an altar also of Androgeus —— called the altar of the hero.** Cp. i. 27. 10. Clement of Alexandria says (*Protrept.* ii. 40, p. 35, ed. Potter) that at Phalerum a certain hero was worshipped "at the stern" (τιμᾶται δέ τις καὶ Φαληροῖ κατὰ πρύμναν ἥρως), and the scholiast on this passage of Clement says that this hero was Androgeus, and that he was thus designated "because he founded the sterns of ships." Otherwise we should have been tempted to suppose that "the hero at the stern" was Nausithous, steersman of Theseus (see above). Funeral games were celebrated in the Ceramicus at Athens in honour of a certain Eurygyes, who is said to have been identical with Androgeus (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐπ' Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγών).

1. 5. **Cape Colias.** Leake and Prof. Milchhöfer identify Cape Colias with the rocky headland which is or used to be called *Trispyrgi*, situated about 600 yards to the south of *St. George*, the site of the ancient Phalerum (see above, p. 11 *sq.*) But Pausanias says that Cape Colias was 20 furlongs from Phalerum. Hence Ulrichs, Bursian, and Mr. Kastromenos are probably right in identifying Cape Colias with the modern Cape *Cosmas*, a low narrow tongue of land which projects into the sea with a steep shelving beach about three miles to the south-east of *St. George.* On the extremity of the cape is the small church of St. Cosmas, visible from Piraeus. Some large squared blocks are built into

the walls of the church. A few paces inland are some large substructions, and further in the direction of Athens there are the remains of considerable buildings. The country in the neighbourhood is barren, solitary, and desolate in a high degree. The stony and broken soil is traversed by the beds, generally dry, of many brooks. As far as the eye can reach, from the sea to the foot of Mt. Hymettus, ancient tombs are seen dotted over the landscape, rising in the form of mounds above the stunted bushes which cover the low ground. Melancholy at all times, the landscape is doubly gloomy in winter, when dark clouds lower on Mt. Hymettus and shut out the view across the sea to the coast of Peloponnese. See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 51 *sq.*; Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 182 *sq.*; Bursian, i. p. 361 ; A. Conze, in *Annali dell' Instituto di Corr. Archeol.* 36 (1864), p. 183 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft ii. p. 1 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 45 *sqq.* Strabo placed Cape Colias in the neighbourhood of Anaphlystus (ix. p. 398), which is a great deal too far south (see note on ii. 30. 9). On the other hand, Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Κωλιάς) placed it at Phalerum, which is in favour of identifying Cape Colias with *Trispyrgi*.

1. 5. **on which —— the wrecks were washed up.** See Herodotus, viii. 96 ; cp. Strabo, ix. p. 398.

1. 5. **an image of Colian Aphrodite, and —— the goddesses named Genetyllides.** A sanctuary of Colian Aphrodite is mentioned by Strabo (ix. p. 398), Harpocration and Hesychius (*s.v.* Κωλιάς), and the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 2). The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 52, says there was a temple of the goddess, and he gives a number of more or less absurd explanations of the name Colian. The priest of the goddess had a seat in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 339). The Genetyllides were goddesses of birth ; Aphrodite herself was called Genetyllis. (See Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 52 ; *id.*, *Lysist.* 2 ; *id.*, *Thesmoph.* 130 ; the scholia on all these passages ; and Suidas, *s.v.* Γενετυλλίς). According to Hesychius (*s.v.* Γενετυλλίς) Genetyllis resembled Hecate and dogs were offered to her. On some Athenian coins there appears, beside the usual owl, a figure holding in its right hand three draped female figures. Beulé interpreted this device as the Colian Aphrodite with the Genetyllides (*Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 365 *sq.*) But it seems rather to be the Delian Apollo with the Graces. See note on ix. 35. 3. Cp. J. J. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 204. A terra-cotta group found in the south of Russia represents Aphrodite and Cupid with a tiny draped female figure standing beside Cupid. Stephani interpreted the small female figure as Genetyllis or Ilithyia. See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1873, pp. 10-16, Atlas i. No. 2 ; cp. *id.* for 1875, p. 74 *sq.*; *id.* for 1880, p. 117.

1. 5. **On the way from Phalerum to Athens** etc. Pausanias first approaches Athens from Phalerum and enters it (i. 2. 1) ; then he retraces his steps, approaches it again from Piraeus (i. 2. 2), and enters it (i. 2. 4). His description of the city, including digressions, lasts till i. 29. 2, when he quits it and proceeds towards the Academy.

1. 5. a temple of Hera that has neither doors nor roof etc. Cp. x. 35. 2.

1. 5. The existing image is, so they say, a work of Alcamenes; it cannot, therefore, have been injured by the Medes. Pausanias means that if the statue was really by Alcamenes, it must have been executed later than the Persian invasion, and therefore could not have been injured when the temple was burnt by the Persians, for the artistic career of Alcamenes did not begin till after the Persian invasion (see note on v. 10. 8). Pausanias found the image, as well as the temple, damaged. Hence one of two inferences might be drawn: (1) if the image was by Alcamenes the injury to it could not have been inflicted by the Persians; (2) if the injury to the image was inflicted by the Persians, then the image could not have been made by Alcamenes. Pausanias seems to have taken the former view, namely that the image was by Alcamenes and had been damaged at some time subsequent to the Persian invasion. But this view is improbable, since it implies that a new image had been set up in a burnt and roofless temple. If the temple was really burnt by the Persians, as Pausanias appears to have believed, it is much more likely that the image was not by Alcamenes. Attempts have been made to identify existing statues as copies of the image in question. But since we know absolutely nothing about the image, these attempts are necessarily futile.

Cp. v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, i. p. 235 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] i. p. 380; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 3. pp. 40 *sq.*, 192 note 31; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 140; R. Förster, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 38 (1883), p. 422 *sq.*; J. Six, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), p. 111; Petersen, 'Hera von Alkamenes,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Instituts*, Römische Abtheilung, 4 (1889), pp. 65-74; F. Koepp, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 5 (1890), pp. 274-277; E. Reisch, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 17 *sq.*

2. 1. Entering the city we come to the tomb of Antiope the Amazon. From this it appears that the tomb of Antiope was just inside the city-wall of Athens. Plutarch tells us that a certain tombstone beside the sanctuary of Olympian Earth at Athens was thought by some to mark the grave of Antiope the Amazon who had been slain in the battle between Theseus and the Amazons (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27, reading Γῆς for τῆς). This tombstone doubtless belonged to the tomb mentioned by Pausanias. Now the sanctuary of Olympian Earth was within or near the precincts of the Olympieum (Paus. i. 18. 7); hence the gate by which Pausanias entered Athens from Phalerum must have been near the Olympieum. The tomb of Antiope is no doubt the same with the tombstone of the Amazon which is mentioned by Plato (*Axiochus*, p. 364 d-365 a) as being near the Itonian gate. Hence we conclude that the gate by which the road from Phalerum entered Athens was named the Itonian gate, and that it was not far from the Olympieum. The exact spot seems to be about 330 paces south of the Military Hospital where the present high-road from Phalerum crosses the line of the ancient city-wall and where two roads diverge from it to the south-east. At this point ancient foundations either of the wall or of the gate have been

found stretching across the whole width of the high-road. See E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. p. 67; A. Pervanoglu, in *Philologus*, 25 (1867), p. 337 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. p. 151 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 147, 149; Lolling: 'Topographie von Athen' (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. 3), p. 305. At the supposed site of the gate was found an inscription recording the erection of a tower (doubtless on the city-wall) by some citizens (see *Revue archéologique*, N.S. 21 (1870), p. 319 *sqq.*) In another inscription found about the same spot (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 161 *sqq.*; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 53 a, p. 66 *sq.*), mention is made of the gate through which persons initiated in the mysteries passed out to go to the sea. The gate referred to was probably near the Itonian gate. The Long Wall from Phalerum (see above, p. 12) appears to have joined the circuit-wall of Athens immediately to the east of the Itonian gate, perhaps at the point where the remains of a square tower are still to be seen. Thus the road to Phalerum ran inside the Long Wall. See Kaupert, in *Monatsbericht* of the Berlin Academy for 1879, p. 633; Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft ii. p. 2, and in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 147; Lolling, 'Topographie von Athen,' p. 301. Professor E. Curtius formerly placed the junction of the two walls to the west of the Itonian gate, on the eastern slope of the Museum hill (Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 11). The square tower to the east of the Itonian gate is mentioned by Professor Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. p. 67.

2. 1. **Antiope was carried off by Pirithous and Theseus.** As to the various stories about Antiope and Theseus, see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 26 *sq.* A vase-painting represents Theseus in the act of carrying off Antiope in his arms; he is followed by Pirithous. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 1 (1833), tav. lv. The marriage of Theseus and Antiope is thought to be depicted on another vase-painting. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 4 (1847), tav. xliii.

2. 2. **Going up from Piraeus we come to ruins of the walls which Conon reared** etc. Pausanias is guilty of a serious historical blunder in supposing that the Long Walls which united Athens to Piraeus were originally built by Themistocles. What Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to do was to fortify Piraeus (Thucydides, i. 93). The construction of the Long Walls was a later work, the precise date of which cannot be fixed with certainty. Thucydides says (i. 107): "About this time the Athenians also began to build the Long Walls to the sea, namely the wall to Phalerum and the wall to Piraeus." The date referred to seems to be about 460 B.C. The walls were completed in a few years, apparently soon after the battle of Oenophyta in 456 B.C. (Thucydides, i. 108; the difficulty of laying the foundations in the marshy ground is mentioned by Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13). Thus the two Long Walls first built were those to Phalerum and Piraeus, the old and the new port of Athens. But between Piraeus and Phalerum there was a long line of undefended coast, on which an enemy could easily land and sever Athens from its ports. Hence Pericles induced the Athenians to build a third Long Wall, namely the wall to Munychia.

which was known as the Middle Wall because it lay between the wall to Piraeus and the wall to Phalerum (Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 455 e, with the scholiast; Harpocration, *s.v.* *διὰ μέσου τείχους*). Its construction was not begun till after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Peace between Athens and Sparta in 445 B.C., if we can trust the evidence of Andocides (iii. 7) and Aeschines (ii. 174). The architect was Callicrates, the colleague of Ictinus in building the Parthenon; but the work proceeded slowly (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13; *id.*, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 8). Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 556 *sqq.* By the completion of the Middle Long Wall from Athens to Munychia the capital and its port were converted into one vast fortress, a day's journey in circumference (Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. 1, p. 305 ed. Dindorf), without a single break in the circuit-wall except at the gates and the mouths of the harbours. There can be little doubt that, as I have already indicated (above, p. 11), the construction of this immense fortress was a military and political blunder, committed solely out of deference to the religious and sentimental attachment of the Athenians to the old city. It weakened Athens both for defence and offence. For the enormous length of the fortification-walls invited attack and, by needing a very large garrison to man them, locked up a powerful military force which might have been used for purposes of offence. If the clear-sighted and cool-headed Themistocles, untrammelled by the religious and sentimental weaknesses of his countrymen, had had his way, he would, by transferring the capital to Piraeus, have added incalculably to the power of Athens abroad. Cp. E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 109 *sqq.*

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war in 431 B.C., the three Long Walls were still intact (Thucydides, ii. 13), but apparently in the course of that war the Phaleric wall was suffered to fall into decay, or was actually destroyed as no longer necessary, and henceforward the wall to Piraeus and the wall to Munychia were the Long Walls exclusively, that to Piraeus being known as the northern, that to Munychia as the southern wall (Harpocration, *s.v.* *διὰ μέσου τείχους*; Andocides, iii. 5 and 7; Aeschines, ii. 173 and 174; Plato, *Republic*, iv. 439 e; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 167, line 120; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, No. 771, line 120). The proof that the wall to Phalerum must have ceased to exist before the end of the Peloponnesian war is afforded by the conditions of peace offered by the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians; for these conditions included a demand that each of the two Long Walls should be pulled down for a distance of 10 furlongs (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 2. 15; Lysias, xiii. 8). This implies that only two Long Walls were then in existence. But when Athens actually capitulated in 404 B.C., the whole of the Long Walls, as well as the fortifications of Piraeus, were razed to the ground (Plutarch, *Lysander*, 14; Diodorus, xiii. 107, xiv. 85). They were rebuilt by Conon in 393 B.C., after his naval victory won at Cnidus in 394 B.C., as we learn from the present passage of Pausanias (cp. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 8. 10; Diodorus, xiv. 85: Xenophon and Diodorus only speak of the restoration of "the walls," but under this they probably included the Long Walls). They may have been once more destroyed by Antigonus when he withdrew his

garrison from Athens in 256 B.C. (Paus. iii. 6. 6; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 628 *sq.*) At all events, when Philip, king of Macedonia, attacked Athens in 200 B.C., the Long Walls were half in ruins (Livy, xxxi. 26). They are mentioned in an inscription of Roman date (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 169 *sq.*), but the reference is doubtless to the ruins of them. In ruins they remained in Pausanias's time, as he here tells us.

In modern times remains of the Long Walls from Athens to Piraeus were visible down to the beginning of the present century. In 1676 Wheler saw the foundations in many places lying in a straight line (*Journey*, p. 420). Last century Stuart saw square towers at intervals and remains of the walls 12 feet thick, formed of large squared blocks bonded together with iron clamps (C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 188). In Leake's time the foundations of the northern Long Wall could be traced for a mile and a half, beginning at half a mile from the head of the great harbour, and running exactly in the direction of the entrance to the Acropolis. These foundations, 12 feet thick and resting on the natural rock, were formed of large quadrangular blocks of stone, put together in the solid style which characterised the works of Themistocles. The southern Long Wall was not so easily traceable, except at its junction with the walls of Munychia and for half a mile thence towards Athens. See Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 417 *sq.* The modern high-road from Piraeus to Athens, constructed in 1835, is largely laid on the foundations of the northern Long Wall (Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 188). As to the scanty traces of the Long Walls which can still be detected, see Kaupert, in *Monatsbericht* of the Berlin Academy for 1879, p. 628 *sq.*

The length of each of the Long Walls was 40 Greek furlongs (*stades*) according to Thucydides (ii. 13. 9). Mr. Kaupert has estimated the length of the northern Long Wall at 6610 metres, and that of the southern Long Wall at 6620 metres (*Monatsbericht* of the Berlin Academy for 1879, p. 630). The two walls, starting from two points in the outer wall of Piraeus (see above, p. 10), first converged, then ran parallel to each other at a distance of 184 metres till they approached Athens, when they again diverged. The northern wall seems to have joined the ring-wall of Athens on the west side of the Nymphaeum hill near the modern Observatory; while the southern wall joined the city-wall on the summit of the Museum hill. At the point where the Long Walls began to diverge as they approached Athens, they were joined by a cross-wall in which there was a gate. See E. Curtius, *Erläuternder Text der sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, p. 33; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 332 *sqq.*; Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 11; Kaupert, in *Monatsbericht* of the Berlin Academy for 1879, pp. 619, 620, 628, 631; von Alten and Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika, Text*, Heft i. p. 6, Heft ii. p. 4 *sq.* Some information as to the construction of the Long Walls is furnished by an inscription dealing with repairs which seem to have been undertaken in 307 or 306 B.C. See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 167; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, No. 771; Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 276; C.

Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 616 note 2 ; *id.*, 2. pp. vi. *sqq.*; Choisy, *Études épigraphiques sur l'architecture Grecque*, pp. 43-80.

Two roads at least seem to have united Piraeus and Athens ; one of them ran between the Long Walls, the other ran a little outside of the northern Long Wall (see above, p. 10). The road between the Long Walls must, in entering Athens, have passed through the rugged stony defile between the Museum hill and the Pnyx hill ; whereas the road outside the north wall would lie on level ground the whole way. Hence the latter, as the more convenient, was probably the regular thoroughfare in time of peace ; while the road between the Long Walls would be important only in time of war when the country outside was infested by prowling bands of the enemy. Pausanias on his way from Piraeus to Athens must have taken, or at least must have supposed his readers to take, the road outside the Long Walls, for he mentions graves by the way. That a road did run outside the northern Long Wall to Piraeus appears from a passage in Plato (*Repub.* iv. p. 439 e), where it is said that a certain man coming up from Piraeus under the northern wall, on the outside, perceived corpses lying at the place of public execution. "The carriage road to Piraeus" mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, ii. 4. 10) was probably the road outside the Long Walls. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 177 *sqq.*

2. 2. **the grave of Menander.** The epitaph which seems to have been engraved on his tomb is preserved in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* vii. 370).

2. 2. **a cenotaph of Euripides.** The epitaph carved on this cenotaph is said to have been composed by the historian Thucydides or the musician Timotheus. It has been preserved. See *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 135, 140 ; *Anthol. Palat.* vii. 45. The common tale ran that Euripides was accidentally torn to pieces by the hunting dogs of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, who had hospitably received the poet at his court. See *Biogr. Gr.* ed. Westermann, pp. 136, 140 ; Diodorus, xiii. 103. Between Athens and Piraeus there are the remains of a large tumulus which Dodwell thought (i. p. 416) might be the cenotaph of Euripides. It was found to contain broken vases, bones of animals, etc. But as the tumulus is between the lines of the two Long Walls it must be older than they, and cannot therefore be the cenotaph of Euripides. See *Karten von Attika*, *Text*, Heft ii. p. 5.

2. 3. **Anacreon resided with Polycrates.** Cp. Herodotus, iii. 121 ; Strabo, xiv. p. 638.

2. 3. **Philoxenus resided with Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant.** An inscription found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens contains a decree of the Athenian people in honour of Dionysius the tyrant and some of his household, amongst whom is mentioned a certain Philoxenus or Polyxenus (the name is mutilated in the inscription and its restoration is uncertain). If Philoxenus be the name in the inscription, the reference may be to the poet. See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 8 ; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 71 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 54.

2. 3. **Antagoras the Rhodian and Aratus —— resided with**

Antigonus. See *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 50 *sq.*, 56, 60, 61 ; Athenaeus, viii. p. 340 e f.

2. 3. **Alcinous was attended by Demodocus.** See Homer, *Odyssey*, viii. 43 *sqq.*

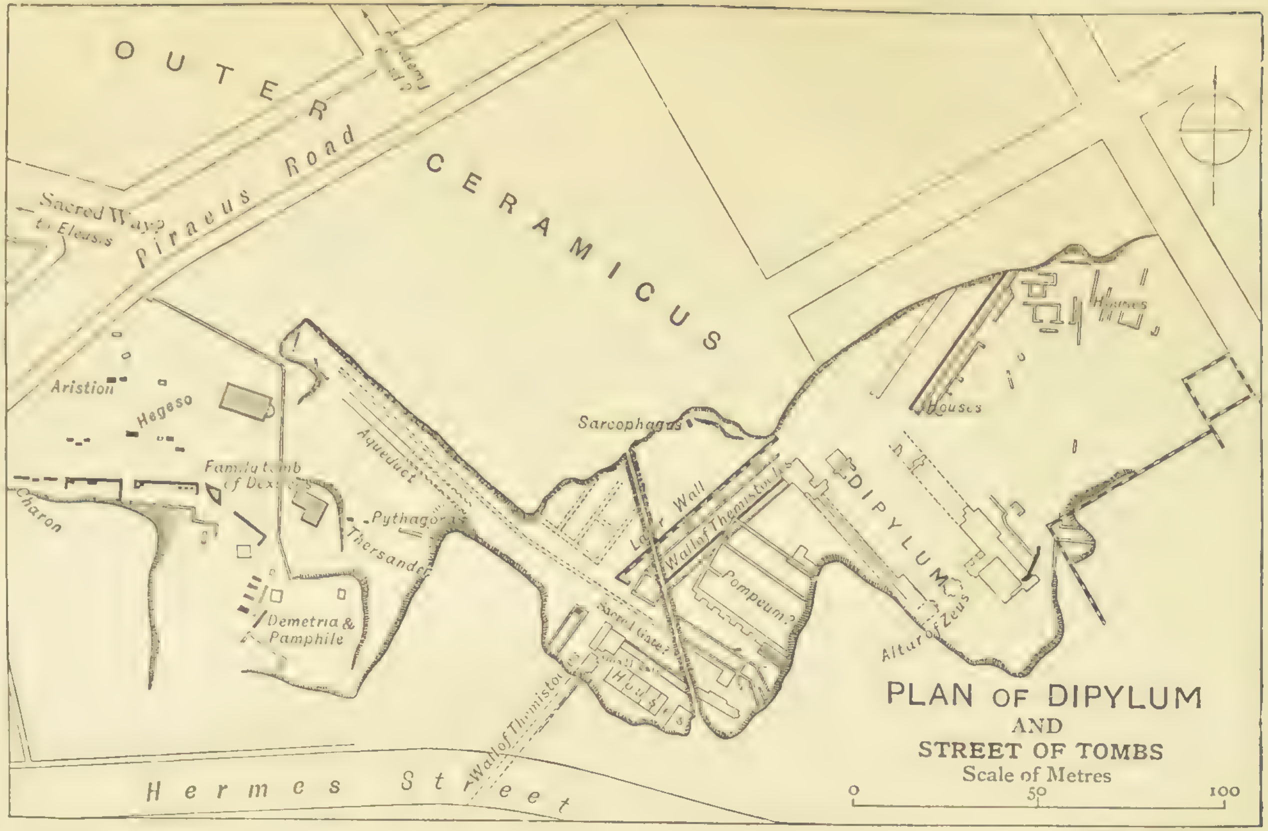
2. 3. **Agamemnon left a poet with his wife.** Homer, *Od.* iii. 267 *sqq.*

2. 3. **a grave surmounted by a warrior.** It has been conjectured that this grave was the shrine of the hero Chalcodon, which stood near the Piraeic gate of Athens (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27). But the grave mentioned by Pausanias would seem to have been a common tomb, not a shrine of a hero (ἡρῷον).

2. 4. **When we have entered into the city** etc. The question, By which gate did Pausanias enter Athens from Piraeus? has been much discussed. There appear to have been at least four gates on the west and north-west sides of Athens, through all of which roads led to Piraeus: (1) There was a gate in the saddle between the Museum hill and the Pnyx. This is proved by the traces of an ancient road crossing the saddle; the deep ruts in the rock for the wheels of the chariots and the cross grooves to prevent the feet of the beasts from slipping are still to be seen. (2) There was a gate between the Pnyx and the Nymphaeum hill; the remains of the gate are still visible on the saddle. (3) There was a gate between the Nymphaeum hill and the low height on which stands a chapel of St. Athanasius; the foundations of the gate still exist. (4) On the north-west side of the city there was the great gate called the Dipylum. See B. Schmidt, *Die Thorfrage in der Topographie Athens*, p. 3; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 147; Lolling, 'Topographie von Athen,' p. 303. Of these gates, the first two were between the Long Walls, and the roads leading through them to Piraeus seem to have converged and met a little way outside the gates. Gates (3) and (4) were outside the Long Walls, and the roads from them to Piraeus seem also to have converged and met some way outside the city. We have seen that Pausanias approached Athens by the high-road which ran outside of the Long Walls (see above, p. 41). Hence he cannot have entered it by either of the first two gates, but must have entered it by gate (3) or gate (4). The former (gate 3) seems to have been the gate called the Piraeic gate (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27; *id.*, *Sulla*, 14; see E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, 1. p. 66; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 147; Lolling, however, thought that gate No. 2 answers better to the Piraeic gate, 'Topographie von Athen,' p. 303). The question thus reduces itself to this: Did Pausanias enter Athens from Piraeus by the Piraeic gate or by the Dipylum?

The Dipylum was the chief gate of Athens. Thus Livy (xxxi. 24) speaks of it as larger and wider than the other gates and situated, as it were, in the front of the city. Again it appears that the regular way from Piraeus was through the Dipylum (Polybius, xvi. 25; Lucian, *Navigium*, 17 and 46; *id.*, *Dial. Meretr.* iv. 2 *sq.*) Moreover, the road through the Dipylum, though not the shortest, was the most convenient; for it avoided all hills and led straight into the chief quarter of the city. For these and other reasons, which will appear in the sequel,

Plate III.



Walker & Boutall sc.

Vol. II. to face page 42

it seems probable that Pausanias chose to begin his tour through Athens at the Dipylum rather than at the Piraeic gate. This is the view now generally accepted. See on the question Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 226 *sqq.*; E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, 2. p. 17; Bursian, 1. p. 278, note 3; K. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), p. 396 *sqq.*; Forchhammer, in *Philologus*, 33 (1874), p. 103 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 182 *sqq.*; B. Schmidt, *Die Thorfrage in der Topographie Athens* (Freiburg im B. 1879); Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 160; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 310.

The remains of the Dipylum were excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1872-1874. They are situated on the north-west side of Athens about 160 yards east of the chapel of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada) and about the same distance north-west of the Piraeus railway station. A long stretch of the ancient city-wall was here excavated at the same time. The Dipylum was a double gate. An outer gate in the city-wall, facing north-west, led into an oblong court about 40.5 metres (about 133 feet) long, at the inner end of which there was a second gate. The outer gate is not flush with the city-wall but stands about 26 feet back from it. The approach to it was flanked on both sides by towers from which the defenders could rake a body of assailants advancing to attack the gate. A considerable portion of the southern (more strictly south-western) tower is preserved. It is 7 metres (23 feet) square, and is constructed of solid masonry, the core being composed of blocks of conglomerate of uniform size, while the outer facing is formed of courses of well cut and well jointed blocks of limestone. The outer gate was itself, in another sense, double; *i.e.* it had two openings, each 3.45 metres (about 11 feet) wide, divided by a pier of masonry 3.76 metres (about 12 feet 4 inches) wide. The lower part of this pier is preserved. Immediately in front of it, on the outer side of the gate, is a square base, perhaps the remnant of a sepulchral monument. The construction of the inner gate was similar. Immediately behind its central pier, on the inner or city side, is a square base supporting a round marble altar in its original position. An inscription on the altar (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1664) informs us that the altar was sacred to Zeus of the Courtyard, to Hermes, and to Acamas. This Acamas was the eponymous hero of the tribe Acamantis, and was appropriately worshipped here, since this quarter of the city (namely the Ceramicus) was a township belonging to the tribe Acamis (U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 288). The intention of placing a gate within a gate, as at the Dipylum, has been already explained (p. 20); it was to furnish the defenders with a second line of defence in case the first should be carried. In 200 B.C. Philip V., king of Macedonia, forced his way, at the head of a handful of cavalry, into this very court of the Dipylum, between the outer and the inner gate, but he was driven out again (Livy, xxxi. 24).

The excavations of 1873-74 brought to light another double gate in the city-wall to the south-west of the Dipylum and only 60 yards distant from it. The general construction of this second gate resembles that of the Dipylum, but it is on a smaller scale. An outer gate, flanked

by towers, led into a long narrow court, at the further end of which there was an inner gate. This inner gate was flanked by bastions, the limestone foundations of which still remain. The strong tower which flanked the outer gate on the south-west stands in its original position: but the tower on the north-east side of the gate has been apparently moved back in order to make room for a vaulted water-channel of very late construction. This double gate to the south-west of the Dipylum is the oldest part of the wall, and probably dates from Themistocles's time. It may be the Sacred Gate mentioned by Plutarch in a passage (*Sulla*, 14) where he says that in the siege of Athens by the Romans Sulla entered the city through a breach which he had made in the wall between the Piraeic Gate and the Sacred Gate. There certainly would not be two gates for ordinary traffic only 60 yards from each other. The dead were carried out through the Sacred Gate (Theophrastus, *Characters*, 14), just as in Burma and Laos the dead are carried out through a particular gate in the city wall, which is hence called 'the Gate of Sorrow' or 'the Gate of the Dead' (Sangermanno, *Burmese Empire*, p. 143; E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, p. 253). Dr. Dörpfeld, however, believes that this supposed Sacred Gate to the south-west of the Dipylum was not a gate at all, but only an opening in the wall for the passage of the water of the brook Eridanus (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 214; *id.*, 14 (1889), p. 414 *sq.*; as to the Eridanus, see note on i. 19. 5).

Between the Dipylum and the supposed Sacred Gate remains of the old city-wall, or rather of two such walls, an inner wall and an outer wall, are still standing. The inner wall consists of two rows of well cut, well jointed polygonal blocks of a fine blue limestone set up on their narrow edges and enclosing between them a core of rubble. The wall is only 2.40 metres (7 feet 10 inches) thick. Its upper portion was probably constructed originally of unburnt bricks, like the walls of Mantinea and other Greek fortresses (see note on viii. 8. 7); but it appears that at a later time it was strengthened by the placing of large blocks upon the socle of polygonal stones. The outer wall, built at a later period for the sake of strengthening the original inner wall, is 4.30 metres (about 14 feet) thick, and is composed of an outer and inner facing of regularly cut blocks of conglomerate, the intermediate space being filled with earth: only the lower part of the wall is preserved. Such are the remains of the city-walls between the Dipylum and the Sacred Gate. But beyond the Sacred Gate both walls, the inner and the outer, are prolonged to the south-west for about 40 yards as far as the slope of the rocky eminence on which stands the chapel of St. Athanasius. Here both walls come to an end, the rocky slope having been apparently judged a sufficient natural defence. In this part, between the Sacred Gate and the hill of St. Athanasius, both walls are standing to a greater height than in the part between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylum. Of the inner wall seven or eight courses are standing to a height of 4 metres (13 feet). Its lower part is built of large polygonal blocks of limestone, the interstices being filled with smaller stones. Its upper part, being built of large blocks of all sorts,

including pieces of columns and two seats of a theatre, is clearly a later restoration : it may have been constructed by the Athenians at the same time that they were repairing the breach which Sulla made in the wall between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylum. The outer wall is here 9 metres (about 30 feet) distant from the inner wall. It is built of quadrangular blocks of conglomerate and is in part preserved to a height of no less than sixteen courses, of which, however, the four top courses seem to have formed a parapet. In the inner wall, immediately to the west of the tower which flanks the supposed Sacred Gate on the southwest, there is a small postern gate. It may be the little gate in the Ceramicus mentioned by Isaeus (vi. 20) at which wine was sold.

In the opposite direction, namely to the north-east from the Dipylum, the inner and the outer walls can be traced for distances respectively of about 55 and 40 yards. The inner wall is here constructed just like the piece between the Dipylum and the Sacred Gate ; but the outer wall is here very ruinous.

With regard to the dates at which these walls and gates were built it seems that the supposed Sacred Gate and the lower, polygonal part of the inner wall belong to the oldest fortification of Athens, namely the one carried out by Themistocles soon after the Persian wars. The Dipylum, a somewhat later structure, was probably built by Pericles. As to the date of the outer wall, opinions have varied greatly. Prof. Adler placed it in the age of Justinian ; Lieut. von Alten in the age of Pericles. Perhaps the most probable view is that of Prof. C. Wachsmuth, that it was built in the Macedonian period at a time when the great advance in the art of military engineering, particularly in the construction of formidable battering machines, necessitated the strengthening of the old walls of Themistocles.

A boundary-stone bearing the inscription "Boundary of the Ceramicus" (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1101) stands in its original position against the outer face of the inner wall, between the Dipylum and the Sacred Gate, about 10 feet from the square tower which flanked the Dipylum on the south-west. The inscription is repeated twice on opposite sides of the stone : the letters are arranged perpendicularly, one above the other. From the character of the letters it would seem that the inscription belongs to the first half of the second century B.C. The base and lower part of another boundary-stone were found in a corresponding position on the north side of the Dipylum ; but the upper part, with the inscription, was lost (*Πρακτικὰ τῆς* 'Αρχ. '*Εταιρ.*, June 1873—June 1874, p. 15 *sq.*)

See *Πρακτικὰ τῆς* '*Αρχαιολ.* '*Εταιρίας*, June 1871—June 1872, p. 8 *sqq.* ; *id.*, June 1872—June 1873, p. 15 *sqq.* ; *id.*, June 1873—June 1874, p. 9 *sqq.* ; *id.*, June 1874—Dec. 1875, p. 13 *sqq.* ; *id.*, 1879 (pub. 1880), p. 7 *sqq.* ; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 32 (1875), p. 157 *sqq.* ; G. von Alten, 'Die Thoranlagen bei der Hagia Triada,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 28-48 ; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 146 *sq.*, 149, 160 ; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 303 *sq.* ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 6 *sqq.* ; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 199-202, 209-212, 216-224.

2. 4. **a building for the getting ready of the processions.** This was the building called the Pompeium (Πομπεῖον from πομπή 'a procession'). It contained a bronze statue of Socrates by Lysippus (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 43), and was adorned with paintings, including portraits of Isocrates ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* iv. p. 839 c) and the comedians (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 140). Some part of it, perhaps a colonnade, was open to the public; for Diogenes the Cynic seems to have passed his time partly in the Pompeium and partly in the colonnade of Zeus (Diogenes Laertius, vi. 2. 22). In a time of scarcity corn was distributed in the Pompeium (Demosthenes, xxxiv. 39, p. 918). The building is mentioned in an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 834 c, line 20, p. 531). Leake thought (*Athens*, 1. p. 108 note 4) that the *pompeia*, or gold and silver vessels used in the processions (Thucydides, ii. 13; Diodorus, xii. 40), were kept in the Pompeium. But this seems unlikely. They were probably kept for safety on the Acropolis with the rest of the sacred treasures. It has been plausibly conjectured that the large quadrangular building of which the foundations, constructed of large blocks of Piraeic limestone, are still to be seen just inside of the city-wall, between the Dipylum and the supposed Sacred Gate, may have been the Pompeium. Its north-west angle cuts into the inner of the two parallel city-walls, a little to the south-west of the Dipylum. The building seems to have been divided into three aisles. See von Alten, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 47; B. Schmidt, *Die Thorfrage in der Topographie Athens*, p. 21 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 161; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 312 *sq.* The mention of the Pompeium close to the gate by which Pausanias entered Athens is another reason for believing that that gate was the Dipylum. For the Pompeium would naturally be at the Dipylum, since processions would no doubt commonly pass through the chief gate.

2. 4. **a temple of Demeter with images** etc. This was probably the Iaccheum or sanctuary of Iacchus at which a grandson of the great Aristides earned a precarious livelihood by interpreting dreams, which he did by means of a board or diagram (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 27). The place was indeed a favourite resort of dream-interpreters, who sat here with their boards in front of them and charged two drachms (1s. 4d.) for a consultation (Alciphron, iii. 59). These fellows would naturally choose some frequented thoroughfare in which to ply their trade, and there was probably no busier street in Athens than the one which led from the Dipylum to the market-place. As to Iacchus, see Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, p. 39 *sqq.*; Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 292 *sq.*

2. 4. **An inscription in Attic letters on the wall declares that they are works of Praxiteles.** These three statues of Demeter, Proserpine, and Iacchus by Praxiteles are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iv. 62, p. 54 ed. Potter). The statue of Iacchus seems to have been the most admired of the three, for Cicero asks "What would the Athenians take in exchange for the marble statue of Iacchus?" (*In Verrem*, iv. 60). The "Attic letters" of the inscription are the letters of the old Attic alphabet of eighteen letters which was officially abolished

ANCIENT ATHENS



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in the archonship of Euclides (403-402 B.C.) in favour of the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters. At Olympia Pausanias remarked an inscription in the old Attic alphabet (vi. 19. 6). Characteristic of the Ionic, as distinguished from the Attic alphabet, was the use of symbols for the long ε (H) and long ο (Ω) and of single letters for the two double consonants Ξ and Ψ, which in the Attic alphabet were represented by double letters (ΧΣ and ΦΣ). The forms of some of the letters were also different. The Ionic alphabet had been more or less in private use at Athens since the time of the Persian wars; but in public inscriptions the old Attic alphabet was retained till 403-402 B.C., when the new or Ionic alphabet was officially adopted and the old laws were transcribed in it. Hence all public inscriptions of Athens are divided into two groups, according as they date from before or after the archonship of Euclides. See Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 92 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Griech. Geschichte*,[6] 3. pp. 48 *sq.*, 736. Now as the new alphabet was finally adopted in 403-402 B.C., and the beginning of Praxiteles's artistic activity can hardly be placed earlier than 364 B.C. (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 50; v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 336; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 37), it is very remarkable that an inscription attached to one of his works should be written in the old alphabet. The clue to explain the difficulty is probably furnished by the fact noticed by Pausanias that the inscription was carved, not on the base of the statue, but on the wall. For it was the regular custom with Greek sculptors, when they signed their works, to carve their names on the pedestals of the statues. Hence in the present case the inscription on the wall was probably not by the hand of the sculptor himself. Now we know that the use of the old Attic alphabet was revived in Hadrian's time and employed in inscriptions in temples. Hence we may suppose that the inscription seen by Pausanias on the wall was a sort of ticket or label put up for the benefit of tourists, especially Roman tourists, who swarmed in Greece from the first century A.D. onward, and who would often be more impressed by the name of a famous artist than by his work. If this explanation, which is due to Prof. Köhler, is correct, the inscription must have been put up shortly before Pausanias's time; and if so we have here a fresh proof that his descriptions were based on personal observation, not copied from books centuries old. See U. Köhler, 'Praxiteles der ältere,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 78 *sqq.* Prof. W. Klein proposed to explain the inscription in a different way. He held that the Praxiteles referred to was not the famous sculptor of that name, but an older artist, probably the grandfather of the great Praxiteles (cp. Critical Note on v. 20. 2). To this older Praxiteles Prof. Klein would assign a number of works which have hitherto been attributed to his great namesake (see notes on i. 40. 3; i. 44. 2; viii. 9. 1; ix. 2. 7; ix. 11. 6). See W. Klein, in *Archaeolog.-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 4 (1880), p. 5 *sqq.* But the classical writers betray no knowledge of an older Praxiteles, and the only ground for assuming his existence is the inscription here noticed by Pausanias, which, as we have seen, may be explained quite differently. Indeed Prof. Köhler has given plausible reasons for holding that the

three statues of Demeter, Proserpine, and Iacchus could not have been made by a supposed older Praxiteles, but must have been made by the great sculptor of that name. For these statues may well be the ones dedicated by the physician Mnesitheus (Paus. i. 37. 4). Now Mnesitheus appears to have been a contemporary of the comic poet Alexis, who was a younger contemporary of Praxiteles (Athenaeus, x. p. 419 c; G. Knaack, in *Hermes*, 18 (1883), p. 148). See Köhler, *l.c.* The hypothesis of an older Praxiteles, based on the present passage of Pausanias, was rightly rejected by Prof. v. Brunn (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philos. philolog. Cl., 1880, pp. 435-454), and apparently by Mr. A. S. Murray (*History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 249 *sqq.*) On the other hand it is accepted by Prof. Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 498 *sqq.*), Mr. E. Kroker (*Gleichnamige griechische Künstler*, pp. 45-49), Mr. E. Loewy (*Untersuchungen zur griech. Künstlergeschichte*, p. 4), and Prof. C. Robert (*Archaeologische Märchen*, p. 156). Prof. Furtwängler has recently extended the hypothesis still further by making the supposed elder Praxiteles a pupil of Phidias and assigning to him the great bronze statue of Athena (commonly known as Champion Athena) on the Acropolis, as well as a considerable number of existing works of ancient art, including one of the colossal equestrian statues of the Dioscuri on the Quirinal (Monte Cavallo) at Rome (Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 1270, 1271: a Latin inscription on the statue declares it to be a work of Praxiteles). See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 45 *sqq.*, 128-143; and the note on i. 28. 2.

2. 4. **Poseidon on horseback hurling a spear at the giant Polybotes** etc. The story was that Poseidon with his trident had rent a piece from the island of Cos and hurled it at the giant Polybotes, burying him under it, and forming the island of Nisyrus off Cos (Strabo, x. p. 489; Apollodorus, i. 6. 2; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Νίσυρος; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dionysius Periegetes*, 525). On vase-paintings the combat of Poseidon with a giant is often depicted. Poseidon is always represented on foot, not, as in the statue described by Pausanias, on horseback. In his right hand he wields a trident, and in his left he holds a rock ready to hurl at his adversary. On red-figured vases the rock is sometimes depicted as an island (Nisyrus) with plants and animals on it. In two of these vase-paintings Poseidon wields a spear instead of a trident. Poseidon's adversary is always represented in full human form; on two of the vases he is named Polybotes, on one he is called Ephialtes, on the rest he is nameless. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 3. pp. 328-331; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 316-319; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 595, fig. 637; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 86 *sqq.*, with pl. 7 No. 2.

But on an ancient gem Poseidon is represented on horseback with a spear raised to strike the giant. Poseidon's horse is rearing, and the giant is under his feet. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. vii. No. 78 a; Overbeck, *op. cit.* 3. p. 333, Gemmentafel iii. No. 1; Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 395, fig. 3. Similarly on two bronze *phalerae* (ornaments for horses), which were found in the south of Russia, Poseidon is mounted

on a rearing horse and is armed with a trident, with which he is fighting the giant. A sea-dragon attends Poseidon and aids him in the fight. See Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1865, p. 172 *sq.*, Atlas v. Nos. 5 and 6. Thus on the gem and on the *phalerae* Poseidon appears in the same attitude as in the group of sculpture described by Pausanias. But between the scene as depicted on the gem and the scene as depicted on the *phalerae* there is this difference that whereas on the *phalerae* the giant is depicted in full human form, armed with breast-plate and shield, on the gem his lower limbs are serpentine. The combat between Poseidon and the giant is similarly represented in a terra-cotta group and on about fifty "serpent-pillars" (*Schlangensäulen*), all of which were found in the valley of the Rhine; on all of them the giant's lower limbs are serpentine (Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 389 *sq.*; K. Tümpel, in *Philologus*, 50 (1891), p. 622).

In which of these two ways was Polybotes represented in the group of statuary at Athens? in full human form? or with serpentine lower limbs? In the Gallic and German provinces of the Roman empire, nearly fifty examples have been found of what are called 'giant-pillars' or 'serpent-pillars.' They represent a rider in Roman armour vanquishing a serpent-footed giant. Mr. Köpp has argued plausibly that they all represent the emperor Caligula in the character of Poseidon, and are copies of a group of statuary which may have been set up in one of the chief cities of Gaul to commemorate his ridiculous victory over the ocean (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 46). If this view is correct, we may assume that the group of statuary of which these 'giant-pillars' are copies was itself a copy of some famous group which may very well have been the one at Athens which Pausanias here describes. See *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 5 (1890), *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, pp. 63-65; K. Tümpel, in *Philologus*, 50 (1891), p. 622 *sq.* Hence it would follow that in the Athenian group Polybotes was represented with serpentine lower limbs. Further, if Mr. Köpp's view is right, it becomes probable that the inscription which Pausanias saw, and which, as we infer from his words, had replaced the original inscription, described the statue as a portrait of Caligula in the act of victory. In this case Pausanias refers to the bad emperor without naming him, just as in one passage he refers to Nero without naming him (ii. 1. 5). Elsewhere, however, he mentions both Caligula and Nero (see ix. 27. 3 and Index, *s.v.* 'Nero'). The practice of altering the inscriptions on old statues so as to pass off the statues for portraits of modern men was common under the empire. See i. 18. 3 note.

Mr. K. Tümpel has tried to show that the Athenian group of Poseidon and Polybotes was no other than "the monument of Brasilas" mentioned by Theocritus (vii. 10 *sq.*) He argues that the name Brasilas (Βρασί-λᾶς) meant 'rock-shatterer,' 'earth-shaker,' and was a title applied to Poseidon in Cos, where the scene of Theocritus's seventh poem seems to be laid (see Mr. W. R. Paton, in *Classical Review*, 2 (1888), p. 265). He supposes that the monument was originally set up in Cos to commemorate the local legend of Poseidon and Polybotes, and was transferred to Athens about the middle of the third century B.C. These

and other equally rash speculations on the Coan legend and worship of Poseidon are set forth by Mr. Tümpel in two articles, 'Poseidon-Brasilas von Kos in Athen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 46 (1891), pp. 524-551; and 'Die Enchelys von Kos im Poseidon-Polybotes-Kampf,' *Philologus*. 50 (1891), pp. 621-636.

2. 4. **Colonnades run from the gate to the Ceramicus.** Himerius tells us (*Or.* iii. 12) that at the Panathenaic festival the procession of the Sacred Ship passed from the city gate along a straight, smooth street lined on either side with colonnades under which the Athenians and strangers bought and sold. It is doubtful whether this colonnade-lined street is the one described by Pausanias or not. The street described by Himerius can hardly be the one leading from the Dipylum to the market-place; for Himerius seems to describe it as *descending* from the gate into the interior of the city; whereas the ground *rises* from the Dipylum to the market-place, the height of the Dipylum above the sea being 41.8 metres, while the lowest point of the market-place is 61.4 metres. The slope of the ground from the market-place to the Dipylum is attested in antiquity by the statement of Plutarch (*Sulla*. 14), that in the sack of Athens by Sulla the blood shed in the market-place filled the whole of the Ceramicus inside of the Dipylum, and, according to some, even flowed out through the gate into the suburb. Hence it would seem either that the streets described by Pausanias and Himerius are not the same; or that, if they are the same, Pausanias cannot have entered Athens by the Dipylum. On the other hand, it may be said that the Panathenaic procession described by Himerius certainly started from the outer Ceramicus (Thucydides, vi. 57; cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 7), and that the natural gate by which to enter the city from the outer Ceramicus would seem to be the Dipylum. See the question discussed by Professor C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 193 *sqq.* As to the sense in which Pausanias uses the name Ceramicus, see note on i. 3. 1.

2. 5. **the house of Pulytion, in which, they say, some illustrious Athenians** etc. Pausanias refers to Alcibiades and some of his boon-companions who were accused of having parodied the Eleusinian mysteries in a sort of private theatricals, Alcibiades playing the part of hierophant, and Pulytion that of torch-bearer (Thucydides, vi. 28; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 19). Andocides (i. 12 and 14) and Isocrates (xvi. 6) confirm the statement that the representation took place in the house of Pulytion, which seems to have been proverbial for its magnificence (Plato, *Eryxias*, pp. 394 c, 400 b).

2. 5. **Dionysus —— the Minstrel.** The worship of Dionysus the Minstrel was cared for by two priests, each of whom had an inscribed seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus; one of these priests was chosen from the family of the Eunids; the other from the guild, partly religious, partly theatrical, called "the artists of Dionysus" (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 274, 278). We know from Athenaeus (v. p. 212 d e) that "the artists of Dionysus" had a precinct in which sacrifices and libations were offered. This precinct may perhaps be identical with the sanctuary of Minstrel Dionysus here mentioned by Pausanias, and

with "the Council House of the artists" (of Dionysus) which, as we learn from Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 8. 4), was situated beside the gate of the Ceramicus. As to the "artists of Dionysus," see O. Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler* (Berlin, 1873); cp. U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), pp. 288-298. As to the family of the Eunids, see J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 181-206.

2. 5. **Healing Athena.** One of the five divisions of the altar at Oropus was sacred to Healing Athena, together with Jason and Health (see i. 34. 3). Sometimes Athena was herself surnamed Health (see i. 23. 4; i. 31. 6). The head of the statue of Healing Athena, here mentioned by Pausanias, has perhaps been found. See next note.

2. 5. **the work and offering of Eubulides.** From the way in which Pausanias expresses himself, it is not certain whether he meant to say that the whole group of statues or only the statue of Apollo was made and dedicated by Eubulides; but probably he meant the latter. The reading of the passage is, however, somewhat uncertain. See the Critical Note.

In 1837 there were discovered at Athens certain ancient remains which by some scholars are supposed to have formed part of the work here mentioned by Pausanias. The remains were found in digging the foundations of Dr. Treiber's house, which stands at the west end of the modern Hermes Street, immediately to the west of the church of the Asomatos, opposite the railway station. The site is 150 metres south-east of the Dipylum gate. The remains comprised a portion of a pedestal or basement built of large squared blocks of stone (not marble). It was not fully excavated, and the place is now built over; but so far as it could be seen the basement was 8 metres long, and consisted of two steps, each 25 centimetres high, supporting two blocks of the pedestal proper. There were also found at the same time and in the same place the colossal marble head of a woman with long hair bound in a knot behind the neck, and a torso of a colossal female statue of good workmanship; also two male portrait-heads of Roman date. Further, there was found a large block of Hymettian marble, 28 centimetres high and 1.06 metre long, bearing in large letters an inscription which can be restored with certainty as follows (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1645):

[Εὐβουλίδης Εὔ]χειρος Κρωπίδης ἐποίησεν

"Eubulides, son of Eucheir, belonging to the township of Cropia, made (the statue or statues)." The stone seems to have formed part of a frieze. Furthermore, in 1874 there was discovered in the same place a colossal female head of Pentelic marble. From the way in which the top is cut away, it appears that the head wore a helmet; it probably represented Athena.

From the length of the pedestal it is certain that it must have supported not a single statue, but a group of statuary; and to this group probably belonged the head of Athena as well as the other colossal female head and the female torso. The two male portrait-heads had probably nothing to do with the pedestal. Further, it may be fairly

assumed that the inscription refers to the group of statuary which occupied the pedestal, or at least to some portion of it. That this group was no other than the one here described by Pausanias has been inferred by some distinguished scholars, as L. Ross, E. Curtius, A. Milchhöfer, and others. But there is a difficulty in the way of this identification. For Pausanias says that Eubulides not only made but dedicated the statue or statues; but the inscription records only the making of the statue or statues by Eubulides, and makes no mention of the dedication. This objection would, in my opinion, be fatal to the identification if it were certain that the inscription, as restored above, is complete. But of this we cannot be sure. It is true that on the stone there is a blank space of .24 metre at the end of the inscription, which seems to show that the inscription ended here; but it may have been continued in the line below. Pausanias's statement that the statue or group was dedicated by Eubulides must certainly have been derived from the inscription: and since the inscription, as we have it, says nothing about the dedication, we are not justified in identifying the statue or statues to which it refers with one or more of the statues here mentioned by Pausanias. If the identification were made out, it would be a strong argument in favour of the view that Pausanias entered Athens by the Dipylum gate: since the pedestal and the fragments of the statues were found only 150 metres to the south-east of that gate, on the direct line between the gate and the ancient market-place, and hence probably on the ancient street which ran from the one place to the other. If, therefore, Pausanias entered by the Dipylum he most probably passed the monument in question.

From the style of the inscription, it appears to have been engraved about the middle of the second century B.C. This gives us approximately the date of the sculptor Eubulides. A considerable number of inscribed bases of statues by Eubulides and his father (?) Eucheir, or by Eubulides alone, have been found at Athens. See *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1162, 1386, 1639-1646; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 223-229. The sculptor Eucheir is mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (viii. 14. 10, with the note). We should be in a position to judge of Eubulides's artistic style if we could be certain that the two colossal female heads and the female torso found on the site of Dr. Treiber's house were by him. But this is doubtful. For even admitting that the statues of which these are fragments occupied the pedestal near which they were found, and that the inscription belonged to the same monument, it is still uncertain whether the inscription referred to the whole group of statuary on the pedestal, or only to one or more figures in it. In the latter case it was probably, as Lolling supposed (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 366), only one of a row of inscriptions containing the names of all the sculptors who had modelled the various figures in the group. If Lolling is right, we cannot tell whether the fragments of sculpture found on the site are by Eubulides or by one of his colleagues. The style of the Athena head has been examined by Mr. Julius (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 91 *sqq.*) He refers it to the second century B.C., and considers that it exhibits a mixture of two styles, an

older and a younger. The older style appears, according to him, in the whole pose and composition of the head; the younger style in the execution, particularly in a straining after softness and in small realistic touches which are inconsistent with other parts and with the composition as a whole. He supposes, therefore, that the artist worked with an older model before him, reproducing it freely and altering it under the influence of the taste of the day, which required a softer and gentler type than the austere type of an earlier period. His conclusion is confirmed by a fact of which he seems not to have been aware, namely, that the head is an exact replica of the head of the marble statue called the Athena of Velletri, now in the Louvre; and, if Dr. Wolters is right, both the Athena head in question and the Athena of Velletri are copies of a bronze original. See Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1433; and for the Athena of Velletri, see Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xix. No. 204: Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 303 *sqq.*

On the whole subject of the ancient remains found on the site of Dr. Treiber's house, and their supposed relation to the present passage of Pausanias, see L. Ross's letter to Col. Leake, printed in Ross's *Archaologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 143-157, and translated in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, 1. (1843), pp. 28-41; Forchhammer, in *Zeitschrift fur die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1838, pp. 463-468; *id.*, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 29; Rangabé, in *Revue Archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 429 *sq.*; *id.*, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 2. p. 754 *sq.*, No. 1109; Stephani, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 4 (1846), p. 32 *sq.*; v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 551 *sq.*; Schubart, in his German translation of Pausanias, 1. p. 6 *sqq.*; *id.*, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 9 (1863), pp. 305-307; Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, 1. p. 279 note 1; G. Hirschfeld, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 30 (1873), p. 27 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 198 *sq.*; B. Schmidt, *Die Thorfrage in der Topographie Athens*, pp. 37-41; Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 14; Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 293; L. Julius, 'Die Reste des Denkmales des Eubulides,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 81-95; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 228, p. 167 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 162; Lolling and Wolters, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 365-371; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 313; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 13; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 264 *sq.*, 316 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, in *Archäologische Studien H. Brunn dargebracht* (Berlin 1893), p. 44 *sqq.*

2. 5. **Acratus, one of Dionysus' attendant sprites.** A bearded head of Acratus, with his name attached to it, is painted on an ancient vase found in the island of Lipara, and now in the possession of Mr. James Stevenson of Glasgow (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7 (1886), p. 55). Acratus was probably identical with the hero Acratopotes ('drinker of neat wine') who, as we learn from Polemo, was worshipped at Munychia (Athenaeus, ii. p. 39 c). A relief found in the harbour at Piraeus represents a young beardless man reclining on a couch with a drinking-horn in his right hand; at his feet is seated a young woman, and three actresses (two of them with masks in their hands) are standing to the left. Professor C. Robert conjectures that the reclining male figure is Acratus or Acratopotes. An inscription under the relief, indeed, calls the young man Dionysus; but Professor Robert thinks the inscription much later than the relief. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 389-395. His conjecture is not accepted by Prof. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 137 note 2. At Phigalia Dionysus

himself was surnamed Acratophorus ('bearer of neat wine'). See viii. 39. 6. Mr. Maximilian Mayer conjectures that what Pausanias calls a face of Acratus was really a mask of Dionysus himself. There was such a face or mask of Dionysus in Athens (Athenaeus, xii. p. 533 c), and what Mr. Mayer regards as a similar mask of Dionysus, made of stone and of colossal size, has been found at Icaria in Attica (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 461 *sqq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 390). See Mr. Maximilian Mayer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 268-270, 446 *sq.* But the face of Dionysus, found at Icaria, which Mr. Mayer takes to have been a mask, seems rather to have been a piece of a colossal statue of the god. See note on i. 33. 8.

2. 5. **Amphictyon —— feasting Dionysus.** According to Philochorus, as reported by Athenaeus (ii. p. 38 c), Amphictyon learned from Dionysus the art of mixing water with wine and founded an altar of Upright Dionysus in the sanctuary of the Seasons. A number of reliefs have come down to us representing Dionysus and his train welcomed by a man who is reclining at a table covered with drinking-vessels and fruit. These reliefs are generally supposed to represent Icarius welcoming Dionysus to Attica. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. I. No. 624; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I. p. 607, fig. 684; O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 198-211. Mr. Maximilian Mayer has suggested that the group of clay figures here described by Pausanias was a relief of this familiar type, and that Pausanias was mistaken in giving the name of Amphictyon instead of Icarius to the entertainer of the god (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), p. 265 *sqq.*) But the figures described by Pausanias seem to have been, not in relief, but in the round, for he calls them *agalmata*, a word which with him almost always, I think, designates figures sculptured in the round. Perhaps the only exception to this rule is viii. 48. 4 Ἄρεως ἄγαλμα —— ἐκτετύπωται μὲν ἐπὶ στήλῃ. As to Pausanias's use of the word *agalma* see Schubart, in *Philologus*, 24 (1866), p. 561 *sqq.*

2. 5. **Pegasus of Eleutherae, who introduced the god to the Athenians.** See the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 243; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 659 *sqq.* The old wooden image of Dionysus at Eleutherae had been brought thence to Athens (i. 38. 8), and seems to have been preserved in a temple near the theatre at Athens (i. 20. 3 note).

2. 5. **in the days of Icarius** etc. See note on i. 33. 8. As to the ancient reliefs which perhaps represent the reception of Dionysus by Icarius, see above, note on "Amphictyon —— feasting Dionysus."

2. 6. **Amphictyon got the kingdom thus.** With the rest of the chapter compare Apollodorus, iii. 14, who agrees throughout with Pausanias, except that he calls Cecrops (not Actaeus) the first king of Attica.

2. 6. **Herse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus.** See i. 18. 2.

2. 6. **Erysichthon.** Cp. i. 18. 5; i. 31. 2. This Attic Erysichthon must be distinguished from the Thessalian Erysichthon who cut down a grove of Demeter and was punished by the goddess with insatiable

hunger; the mode in which his daughter Mestra contrived to find the means of satisfying his hunger is a folk-tale incident. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1393; Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 738 *sqq.*; Callimachus, *Demeter*, 25 *sqq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 8 *sqq.*; Th. Zielinski, 'Erysichthon,' *Philologus*, 50 (1891), pp. 137-162.

3. 1. **the Ceramicus.** In classical Greek the name Ceramicus was applied to two quarters in the north-west part of Athens, one outside, the other inside of the Dipylum (Harpocration and Hesychius, *s.v.* Κεραμεικός; Suidas, *s.v.* Κεραμεικοί; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 772; Thucydides, vi. 57; Plato, *Parmenides*, p. 127 b; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14). The inner Ceramicus extended from the Dipylum (Plutarch, *l.c.*) to the western ascent of the Acropolis (Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 16. 8). The inner Ceramicus thus included the market-place (*agora*) which, as modern scholars are now generally agreed, lay to the north of the Areopagus or, to be more exact, in the low ground which is bounded on the south by the Areopagus and Acropolis, and on the west by the hill on which the so-called temple of Theseus stands. The eastern boundary of the market-place is fixed with certainty by the Colonnade of Attalus, the only building of classical antiquity (if we except the remains of the so-called Colonnade of the Giants, a work of very late imperial times) in the market-place which has been as yet discovered. This colonnade, the remains of which were long known as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1860 and the following years. It was identified as the Colonnade of Attalus by an inscription in large letters which had occupied the epistyle and which, as restored, ran thus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1170):

[Β]ασ[ιλ]εὺς Ἄττ[αλος] βασιλ[έως Ἀττάλου] καὶ Β[α]σ[ιλίσ]σης
Ἀπολλων[ίδος - - - ἀνέθηκεν]

"King Attalus, son of king Attalus and of queen Apollonis, dedicated (this colonnade)." This Attalus was Attalus II. king of Pergamus who reigned from 159 to 138 B.C. The only ancient writer who mentions the colonnade is Athenaeus, who thus describes (v. p. 212 e f) the scene in the market-place when the philosophical tyrant Athenion (Aristion) addressed the mob: "The Ceramicus was full of citizens and strangers, and there was a spontaneous rush of the mob to the public assembly. He made his way forward with difficulty, escorted by a guard of honour composed of such as wished to stand well with the people, while every man in the crowd struggled to touch if it were only the hem of his garment. So up he gets on the pulpit which had been built for the Roman generals in front of the colonnade of Attalus, and casting his eyes round on the multitude spake as follows," etc. The colonnade extends in a direction nearly north and south; it was raised on three steps and was 112 metres long by 19.43 metres deep. The façade, which opened westward on the market-place, was composed of two stories. On the ground floor there was a row of 45 Doric columns in front; an inner row of twenty-two Ionic columns divided

the colonnade into two aisles. At the back of the inner aisle was a row of square chambers, which probably served as magazines or warehouses, while the buying and selling went on in the aisles of the colonnade. Each room opened into the aisle by a door and had two narrow windows, one above the other, in the back wall. The columns and façade were of Pentelic marble; the rest of the building of common stone. On the outer side of the wall which terminates the colonnade on the south there are traces of a staircase which led to the upper story. This upper story seems to have consisted of a single aisle, and not to have extended over the row of chambers at the back. Like the lower story it had 45 columns in front; between the columns of the upper story ran a balustrade of lattice work, made of Pentelic marble. See Γενικὴ συνέλευσις τῆς ἐν Ἀθ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ. 1860, p. 8 *sqq.*; *id.*, 1861, p. 14 *sqq.*; *id.*, 1862, p. 7 *sqq.*; *id.*, 1869, p. 7 *sq.*; Πρακτικὰ τ. ἐν Ἀθ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ. (June 1873—June 1874), p. 18 *sqq.*; *id.* (June 1874—December 1875), p. 22 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 155 *sqq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 522 *sqq.*; Fr. Adler, *Die Stoa des Königs Attalos II. zu Athen* (Berlin, 1875); R. Bohn, *Die Stoa König Attalos des zweiten zu Athen* (Berlin, 1882); Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 167 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 17 *sqq.*

The market-place cannot have extended east of the Colonnade of Attalus, since the colonnade, open on its west side, is closed on the east. This agrees with the lie of the ground; for behind the colonnade the ground begins gradually to rise, so that the market-place is some 25 feet lower than the Gate of Athena Archegetis, which stands a little to the east (see note on i. 18. 9).

It is somewhat remarkable that Pausanias should not have mentioned so large and notable a structure as the Colonnade of Attalus. The explanation of this omission may be as follows. It would seem that the market-place was divided into two halves, a northern and a southern, which were separated by a row of statues of Hermes (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ; Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, iii. 2), and that the northern half, which comprised the Colonnade of Attalus, was given up to trade and commerce, while the southern half was the centre of political life, most of the important public offices and state buildings being ranged round it. Pausanias's interest was all in this latter half of the market-place, and he passed by the merely commercial market without remark (see Wachsmuth, *Athen*, 1. p. 200 *sqq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 311; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 163).

Lastly, before taking up Pausanias's description of the market-place in detail, we must note that in later times, including the age of Pausanias, the name Ceramicus seems to have been especially applied, if not indeed restricted, to the market-place (*agora*). This appears to be the sense in which the name occurs in Pausanias i. 2. 4, i. 3. 1, i. 20. 6; Philostratus, *Vit. sophist.* ii. 8. 1; Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 15 (cp. Demosthenes, liv. 7, p. 1258); Athenaeus, v. p. 212 e, xii. p. 533 d. Pausanias never speaks of the outer Ceramicus; with him the Ceramicus is always the market-place. Greek writers of the best period (fifth and fourth centuries B.C.) never use the word in this restricted sense.

On the Ceramicus and the market-place of Athens see K. O. Müller, 'De foro Athenarum,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 5. pp. 133-176; E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, ii. *Der Kerameikos und die Geschichte der Agora von Athen* (Göttingen, 1865); *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. p. 339 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Stadt-geschichte*, p. 169 *sqq.*; Kaupert, 'Die Rekonstruktion der Agora des Kerameikos,' *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 7 (1887), p. 571 *sq.*; K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 60 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 150 *sq.*, 163 *sqq.*; P. Weizsäcker, 'Die Beschreibung des Marktes von Athen und die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 33 (1887), pp. 577-612; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 313 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 13 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 152-172, 180-182, 199-212; *id.*, 2. pp. 305-527.

3. 1. **has its name from a hero Ceramus.** The name Ceramicus was more probably derived from *kerameus* 'a potter,' as the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* says (*s.v.* Κεραμεικός, p. 504). The Ceramicus may have been originally the potters' quarter of Athens. Cp. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 155.

3. 1. **the Royal Colonnade.** As Pausanias, coming from the Dipylum, entered the market-place from the north, the Royal Colonnade, which he describes as the first building on the right, must have been situated on the west side of the market-place, somewhere at the foot of the hill on which the so-called Theseum or temple of Theseus stands.

Aristotle tells us (*Constitution of Athens*, 7) that copies of the laws of Solon engraved on tablets called *kurbeis* were deposited in the Royal Colonnade. Hence Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff has inferred that the Royal Colonnade was as old as the time of Solon (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 208). But, if we may trust the evidence of the historian Anaximenes (a contemporary of Aristotle), these copies of Solon's laws were originally kept in the Acropolis and were first brought down to the market-place by Ephialtes (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος). A fragment of a pyramidal stone bearing a mutilated and illegible inscription was found a few years ago at the "colonnade of Hadrian" in Athens. It has been conjectured that this may be one of the copies of the laws of Solon. The style of the letters is that of the early part of the fifth century B.C. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 215 *sqq.*; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 559, p. 125. (As to the copies of the laws of Solon, see also note on § 5 of this chapter "the Council House" and i. 18. 3 note.)

Beside or in front of the Royal Colonnade stood slabs inscribed with the terms on which the Athenians had let out certain portions of the Chalcidian territory after their conquest of Chalcis (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vi. 1). This conquest of Chalcis was effected in the age of Clisthenes, about 507 B.C. (Herodotus, v. 77). Hence Professor v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff infers that the Royal Portico was at least as old as the time of Clisthenes (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 208). This does not follow. A building is not necessarily as old as all the monuments in its neighbourhood. The colonnade may have been of later date than the inscriptions. In 410 B.C., as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 61), a copy of Draco's law on homicide was ordered to be engraved on stone and set up in front of the Royal Colonnade. Further there stood beside the Royal Colonnade a stone upon which oaths were taken; the

persons who swore stood upon the stone in the act of taking the oath. Thus the archons, on their appointment, swore to administer justice or, if they transgressed, to set up a golden statue at Delphi equal in weight to the stone or (as it has been otherwise understood) to the amount of silver which they had received as a bribe. Arbitrators also swore upon this stone and so did witnesses who denied that they had any knowledge of a case. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 7 and 55; Pollux, viii. 86; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 235 d; Plutarch, *Solon*, 25; Heraclides Ponticus, *De rebus publicis*, i. 11, in *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 2. p. 209 *sq.*; Harpocration, *s.v.* *λίθος*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 351 *sq.*

With regard to the structure of the Royal Colonnade we know nothing; but there seems no reason to suppose that it differed from the common type of a Greek colonnade. It has been supposed, indeed, that the Royal Colonnade was a house, that it had been developed out of the old royal palace, and that it was in turn the original of the basilicas of Christian times, the very name basilica being, according to some, derived from the name of the Royal Colonnade (*Stoa Basileios*). But though we know that the titular king sat in judgment in the Royal Colonnade, we are nowhere told that he lived there. Hence there is no reason to suppose that the so-called colonnade was in reality a house. And with regard to the supposed derivation of the name *basilica* from *stoa basileios*, it rests to some extent upon a false reading in a passage of Plato (*Charmides*, p. 153 a *τοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱεροῦ*, where the true reading is Βασίλης, as we now know from an inscription: see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 161 *sqq.*; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 53 a, p. 66 *sq.*; cp. note on i. 19. 5).

On the Royal Colonnade see v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aus Kydathen*, p. 208 *sq.*; K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, pp. 60-104; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 23 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Athen*, 2. pp. 344-352.

3. 1. **where the king sits during his year of office.** The so-called king at Athens was an annual magistrate, to whom, on the abolition of the monarchy, was transferred the title, together with some of the functions, of the old kings. He was one of the nine archons. He superintended the sacrifices and tried cases of impiety. In early times he resided at the Bucolium, near the Prytaneum. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 3 and 57. Socrates, being accused of impiety, was tried before the king at the Royal Colonnade (Plato, *Euthyphro*, p. 2 a; *id.*, *Theaetetus*, p. 210 d).

3. 1. **Theseus hurling Sciron into the sea.** See i. 44. 8 note.

3. 1. **Day carrying Cephalus.** The story of the fair youth Cephalus ravished by the goddess of Day (*Hemera*) or of the Morning (*Eos*, *Aurora*) is told by Apollodorus (iii. 14. 3) and Ovid (*Met.* vii. 700 *sqq.*) Cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 986 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189. The rape is often depicted on existing monuments of ancient art, especially on vase-paintings. On some of them the goddess is represented pursuing her favourite; in others she is carrying him in her arms. It seems clear from Pausanias's words that in the group on the roof of the

Royal Colonnade the goddess was represented with Cephalus in her arms; and it is probable that her attitude was the same in the relief on the Amyclaean throne. See iii. 18. 12; O. Jahn, 'Eos und Kephalos,' *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 93-121; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1872, p. 177 *sqq.* It would seem that the rape of Cephalus by Day (or the Morning) was often the subject of a group of sculpture placed on the apex of a gable. Such a group crowned the west gable of the temple of Apollo at Delos; while the apex of the eastern gable was adorned with a group representing Boreas in the act of carrying off Orithyia. Fragments of both groups were found at Delos by the French archaeologists. Moreover, two terra-cotta groups representing Day (Morning) carrying off Cephalus have been found at Caere and at Curti near Capua; each group seems to have occupied the apex of a gable. Thus the terra-cotta group on the roof of the Royal Colonnade would seem to have been only one of a class of similar ornaments. If the colonnade terminated in gables, it is probable that the two groups described by Pausanias occupied the apexes of the gables. See A. Furtwängler, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 321-364; cp. E. Curtius, 'Eos und Kephalos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (1876), p. 166 *sq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1272 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 25 *sq.*

3. 1. **bore him a son, Phaethon** etc. Here the father of Phaethon is called Cephalus; and he is so named by Hesiod (*Theog.* 986 *sq.*) But more commonly the father of Phaethon is said to have been the Sun. This latter is the version followed by Euripides (Frag. 775, in Dindorf's *Poetae Scenici Graeci*), Plato (*Timaeus*, p. 22 C), Lucian (*Dial. deorum*, 25), Nonnus (*Dionys.* xxxviii. 98 *sqq.*), Ovid (*Metam.* i. 751 *sqq.*), Cicero (*De officiis*, iii. 24 § 94), Hyginus (*Fab.* 152), Eratosthenes (cited by Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 42), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 189), and by Pausanias himself elsewhere (i. 4. 1; ii. 3. 2). Here Phaethon's mother is called Day (*Hemera*), who is identical with Hesiod's Morning (*Eos*) (*Theog.* 984 *sqq.*) Generally the mother of Phaethon is said to have been Clymene, a daughter of Ocean (so Euripides, Nonnus, Ovid, Hyginus, and Servius, referred to above). The name Phaethon means "the shining one," and as an adjective the epithet is applied to the sun by Homer (*Il.* xi. 735, *Od.* v. 479), and to the planet Saturn (Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 43; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 42). Modern scholars interpret Phaethon either as the Morning Star or as the Sun himself. The former is the view of Professor v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Hermes*, 18 (1883), p. 396 *sqq.*) and Mr. Rapp (Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1269); the latter is the view of Professor C. Robert (*Hermes*, 18 (1883), p. 440 *sq.*), Mr. Th. Zielinski (*Philologus*, 50 (1891), p. 147 *sq.*), Preller (*Griech. Myth.*[4] 1. p. 438), Mr. Baumeister (*Denkmäler*, p. 1305), and Sir George Cox (*Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 242). On the latter view the story of Phaethon's luckless attempt to drive the chariot of the Sun, the conflagration which he caused, and his fall into the Eridanus, the river of the West, are explained as a mythological description of the sun sinking in the west and lighting up the sky and mountains with a crimson glow. The view

that Phaethon was the Morning Star is countenanced by Hyginus who expressly says (*Astron.* ii. 42) that the Morning and Evening star was by some supposed to be a son of Cephalus and the Morning (*Eos*). The myth of Phaethon is depicted on Roman sarcophaguses.

See v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, 'Phaethon,' *Hermes*, 18 (1883), pp. 396-434; C. Robert, 'Die Phaethonsage bei Hesiod,' *id.*, pp. 434-441; G. Knaack, *Quaestiones Phaethonteae* (Berlin, 1886); *id.*, 'Zur Phaethonsage,' *Hermes*, 22 (1887), pp. 637-640; Wieseler, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 41 (1869), pp. 130-144; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1305 *sqq.*

There is a parallel to the story of Phaethon among the Indians of British Columbia. They say that the crow (who plays a great part in their mythology) married a daughter of the Sun. She bore a son who undertook to guide the chariot of his grandsire the Sun. But as he approached the meridian he grew timid, "and misdirecting the course of that luminary, he accidentally grazed the earth and set fire to some of the mountains, one of which is supposed to be Mount Baker. This is a neighbouring volcano, which is still observed occasionally in a state of eruption. The crow chastised the folly of his son, and once more restored the world to order." M. Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London, 1865), p. 453; cp. C. E. Barrett-Lennard, *Travels in British Columbia* (London, 1862), p. 55 *sq.*

3. 1. **This tale is told by Hesiod in his poem on women.** This poem, which has not come down to us, is referred to by Pausanias elsewhere. See i. 43. 1; iii. 24. 10; ix. 31. 5. In the last passage (ix. 31. 4 *sq.*) Pausanias mentions the view that the poem was not by Hesiod. It is doubtful whether it was the same as the poem called the *Great Eoeae*. See note on ii. 2. 3.

The story of Phaethon is also told by Hesiod in the *Theogony* (986-991) in much the same form as it is here narrated by Pausanias. Phaethon, according to Hesiod, was the son of Cephalus and the Morning (*Eos*), and in the bloom of his fair youth was snatched away by Aphrodite and made by her the keeper of her holy temples. But in his lost poem Hesiod seems to have given the myth of Phaethon in a fuller and somewhat different form, if we may judge from the references of Hyginus (*Fab.* 154) and Eustathius (on Homer, *Od.* xi. 325, p. 1689). See Professor C. Robert, 'Die Phaethonsage bei Hesiod,' *Hermes*, 18 (1883), pp. 434-441; G. Knaack, 'De Phaethonte Hesiodeo,' *Quaestiones Phaethonteae*, pp. 1-16; *id.*, 'Zur Phaethonsage,' *Hermes*, 22 (1887), p. 637 *sq.*

3. 2. **Near the colonnade stand statues of Conon and his son Timotheus, and Evagoras.** Isocrates tells us (ix. 57) that the statues of Conon and Evagoras were set up beside the image of Saviour Zeus. He thus agrees with Pausanias, for the image of Saviour Zeus was the image which Pausanias calls Zeus of Freedom (see note below). Conon's statue was in bronze (Demosthenes, xx. 70, p. 478). That there was a statue of Timotheus beside that of his father in the market-place is mentioned also by Cornelius Nepos (*Timotheus*, 2). Aeschines also mentions the statue of Timotheus (iii. 243). There were statues

of Conon and Timotheus on the Acropolis (Paus. i. 24. 3 note). Philostratus refers in general terms to the statues near the Royal Colonnade (*Vit. Apollon.* iv. 20). A fragment of a decree in honour of Evageras has been found inscribed on a stone near the theatre of Dionysus at Athens (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 10 b, p. 397; Hicks, *Gr. hist. Inscr.* No. 72). From another inscription we learn that the people of Erythrae resolved to set up a statue of Conon in gilt bronze (Hicks, *Gr. hist. Inscr.* No. 70; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Gr.* No. 53).

3. 2. **prevailed on King Artaxerxes to give Conon the Phoenician galleys.** According to Diodorus (xiv. 39) it was the satrap Pharnabazus who persuaded the Persian king to place Conon at the head of the fleet with which he afterwards defeated the Lacedaemonians at Cnidus.

3. 2. **he traced his lineage up to Teucer.** Cp. Isocrates, ix. 14-18.

3. 2. **Zeus of Freedom.** The inscription on the base of this image described it as Saviour Zeus; but the image was also very commonly called Zeus of Freedom. According to Didymus, the image was set up to commemorate the deliverance from the Persians; but according to the orator Hyperides, the image received its name (Zeus of Freedom) because the neighbouring colonnade had been built by freedmen. Didymus's account is the more probable of the two. See Harpocration, Hesychius, and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς; Schol. on Plato, *Eryxias*, p. 392 a; *Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἐλεύθερος, p. 329, 44 *sqq.* Isocrates mentions the image of Saviour Zeus beside the statues of Conon and Evagoras (ix. 57). The worship of Zeus of Freedom at Athens is mentioned by Aristides (*Or.* xiii. vol. 1. p. 204, ed. Dindorf).

3. 2. **a statue of the Emperor Hadrian.** Hadrian was worshipped at Athens under the title of Liberator (*Eleuthereus*); for one of the seats in the theatre of Dionysus was reserved for his priest (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 253). It is probable that this worship was performed at an altar in front of the statue of Hadrian here mentioned by Pausanias, since the image of Zeus of Freedom (*Eleutherios*) stood close by.

3. 3. **Behind is built a colonnade** etc. This was the colonnade known as the Colonnade of Zeus of Freedom, from the image of that god which stood in front of it (Paus. x. 21. 6; Xenophon, *Oeconom.* vii. 1; Plato, *Theages*, p. 121 a; *id.*, *Eryxias*, p. 392 a; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* i. 395, p. 1425). It was also called simply the Colonnade of Zeus (Diogenes Laertius, vi. 2. 22; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 2. No. 793, p. 411; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 325). It seems to have been used as a place for lounging and conversation (see Xenophon and Plato, *ll.cc.*); in particular it was a favourite haunt of Diogenes the Cynic (Diogenes Laertius, *l.c.*) Engraved copies of public decrees were sometimes set up in or beside it (Rangabé, *l.c.*; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 325). One such inscription was found in 1892 in the course of making the new cutting for the Piraeus railway, which runs parallel to Hermes Street from the old station to the end of Athena Street, under which it continues northward to the Place de la Concorde. The inscription, which is a decree in

honour of a certain Euphron, contains a provision that a copy of it shall be set up "beside Saviour Zeus." See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*. 1892, p. 56 *sqq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-3), p. 142 *sq.* In the colonnade hung the shields of distinguished soldiers, till they were taken down by Sulla (Paus. i. 26. 2; x. 21. 5 *sq.*) From Pausanias's description it is clear that the Colonnade of Zeus was near the Royal Colonnade, and it is expressly stated by other writers that the two colonnades were beside each other (*παρ' ἀλλήλας* is the expression of Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* *βασίλειος στοά*; cp. Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* i. 395, p. 1425). Hence the Colonnade of Zeus is doubtless the colonnade which Aristophanes mentions (*Eccles.* 686) as beside the Royal Colonnade. It must therefore have stood on the west side of the market-place, immediately to the south of the Royal Colonnade.

3. 3. **paintings of the gods, who are called the Twelve** etc. The paintings by Euphranor (see § 4) in the Colonnade of Zeus were famous and are often referred to by classical writers. The artist was a native of Corinth and flourished in Ol. 104 (364-361 B.C.), according to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 50, xxxv. 128). He was a man of great and versatile powers, being distinguished as a painter, sculptor, and writer on art (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 128 *sq.*) Lucian classes him as a sculptor with Phidias, Alcamenes, and Myron, and as a painter with Apelles and Parrhasius (*Jupiter Tragoedus*, 7; *De mercede conductis*, 42). To illustrate Cicero's many-sidedness Quintilian compares him to Euphranor, "that master of many arts" (*Inst. Or.* xii. 10. 12). Euphranor seems to have displayed a strong bent to realism in art; this came out in his remark that the Theseus of Parrhasius had been fed on roses, but *his* Theseus on beef (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 129; Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 2). On the style of Euphranor, see v. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 314-318; *id.* 2. pp. 181-193; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 578-597. The references to him in ancient writers are collected by Overbeck (*Schriftquellen*, §§ 828 note, 1074, 1109, 1704, 1726, 1728, 1786-1806).

Pliny mentions together (*N. H.* xxxv. 129) the three works of Euphranor (the Cavalry Battle, the Twelve Gods, and the Theseus) which, as we learn from Pausanias, were all in the Colonnade of Zeus. As Pausanias, after mentioning the picture of the Twelve Gods, remarks that Theseus, Democracy, and the People were painted on the opposite wall, we may perhaps infer that these two pictures occupied the two short walls at the ends of the colonnade, while the battle-piece occupied the long back-wall. With regard to the picture of the Twelve Gods we learn that the painting of Hera's hair was especially beautiful (Lucian, *Imagines*, 7), and that Poseidon was more majestic than Zeus (Valerius Maximus, viii. 11, ext. 5).

3. 3. **Democracy and the People.** There was a statue of Democracy at Athens beside which public decrees were sometimes set up (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 470, line 62), and sacrifices were offered to it (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 740, frag. c, line 10; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Gr.* No. 374, line 68). As to representations of the People in Greek art,

see note on i. 1. 3; and on personification in ancient art in general, see A. Gerber, 'Naturpersonification in Poesie und Kunst der Alten,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Suppl. 13, pp. 239-317; Steuding, article 'Lokalpersonifikationen,' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. p. 2074 *sqq.*

3. 3. **his descendants, after the death of Menestheus, continued to bear rule down to the third generation.** Towards the close of his life Theseus was supplanted on the throne of Athens by Menestheus. But after Menestheus was slain in the Trojan war, the sons of Theseus returned to Athens and regained the kingdom. See i. 17. 5 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31-35. The three generations of Theseus's family who sat upon the throne of Athens after the death of Menestheus were his son Demophon, his grandson Oxyntes, and his great-grandson Thymoetes. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 28; Diodorus, iv. 62; Hyginus, *Fab.* 48; Nicolaus Damascenus, Frag. 50 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 3. p. 386); Pausanias, ii. 18. 9. According to Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 185, ed. Schöne) Oxyntes was succeeded by his son Aphipas, who after reigning one year was succeeded by his brother Thymoetes, son of Oxyntes. But this, though it increases by one the number of Theseus's descendants who sat on the throne, does not alter the number of their generations, since two of the kings (Aphidas and Thymoetes) were brothers.

3. 3. **I could have enumerated the kings from Melanthus to Clidicus.** In order to refute the popular error that Theseus had established the democracy at Athens, Pausanias has pointed out that the monarchy had subsisted for three generations after Theseus. He now reminds his readers that even after the dynasty of Theseus had come to an end, the government was still monarchical, the old Attic dynasty having been succeeded by a new foreign dynasty, of whom Melanthus was the first king. Melanthus, according to the prevalent tradition, was a descendant of the royal Messenian family of Neleus and had himself been king of Messenia, till the Dorian invasion forced him to retire into exile in Attica, of which he eventually became king, displacing Thymoetes, the last Athenian king of the house of Theseus. See ii. 18. 9 (with the note); Herodotus, v. 65; Hellanicus, in the Schol. on Plato, *Symposium*, p. 208 d; Conon, *Narrationes*, 39; Strabo, viii. p. 359, ix. p. 393; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 2. p. 56, ed. Schöne; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀπατούρια. Melanthus was succeeded on the throne of Athens by his son Codrus who, according to the popular tradition, was the last king of Athens. His son Medon succeeded him with the title of archon for life; and Medon's descendants the Medontids continued afterwards to hold the archonship for life. See Velleius Paterculus, i. 2; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 2. p. 60, ed. Schöne. But in the present passage it is clear that Pausanias is following a different tradition; for he implies that the kingship did not cease with Codrus, son of Melanthus, but continued in the family of Melanthus for several generations. This in fact seems to have been the older tradition; both Plato (*Sympos.* p. 208 d) and Aristotle (*Polit.* v. 10, p. 1310 b, 32 *sqq.*) appear to have followed it. Indeed, as has been justly remarked by Mr. Töpffer (*Attische Genealogie*, p. 241), the kingship was never

abolished at Athens; the second magistrate in Athens was always known officially as the king (not as the king-archon, as modern writers call him). The change which tradition associated with the death of Codrus would seem to have consisted in limiting the king's power by giving him two colleagues, one of them known as the archon, the other as the polemarch. All three (king, archon, and polemarch) at first held office for life but afterwards for ten years; at a much later time their offices were all made annual, and six colleagues (called thesmothetae) were associated with them, bringing the whole number of the higher magistrates (archons) up to nine. This is the account of the matter given by Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 3).

The successors of Codrus were Medon (son of Codrus), Acastus (son of Medon), Archippus (son of Acastus), Thersippus (son of Archippus), Phorbas (son of Thersippus), Megacles (son of Phorbas), Diognetus (son of Megacles), Pherecles (son of Diognetus), Ariphron (son of Pherecles), Thespieus (son of Ariphron), Agamestor (son of Thespieus), Aeschylus (son of Agamestor), Alcmaeon. All these, according to the common tradition, held the archonship for life. After Alcmaeon the tenure of the office was made decennial. The first decennial archon was Charops, the second was Aesimides, and the third was Clidicus. See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. pp. 185-190, ed. Schöne.

Such was the common tradition. But Pausanias here follows a tradition according to which all these persons from Medon down to Clidicus were kings, not archons. Elsewhere he seems to follow the ordinary tradition; for in iv. 5. 10 he apparently includes Aesimides among the decennial archons. The apparent discrepancy between the two traditions may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that from Medon down to Clidicus it was the king (commonly called the king-archon) whose name was recorded and used in dating events: and that after the time of Clidicus this distinction was transferred to his colleague the archon proper. On this hypothesis, the chief magistrates from Medon to Clidicus might be called either kings or archons. If they were called kings, then the kingship lasted down to the time of Clidicus. If they were called archons, then the kingship stopped with Codrus. Cp. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1. p. 399 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Griech. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer*,[2] § 117, p. 130 *sq.* (Iwan Muller's *Handbuch*, vol. 4).

An example of the popular error which Pausanias is combating in the present passage is furnished by the pseudo-Demosthenes, who says (lx. 28, p. 1397) that Theseus introduced political equality into Athens. Similarly Isocrates says (xii. 129) that Theseus left the control of affairs to the multitude, while he constituted himself a sort of knight-errant to defend the liberties of the Grecian states.

3. 4. **Here, too, is painted the battle fought at Mantinea** etc. This picture, if we may trust Plutarch (*De gloria Atheniensium*, 2), was painted with much energy and fire. There was a copy of the picture at Mantinea (Paus. viii. 9. 8). Elsewhere (viii. 11. 6; ix. 15. 5) Pausanias tells us that in the painting Grylus, son of Xenophon, was depicted in the act of slaying Epaminondas. Either Pausanias or the painter seems to have made a mistake. For the picture represented a cavalry fight:

and we are told that Epaminondas was slain fighting on foot among the infantry (Diodorus, xv. 87), while Grylus was serving with the cavalry (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 6. 54). The honour of having slain Epaminondas was assigned by different people to different men. See viii. 11. 5 *sq.*, with the note. The fight depicted in the painting may have been the skirmish between the Athenian cavalry on the one side and the Boeotian and Thessalian cavalry on the other, which preceded the general engagement between the two armies. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5. 14-17; Arnold Schäfer, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 5 (1847), pp. 58-69. The battle was fought in 363 or 362 B.C. See note on viii. 11. 5.

3. 4. **Apollo, surnamed Paternal, in the temple hard by.** This temple was probably on the west side of the market-place, to the south of the Colonnade of Zeus. Paternal Apollo at Athens was identical with the Pythian Apollo (Demosthenes, xviii. 141, p. 274; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. 1. p. 181, ed. Dindorf). He was doubtless called Paternal as being the mythical father of Ion, the ancestor of the Ionian race. True-born, Athenian children were introduced to his sanctuary (Demosthenes, lvii. 54, p. 1315). In the court called Ardettus the jurymen took an oath by Paternal Apollo, Demeter, and King Zeus (Pollux, viii. 122). The priest of Paternal Apollo is mentioned in inscriptions (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 687, 720 a, p. 501). He had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 279). We are told that a certain Neoptolemus, a contemporary of the orator Lycurgus, gilded an altar of Apollo in the market-place ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 f.) This altar probably stood in front of the temple of Paternal Apollo. Nothing is known as to the statue of Paternal Apollo by Euphranor which Pausanias here mentions. Cp. Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. p. 100. On an altar found at Athens there is sculptured in relief an image of Paternal Apollo holding a lyre. See Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, 1. p. 320, fig. 380; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 35. Some writers have proposed to identify the so-called 'Theseum' with the temple of Paternal Apollo. (See below, note on i. 17. 2.) But the temple of Paternal Apollo seems to have stood in the market-place, which the so-called Theseum did not. Prof. E. Maass has argued that this temple of Paternal Apollo was the Delphinium or sanctuary of Delphinian Apollo which Pausanias mentions in i. 19. 1. See E. Maass, *De Lenaeo et Delphinio commentatio* (Greisswald, 1891), p. xv. *sqq.*

3. 4. **an image of the god by Leochares.** Mr. H. Freericks conjectures that this image was the original of the Apollo Belvedere (*Der Apollo von Belvedere* (Paderborn, 1894), p. 78). As we know absolutely nothing about the image in question the conjecture is necessarily a mere guess.

3. 4. **another by Calamis. The latter image is called Averter of Evil** etc. It has been conjectured by Prof. Conze that a statue of a naked young man which was found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, and is commonly known as "the Apollo on the Omphalos," is a copy of the statue of Apollo by Calamis which Pausanias here mentions.

The statue seems to date from the first half of the fifth century B.C., and is probably a copy of some famous Athenian statue, for several other replicas of it have come down to us, and the same statue appears to be represented on coins of Athens. But that the original was the statue of Apollo here mentioned by Pausanias, cannot be proved. Dr. Waldstein holds that the statue is not an Apollo but a pugilist. See A. Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, pp. 15-21; Ch. Waldstein, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), p. 179 *sqq.*; *id.* 2 (1881), p. 332 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 234 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 301 note 226; *id.*, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. p. 83; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 219; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 404-406; Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 456; *id.*, in *Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste* (Berlin, 1890), p. 150; Th. Schreiber, in *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 239 *sqq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic commentary on Pausanias*, p. 145, with pl. CC, xv.-xvii.; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 45.

Pausanias tells us that the special title of this Apollo (namely "the Averter of Evil") had been bestowed on the god for ridding Athens of the pestilence in the Peloponnesian war. But if, as is natural to suppose, this was the original title of the statue and not one bestowed on it at a later date, the occasion of setting up the statue can hardly be the one indicated by Pausanias. For Calamis flourished about 500-460 B.C. (see note on v. 25. 5), and the final cessation of the great plague at Athens did not take place till 427 B.C. (Thucydides, iii. 87). The image may have been made as a thank-offering for deliverance from some earlier plague, which in later times was confused with the great plague of 430-427 B.C. Popular tradition, it would seem, tended to confound all outbreaks of pestilence with that terrible one (see note on iv. 33. 2). But the deliverance commemorated by the image need not have been from a plague: a deliverance from any great evil would justify the dedication of an image of Apollo, "the Averter of Evil." Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 125 *sq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 397; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 550.

3. 5. **a sanctuary also of the Mother of the Gods.** Pausanias now proceeds to describe three public buildings which, he tells us, stood near each other. These are (1) the Metroum or sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods; (2) the Council House; and (3) the Rotunda (i. 5. 1). They appear to have stood at the south end of the market-place, just at the northern foot of the slope of the Areopagus. For after mentioning the Rotunda, Pausanias says (i. 5. 1) that higher up are statues of the Eponymi, which must mean that these statues stood on the slope of the hill above the Rotunda. Further we know from Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 16. 8) that the Metroum was in the Ceramicus opposite the statues of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogiton, at the point where people ascended from the market-place to the Acropolis. It has been generally supposed that in antiquity the regular ascent from the market-place to the Acropolis must have been on the *east* side of the Areopagus, up the steep and narrow saddle which joins the Areopagus

to the Acropolis, and that therefore the Metroum must have been situated in the low ground at the north-eastern foot of the Areopagus. But excavations directed by Dr. Dörpfeld in 1891 and 1892 laid bare a great part of an ancient road leading from the market-place up the *west* side of the Areopagus, and then curving round between that hill and the Pnyx; the road crosses the modern carriage road and then ascends eastward beside the carriage road to the Acropolis. It was originally enclosed by walls of polygonal masonry, which, as the ground rose in the course of centuries, were gradually buried beneath the road. See Dr. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 444 *sq.*; *id.*, 17 (1892), p. 90 *sq.* There can hardly be any doubt that this ancient road discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld was the regular ascent from the market-place to the Acropolis. It follows that the statues of the tyrannicides and the Metroum stood on the *west* side of the Areopagus, at the point where the road began to ascend between the Areopagus and the Nymphaeum hill. The statues of the tyrannicides were probably on one side of the road and the Metroum on the other. Cp. Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 38 *sqq.* The Council House seems to have been within the precinct of the Metroum (see Aeschines, iii. 187; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 842 e).

The legend of the foundation of the Metroum was this: a begging priest came to Attica and initiated the Athenian women in the rites of the Mother of the Gods. But the Athenians slew him by casting him headlong into a pit or chasm. A pestilence thereupon broke out, and the Athenians were commanded by an oracle to propitiate the murdered man. So they built a Council House on the scene of the murder, fenced it in, and dedicated it to the Mother of the Gods. They also set up a statue of the begging priest. See Suidas *s.vv.* *μητραγύρτης* and *βάραθρον*; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Μητρῷον; Apostolius, xi. 34; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 431; Julian, *Orat.* v. p. 159 a b. Within the sacred precinct there was an altar of the Mother of the Gods at which we hear of a slave taking refuge (Aeschines, i. 60). Here too was the large jar in which Diogenes the Cynic is said to have taken up his quarters (Diogenes Laertius, vi. 2. 23; cp. Juvenal, xiv. 308 *sqq.*; Seneca, *Epist.* xiv. 2. 14). It was forbidden to enter the sacred precinct after eating garlic (Athenaeus, x. p. 422 d).

The presidents of the Council sacrificed to the Mother of the Gods, doubtless on the altar already mentioned (Demosthenes, *Prooem.* p. 1460; Theophrastus, *Characters*, 21). A festival called Galaxia was held in her honour, at which a porridge made of barley and milk was eaten (Hesychius, *s.v.* *γαλάξια*; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 229, line 25 *sqq.*; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 470, line 13). The lads (*epheboi*) annually dedicated a cup to her (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 465, line 7; *id.*, No. 466, line 35; *id.*, No. 467, line 40; *id.*, No. 470, line 13; *id.*, No. 471, line 23).

The Metroum was the Record Office of Athens, in which the public archives were preserved (Dinarchus, i. 86; Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 66; Julian, *Orat.* v. p. 159 b; Photius, *s.v.* Μητρῷον; Suidas, *s.v.* *μητραγύρτης*; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Μητρῷον; Demosthenes, xix. 129, p. 381; Athenaeus, v. p. 214 e; ix. p. 407 c; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 446, line 17; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 1085, line 9). Among the documents in the Metroum was

the official copy of the accusation of Socrates, sworn to by his accuser Meletus ; it was still here in the second century of our era (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 40). The official copies of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were no doubt kept in the Metroum ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 841 f). Here too was deposited the will of Epicurus (Diogenes Laertius, x. 16). The keys of the Metroum were kept by the chairman of the presidents of the Council, who held office only for one day and one night, and was never allowed to be re-elected (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 44).

See E. Gerhard, *Ueber das Metroon zu Athen und über die Göttermutter der griech. Mythologie* (Berlin, 1851) (reprinted from the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy for 1849) ; C. Curtius, *Das Metroon in Athen als Staatsarchiv* (Berlin, 1868) ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 38 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 327-344.

3. 5. **her image is a work of Phidias.** According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 17) this image was by Agoracritus, the pupil and friend of Phidias. But Arrian, like Pausanias, ascribes the image to Phidias (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9). This discrepancy is perhaps to be explained by Pliny's statement (*N. H.* xxxvi. 17) that Phidias, out of regard for Agoracritus, allowed many of his own works to pass under his pupil's name. Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Kunstler*, i. p. 239 *sq.* The image, as we learn from Arrian (*l.c.*), represented the goddess seated with a cymbal in her hands and lions under her chair. In much the same attitude the goddess appears on a considerable number of marble reliefs which have been found in Athens and Piraeus. She is represented seated in a shrine with a cymbal in one hand and a lion under her chair, or lying on her lap, or rearing at her side. The details as well as the style of these reliefs vary considerably ; they were probably votive offerings, and some of them may be free copies of Phidias's statue. See K. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867). p. 302 : *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), plates 1 and 2 ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 44-51 ; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 331 *sq.*

3. 5. **the Council House of the Five Hundred.** The Council House appears to have been within the precinct of the Metroum (see above). Besides the statues which Pausanias mentions it must have contained an image of Counsellor Athena ; for Antiphon says (vi. 45) that in the Council House there was a sanctuary of Counsellor Zeus and Counsellor Athena, and that the members of the Council prayed to these deities on entering the house. The priest of these two divinities had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 272). There was also a hearth in the Council House, by which solemn oaths were taken (Aeschines, ii. 45), and at which persons in danger took sanctuary (Andocides, i. 43 *sq.*; *id.* ii. 13-15 ; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 52 ; Diodorus, xiv. 4. 7 ; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 836 f). We read of the pulpit or platform in the Council House on which the speaker who was addressing the house stood (Antiphon, vi. 40), of the benches on which the presidents sat (Lysias, xiii. 37), and of the railing which barred off the public from the

part of the house occupied by the members (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 640 *sqq.*, 675 ; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 55 ; [Demosthenes,] xxv. 23, p. 776). Copies of the laws of Solon, engraved on pyramidal tablets of stone, were set up in the Council House by Ephialtes, if we may trust the evidence of Anaximenes, a contemporary of Aristotle (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος). (See above, note on § 1 "the Royal Colonnade," and below, note on i. 18. 3.) Copies of various public documents, engraved on stone or metal, were set up in front of or within the Council House. Thus the list of the lads (*epheboi*) was engraved on a bronze plate and set up in front of the building (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 53). Another inscription, set up in the Council House, contained a decree denouncing the penalty of outlawry against all traitors who should plot against the democracy (Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 124-126). Other inscriptions recorded the honours bestowed on distinguished people (Aeschines, iii. 187 ; *C. I. A.* i. No. 21 ; *id.*, ii. No. 258); one recorded the public pardon granted to Andocides (Andocides, ii. 23). Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 320-327.

3. 5. **a wooden image.** The Greek word so translated is *xoanon*. Being derived from *xeō* (ξέω) 'to scrape,' 'smooth,' 'polish,' *xoanon* might be applied to an image made either of wood, stone, or ivory, as the Greek lexicographers observe (Hesychius, *s.v.* ξόανα ; *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* ξόανον, p. 611, line 12 *sqq.*) Strabo applies the word to the gold and ivory statue of Zeus by Phidias at Olympia (viii. p. 353 *sq.* ; cp. Paus. v. 11. 1) ; to the gold and ivory statue of Hera by Polyclitus at the Heraeum (viii. p. 372 ; cp. Paus. ii. 17. 4) ; to the marble statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus (ix. p. 396 ; cp. Paus. i. 33. 2 *sq.*) ; and to the statue of Sminthian Apollo by Scopas at Chryse (xiii. p. 604) which was almost certainly of marble (see Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 325). Lucian extends the use of the word so as to include statues of bronze and silver (Lucian, *Alexander*, 18 ; *id.*, *De dea Syria*, 39). But more properly the term was restricted to images made of wood, as it is defined by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iv. 46, p. 40, ed. Potter) and Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 225, iv. 56). Pausanias appears to use the word always in this, its restricted sense ; at least there are many passages in his work in which the word *must*, and none in which it *may* not, mean a wooden image. Thus he enumerates the different kinds of wood out of which *xoana* are made (viii. 17. 2) ; he mentions *xoana* made of olive wood (ii. 30. 4), of *agnus* wood (iii. 14. 7), of oak (ix. 3. 4), and of the wood from the figure-heads of ships (ix. 16. 3). He opposes *xoana* to images made of stone (ii. 11. 8 ; ii. 37. 2 ; ix. 11. 4), or of bronze (iv. 34. 7). In the case of what were called *acrolithic* statues, *i.e.* statues of which the extremities only were of stone, he distinguishes the marble face, feet, and hands of the image from the rest of the image, which he describes as *xoanon* (ii. 4. 1 ; vi. 25. 4 ; vii. 23. 5 ; vii. 26. 4 ; viii. 31. 6 ; ix. 4. 1). He mentions a *xoanon* which was said to have floated from Delos to Peloponnese (iii. 23. 3 *sq.*) Hence, even when there is nothing in the context to show what the material was (as in i. 18. 5 ; ii. 32. 5 ; iii. 19. 7), we may always assume that by *xoanon* Pausanias means a

wooden image. In some passages it is implied that the *xoana* were of a rude archaic character, as we should have expected (i. 36. 2; i. 42. 5; ii. 19. 3; vii. 25. 13). He speaks of the old images made by Daedalus as *xoana* (viii. 53. 8; ix. 40. 3), and expresses an opinion that in the days of Danaus all images (especially Egyptian images) were *xoana* (ii. 19. 3). He describes a *xoanon* of Aphrodite at Delos of which the lower part, instead of feet, was a square pillar (ix. 40. 3; cp. *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 3 (1879), p. 99 *sqq.*) Lastly, it may be added that in Pausanias *xoanon* is always an image of a deity, never a statue of a man. Lucian, however, applies the word to statues of kings and priests (*De dea Syria*, 39). Cp. Siebelis' edition of Pausanias, vol. i. p. xlii. *sq.*; Schubart, 'Die Wörter *ἄγαλμα, εἰκών, ξόανον, ἀνδριὰς* und verwandte, in ihren verschiedenen Beziehungen. Nach Pausanias,' *Philologus*, 24 (1866), pp. 561-587; Maxim. Fränkel, *De verbis potioribus quibus opera statuaria Graeci notabant* (Leipsic, 1873), pp. 10-13.

3. 5. **Counsellor Zeus.** Inscriptions attest the worship of Counsellor Zeus in Laconia (*C. I. G.* Nos. 1245, 1392), Caria (*C. I. G.* No. 2909), and at Pergamus (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. No. 246). As to Zeus surnamed Good Counsellor (Eubuleus), see note on i. 14. 3 'Eubuleus.' Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 150.

3. 5. **Pisias —— Lyson.** Nothing more is known of Pisias. Lyson is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 91) among the sculptors who made figures of athletes, armed men, hunters, and persons sacrificing.

3. 5. **The picture of the Lawgivers is by Protogenes of Caunus.** Lawgivers (*Thesmothetai*) was the title of the six archons who ranked after the three chief archons, namely, the archon *eponymus*, the king, and the polemarch. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 3 and 59-61. Professor Köhler conjectured that the picture of the Lawgivers (*Thesmothetai*) was not in the Council House, as we should expect from Pausanias's description, but in the Thesmothesium, the building in which the Lawgivers used to meet, and which Professor Köhler conjectures to have been on the south side of the market-place, near the Rotunda. See Köhler, in *Hermes*, 5 (1871), p. 342; *id.*, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 144-146. But his view that the picture in question was in the Thesmothesium is hardly consistent with the words of Pausanias; and from the way in which Aristotle speaks of the Thesmothesium we should almost infer that the building was no longer in use in his time; he says that at first the Lawgivers formerly occupied the Thesmothesium, but that in Solon's time all the nine archons assembled there (*Constitution of Athens*, 3). Cp. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 482, note 2; *id.*, 2. p. 353 *sq.*

The painter Protogenes, one of the most famous artists of antiquity, was a contemporary of Apelles, who generously acknowledged his excellence. In early life he had to struggle with poverty; it is even said that he was a ship-painter up to the age of fifty. He took enormous pains with his work; but his pictures would seem to have been more remarkable for perfection of technical skill than for ideal and poetical beauty. See Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. §§ 81-83, 87, 101-106;

Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 1907-1936; Brunn, *Geschichte der griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 233-243.

3. 5. **the portrait of Callippus —— is by Olbiades.** As to Callippus, see i. 4. 2; x. 20. 5. The irruption of the Gauls into Greece took place in 279 B.C. (Paus. x. 23. 14). The painter Olbiades was probably a contemporary. Nothing more is known of him.

4. 1. **on the shore of a great sea, which at its extremities is not navigable.** The ancients believed that the sea in the far North, beyond Shetland and in the neighbourhood of the Arctic Circle, was of so dense and clammy a consistency that ships could make no way through it, and even the winds could hardly stir its sluggish surface. They called it the Clotted Sea (θαλάσση πεπηγυία, *mare concretum*), the Dead Sea, or the Sea of Cronus (or Saturn). See Dionysius, *Orbis Descriptio*, 32 *sqq.*; *Orphei Argonautica*, 1081 *sqq.*; Strabo, i. p. 63, ii. p. 104; Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae*, xxvi. 2-4; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 95 and 104; Solinus, xix. 2 (p. 104, ed. Mommsen); Avienus, *Descriptio orbis terrae*, 56 *sqq.* (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 2. p. 177). Various explanations of this belief have been offered in modern times, as that it may have originated in an encounter with a bank of floating sea-weed, or jelly-fish, or icebergs, or in the observation of the sea when it is beginning to freeze. This last suggestion seems to answer best to the accounts of the ancients, who apparently compared the consistency of the Clotted Sea to that of a jelly-fish (Strabo, ii. p. 104); which describes very fairly the state of the sea when the ice is forming. We can hardly suppose that the ancients ever sailed so far north as to observe the freezing of the sea within the Arctic Circle, but they may very well have seen it in the Baltic. And in fact according to one account (Dionysius, *Descript. orbis*, 316 *sq.*) the Clotted Sea was near the land from which amber came; and that land was certainly the coast of the Baltic. Varro speaks of "the regions between the Arctic Circle and the Pole where the sun is not seen for six months together, and navigation on the ocean is impossible because the sea is frozen" (*De re rustica*, i. 2. 4). But this description of the Polar Sea may be merely a speculative inference, or, more probably, an interpretation of the mysterious name 'the Clotted Sea.' The native Celtic name of the Northern Ocean was, according to the ancients, Morimarusa, which the Romans interpreted as *mortuum mare* 'the Dead Sea' (Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 95; Solinus, xix. 2). This interpretation is correct, and furnishes an interesting example of the kinship of the Latin and Celtic tongues. Morimarusa is compounded of two Celtic words meaning 'sea' (Irish *muir*, Welsh *môr*) and 'dead' (Irish *marb*, Welsh *marw*). The former word is still preserved in the name of Morecambe Bay in Lancashire (*morecambe* = 'curved sea'). See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, 1. pp. 410-425.

4. 1. **The sea ebbs and flows.** To the ancients, living on the shores of the tideless Mediterranean, the tides of the Atlantic were a standing marvel, of which sailors brought back descriptions, but which very few landsmen had ever seen. The first Greek to report fully upon

the tides and to connect them with the phases of the moon seems to have been the bold traveller Pytheas of Marseilles, who in the fourth century B.C. explored the North-west of Europe as far as Shetland. See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, I. pp. 364-368.

4. 1. **the river Eridanus, on whose banks —— the daughters of the Sun** etc. The story was that the daughters of the Sun wept beside the river Eridanus into which their brother Phaethon had fallen from the chariot of the Sun, till the gods in pity turned them into black poplars: and still they weep, but their tears are drops of amber exuding from the bark. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 735 *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 596 *sqq.*; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xxv.; Ovid, *Met.* ii. 340 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 154; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 31. The story is clearly a mythical way of saying that the yellow amber is a product of the yellow sun distilled through trees. But the tree which exudes amber is not the black poplar but a species of pine, as Pliny knew (*N. H.* xxxvii. 42 *sq.*) As to the Eridanus and the amber of the ancients, see note on v. 12. 7. Here, as in ii. 3. 1, Pausanias regards Phaethon as a son of the Sun. Cp. note on i. 3. 1.

4. 1. **The name Gauls came into vogue late** etc. The people whom we call Celts were known to the ancients under three names, viz. Celts (Κελτοί, *Celtae*), Galatians (Γαλάται), and Gauls (*Galli*).

The first two (Celts, Galatians) were the names applied to them by Greek writers; the last (Gauls) was the name employed by Roman authors. Caesar tells us (*De bello Gallico*, i. 1) that while Gauls was the name applied to them by the Romans, their own national name was Celts. This is a point upon which Caesar could hardly have been mistaken; it seems therefore somewhat rash of Mr. Kiepert to reject his statement (*Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1864, p. 149). From the same root is probably derived Celtillus, the name of Vercingetorix's father (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 4); but this is the only tolerably certain case of a word derived from this root in any Celtic language. It has been proposed to connect the name Celt with the Latin *celsus* 'tall' and the Lithuanian *keltas* 'lifted up,' *isz-keltas* 'lofty.' If this etymology is correct the name Celts means 'the tall folk.' The other two names (Galatians, Gauls) are thought by philologists to be derived from a different root; and of these two the older form is probably Galatians. The name is supposed to be connected with the old Irish *gal* 'bravery,' *galdae* 'brave.' Hence Galatians or Gauls would mean 'the brave folk.' See L. Contzen, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten*, p. 3 *sq.*: d'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Les Celtes, les Galates, les Gaulois.' *Revue archéologique*, N. S. 30 (1875), pp. 4-18; E. Windisch, 'Keltische Sprachen,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, 2te section, 35. p. 133 *sq.* Pausanias himself uses both the names, Celts and Galatians. For the latter I have substituted the Latin form Gauls, as more familiar to English readers, but when the reference is to the Gauls settled in Asia Minor I have, in accordance with English usage, retained the form Galatians. See the index *s.v.* 'Celts,' 'Gauls,' and 'Galatians.'

4. 1. **A host of them mustered and marched towards the Ionian Sea** etc. With the following account of the irruption of the Gauls into

Greece in 279 B.C. compare the fuller narrative of the same episode in x. 19-23. The fact of Pausanias's work including two separate and detailed narratives of the same series of events seems to show that the parts of his work in which they occur must have been published separately. If he had published the whole ten books simultaneously as a single work, he would probably have struck out the present briefer narrative after writing the longer one in book x. There is other evidence that some at least of the books were published separately. See vii. 20. 6.

4. 5. **Pergamus, which was called Teuthrania of old.** Cp. i. 11. 2. Pausanias seems to think that Teuthrania was only the old name of Pergamus. But from other sources we learn that Teuthrania and Pergamus were separate towns. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6; Strabo, xii. p. 571, xiii. p. 615. Teuthrania appears to have occupied the summit of the isolated hill now known as *Mt. St. Elias*, situated on the right bank of the Caicus river, about half-way between Pergamus and the sea. The modern village at the foot of the hill is called *Kalerga*. The place is about eight miles from Pergamus. There are ruins on the top of the hill, including a wall about 60 paces long, built of polygonal blocks and skirting the southern foot of the steep slope of the highest peak. See Conze, 'Teuthrania,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 149-160.

4. 5. **drove them away from the sea into —— Galatia.** Cp. i. 8. 1; i. 25. 2. Attalus, prince of Pergamus, defeated the Gauls in a great battle; after his victory he took the title of king and reigned as Attalus I. king of Pergamus. See Polybius, xviii. 24 (41 of Dindorf's edition); Livy, xxxviii. 16; Strabo, xiii. p. 624; Trogus Pompeius, Prologue xxvii. From an inscription found at Pergamus we learn that the battle was fought at the springs of the Caicus river and that the Gauls belonged to the tribe of the Tolistoagii (doubtless the tribe whom Strabo, xii. p. 566 *sq.*, calls the Tolistobogii). See *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, Vorläufiger Bericht (Berlin, 1880), p. 80; *id.* (Second Report, Berlin, 1882) p. 46; *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 40 (1885), p. 117; Hicks, *Greek histor. Inscriptions*, No. 180; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 154; Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 24. The exact date of Attalus's victory over the Gauls is uncertain. Niebuhr placed it in 230 or 229 B.C.; Droysen between 238 and 235 B.C.; Mr. Koepp in 240 B.C. See Contzen, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten*, p. 234 *sqq.*; Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, iii. 2. p. 9; Fr. Koepp, 'Ueber die Galaterkriege der Attaliden,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 40 (1885), p. 114 *sqq.*; Holm, *Griech. Geschichte*, 4. p. 377 *sq.*

4. 5. **Ancyra.** There were two towns of this name in Asia Minor, one situated in Phrygia on the borders of Lydia, the other further to the east in Galatia. The former was but a small town; the latter was the one seized by the Gauls. See Strabo, xii. p. 567. The Galatian Ancyra still retains its old name in the slightly altered form of *Enguri* (commonly known as *Angora*), (W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 243). The Gauls who settled in Galatia and gave their name to the country were divided into three tribes, the Trocmi,

the Tolistobogii, and the Tectosages. It was the Tectosages who seized and held Ancyra. See Strabo, xii. p. 566 *sq.*

4. 5. **The anchor which Midas found.** Another legend to account for the name Ancyra (which in Greek means 'anchor') is told by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἄγκυρα) on the authority of Apollonius. The legend is that Mithridates and Ariobarzanes aided the Gauls (Galatians) to repel an Egyptian army sent against them by Ptolemy, and after driving the Egyptians down to the sea carried off the anchors of their ships.

On coins of the Galatian Ancyra the City, personified, is represented seated and holding an anchor and sceptre. An anchor appears on coins of the Phrygian Ancyra also. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 557, 630. (Mr. Head falls into the mistake of supposing that in the present passage Pausanias is speaking of the Phrygian Ancyra. That Pausanias is speaking of the Galatian Ancyra is quite clear from the statement that Ancyra was beyond, *i.e.* east of, the river Sangarius.)

4. 5. **the fountain of Midas** etc. The story ran that the satyr Silenus was gifted with supernatural knowledge which he was loath to impart. So to catch him King Midas mixed wine with the water of the spring out of which the satyr was wont to drink. In the drunken sleep which followed his draught from the fountain Silenus fell an easy prey to the crafty king, and was not released till he had held high discourse on the nature of the world and the vanity of human life. See Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apollon.* 27; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 18; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vi. 27; Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 48. 114; Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 13; Himerius, *Ecl.* xvi. 5. According to Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 13) the fountain of Midas, with the water of which he caught the satyr, was at Thymbrium by the wayside. Cp. W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 140.

The Macedonians affirmed that Silenus was caught in Macedonia in the gardens of Midas, where bloomed the sweetest roses in all the world (Herodotus, viii. 138). According to Bion the name of the fountain at which Silenus was caught was Inna, and it was between Paeonia and the land of the Maedi (Athenaeus, ii. p. 45 c). The story of King Midas and his ass's ears (Ovid, *Met.* xi. 146-193; Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 287) is a folk-tale which is still current in Greece. See B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, pp. 70 *sq.*, 224 *sq.* Parallels to it are found, with trifling variations of detail, in Ireland (Grimm, *Household Tales*, 2. p. 408, tr. by M. Hunt; Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary fictions of the Irish Celts*, p. 248 *sqq.*, ed. 1866), in Servia (Karadschitsch, *Volksmärchen der Serben*, No. 39, p. 225 *sqq.*), and among the Mongols (Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, No. 22, p. 182 *sqq.*; *Sagas from the Far East*, No. 21, p. 206 *sqq.*)

On supposed representations of Midas in existing works of ancient art, see Th. Panofka in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 2 (1844), pp. 383-398; *id.*, 3 (1845), pp. 87-96. (One of the figures which Panofka interpreted as Midas is certainly Dionysus on a dromedary.)

4. 5. **Mount Agdistis.** Arnobius tells us (*Adversus Nationes*, v. 5, cp. *id.* v. 9) that in Phrygia there was a rock of a most prodigious

size which the natives called Agdus, and which by an unnatural birth brought forth the monster Agdistis (as to whom see Paus. vii. 17. 10-12). According to Prof. W. M. Ramsay, the name Agdus is the Phrygian word for mountain, being the same as the Greek *ochthos* (ὄχθος); Agdistis thus means "the son of the mountain," and Attis (Atys) is only a contracted form of Agdistis. See Prof. W. M. Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 56.

4. 6. **The Pergamenians have spoils taken from the Gauls, and a picture representing the battle with them.** The German excavations at Pergamus in 1878-1881 showed that the temple of Athena on the Acropolis of that city was enclosed on two sides by spacious colonnades. In the back-walls of these two colonnades were niches, each niche enclosed by two half-columns supporting an architrave. Further, there were found fragments of two identical inscriptions which seem to have been placed on the back-walls of the colonnades. The inscriptions run thus:

Βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος Βασιλέως Ἀττάλου Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Νικηφόρῳ
χαριστήριον τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων

"King Attalus, son of King Attalus, (dedicated) to Zeus and Victory-bringing Athena a thank-offering from the conflicts in war." Perhaps these niches contained some of the spoils taken from the Gauls, and the painting mentioned by Pausanias may have also occupied part of the back-walls of the colonnades; it was perhaps a long series of pictures. We know from Pausanias's description of the colonnades in the market-place at Athens that it was common to adorn the walls of such edifices with paintings. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Pergamon,' p. 1220 *sqq.* It is true that the dedication recorded in the inscription was by Attalus II., but he may very well have commemorated the victories of his predecessors Attalus I. and Eumenes II., both of whom engaged in a series of conflicts with the Gauls, though Pausanias seems to have heard only of the decisive victory won by Attalus I. As to the wars of the kings of Pergamus with the Gauls, see Contzen, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten*, p. 233 *sqq.*; Fr. Koepp, 'Ueber die Galaterkriege der Attaliden,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 40 (1885), pp. 114-132.

4. 6. **sacred to the Cabiri of old.** According to Aristides (*Or.* lv. vol. 2. p. 709, ed. Dindorf), the Cabiri were said to be the oldest divinities of Pergamus.

4. 6. **the band which crossed to Asia with Telephus.** In classical literature we find two different stories of the coming of Telephus to Asia. According to Euripides, who wrote a play on the subject of Telephus, the infant Telephus and his mother Auge were placed in a chest by Auge's father, Aleus, king of Tegea in Arcadia, and thrown into the sea; the chest drifted to the mouth of the Caicus where it was found by Teuthras, king of the country, who married Auge and adopted Telephus. See Strabo, xiii. p. 615, cp. *id.* xii. p. 572. According to the other story, Aleus gave his daughter Auge to Nauplius with orders to drown her, but Nauplius spared her and ultimately she came into the hands of

Teuthras, king of Mysia, who married or adopted her. Meantime the infant Telephus had been exposed on Mount Parthenius, but a doe found him and suckled him. When he grew up, Telephus inquired of the oracle at Delphi, and was told to go to the court of Teuthras in Mysia, where he found his mother. See Diodorus, iv. 33 ; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 4, iii. 9. 1 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 99 *sq.* ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 206. This latter story was apparently the one followed by Pausanias here and elsewhere (see viii. 48. 7 ; viii. 54. 6 ; ix. 31. 2), as well as by Aristides, who speaks of the colony which came from Arcadia to Mysia with Telephus (*Or.* xlii. vol. 1. p. 772, ed. Dindorf). But in another passage (viii. 4. 9), Pausanias follows Euripides's version of the legend. Scenes from the life of Telephus were depicted in relief on the smaller of the two friezes on the great altar of Pergamus, as we learn from the fragments of the frieze which were discovered by the Germans at Pergamus and are now at Berlin. One of the scenes represents the making of the chest in which Auge is to be shut up ; four men are making it with hammer, saw, axe, and gimlet, while beside them sits Auge, with her head veiled, in an attitude of sorrow. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1269 *sqq.* This scene on the frieze proves that, according to one version of the legend, Auge was put into the chest by herself while the babe was left behind. This particular version of the story seems not to be mentioned in ancient literature, but it is illustrated by a coin of Elaea, the port of Pergamus, which represents the finding of the chest. Auge appears preparing to step out of the chest in the presence of four men, one of whom gives her his hand, while a second holds the lid of the chest open. The men seem to be fishermen and to have caught the chest in their net ; for the bottom of the chest is wrapped in a net, and the prow of a boat is depicted to the left. See Fr. Marx, 'Broncemünze von Elaia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 21-26. From its occurrence on these two monuments of Pergamenian art, we may conclude that the solitary voyage of Auge in the chest to the mouth of the Caicus was the orthodox Pergamenian legend. The story of Hercules and Auge is the subject of some Pompeian paintings. See C. Robert, 'Ercole ed Auge sopra pitture Pompeiane,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 56 (1884), pp. 75-87. Telephus was worshipped at Pergamus. See iii. 26. 10 ; v. 13. 3.

4\. 6. **Telephus' bold attack on the army of Agamemnon** etc. See ix. 5. 14 note.

5\. 1. **the so-called Rotunda.** This was a round building with a tiled roof. It was also called the Skias ('umbrella') on account of the conical shape of the roof. See Harpocration, Hesychius, Suidas, Photius (*Lexicon*), Timaeus (*Lexicon Platonicum*), *Etymolog. Magnum* (p. 453), *s.v.* θόλος ; Bekker's *Anecd. Graeca*, 1. p. 264. The name Skias appears to have been the official designation of the building, as it is regularly employed in inscriptions instead of Rotunda (*Tholos*) : see *e.g.* *C. I. A.* iii. No. 1051, line 22. The presidents (*prutaneis*) of the Council of Five Hundred dined here together daily at the public expense and offered sacrifices and libations (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 43 ; Demosthenes, xix. 190, p. 400 ; Ammonius, quoted by Harpocration,

s.v. θόλος; Pollux, viii. 155). In a case of emergency they slept in the building (Andocides, i. 45). Their chairman (*epistates*), who kept the keys of the sanctuaries in which the public treasures and records were preserved, had to stay in the Rotunda during his twenty-four hours of office, along with one-third of his colleagues, whomever he chose for the duty (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 44). The secretaries of the Council also dined with the presidents in the Rotunda (Demosthenes, xix. 249, p. 419). Standard weights and measures were kept in the Rotunda in charge of a public slave (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 476, line 37 *sqq.*) Socrates was examined in the Rotunda before the Thirty Tyrants (Plato, *Apol. Socr.* p. 32 c d). On the Rotunda, see further C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 315-320.

5. 1. **certain silver images of no great size.** Prof. Köhler conjectured that these may have been images of the gods of the hearth (*Hermes*, 5 (1871), p. 334), and his conjecture is approved by Prof. C. Wachsmuth (*Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 317, note 1). But the public hearth of Athens seems to have been in the Prytaneum (see i. 18. 3 note), where accordingly we should expect to find the images of the gods of the hearth. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Birds*, 436) speaks of a custom of setting up a clay image of Hephaestus beside the hearth; but this seems to be merely an inference from the passage of Aristophanes on which he is commenting.

5. 1. **Higher up stand statues of the heroes** etc. These statues appear to have stood somewhere on the northern slope of the Areopagus, above the Metroum, the Council House, and the Rotunda. Aristotle tells us (*Constitution of Athens*, 53) that the bronze tablet on which was engraved the list of the lads (*epheboi*) was set up "in front of the Council House beside the statues of the eponymous heroes," which implies that these statues were close to the Council House. Lists of the men called out for military service were also posted up at these statues, the names being probably arranged in batches according to the tribes and posted up on or beside the statues of the respective tribal heroes; thus the list of the men called out in the tribe Pandionis would be put up on the statue of Pandion, etc. See Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1180 *sqq.*, with the scholiast on v. 1183. It seems that copies of proposed laws were also set up for public inspection at the statues of the eponymous heroes (Demosthenes, xx. 94, p. 485; *id.* xxiv. 23, p. 707; cp. Andocides, i. 83 *sq.*, but the genuineness of the passage is doubtful, see Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 348, note 4). The names of men who had deserved well of the state were proclaimed or written up in front of these statues (Isocrates, xviii. 61; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 569); and on the other hand, the names of unpatriotic citizens were posted up to public execration at the same place (Isaeus, v. 38). Thus, as a place for public notices, the statues of the eponymous heroes seem to have served like the town cross with us. To have a statue of one's self set up beside those of these heroes was a high distinction (Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 17). Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 387-390.

5. 1. **Herodotus has told who it was that established ten tribes instead of four.** Clisthenes abolished the four old Attic tribes

called Geleontes, Hoplites, Aegicoreis, and Argadeis, and redivided the population of Attica into ten new tribes. See Herodotus, v. 66 and 69. This reform was effected in the archonship of Isagoras, 508-507 B.C., according to Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 21). See K. F. Hermann, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[6] ed. Thumser, §§ 54, 71, pp. 290 *sqq.*, 395 *sqq.*; G. Busolt, *Griech. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer*,[2] §§ 115, 116, 136, pp. 124 *sqq.*, 159 *sq.*; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. pp. 113 *sqq.*, 160 *sqq.* The new ten tribes established by Cleisthenes were named, in their official order, as follows: Erechthēis, Aegēis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Oenēis, Cecropis, Hippothontis, Ajantis, and Antiochis. See *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 172, 943; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 123-124, line 50 *sqq.*; [Demosthenes,] lx. 27-31, p. 1397 *sqq.* Cp. Busolt, *op. cit.* p. 217; Gilbert, *op. cit.* p. 222. On the eponymous heroes and the tribes named after them, see A. Mommsen, 'Die zehn Eponymen und die Reihenfolge der Phylen Athens,' *Philologus*, 47 (1889), pp. 449-486.

5. 2. Hippothoon, son of Poseidon etc. Cp. i. 38. 4; i. 39. 3 note.

5. 2. Antiochus. Cp. ii. 4. 3; x. 10. 1.

5. 2. Leos, who is said to have given his daughters etc. The legend ran that Attica was afflicted with a famine, and the Delphic oracle declared that the only remedy was a human sacrifice. So Leos, son of Orpheus, voluntarily gave up his three daughters Phrasithea (or Praxithea), Theope, and Eubule to be sacrificed for the public weal. According to another, and apparently older, version of the legend the girls offered themselves as victims. The sacrifice was effectual, and the three heroic maidens were henceforth worshipped by the Athenians in a shrine called the Leocorium which stood in the centre of the Ceramicus. See [Demosthenes,] lx. 29, p. 1398; Diodorus, xvii. 15; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. 1. p. 191 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 28; Harpocration, Photius (*Lexicon*), Suidas, *Etymol. Magn.* (p. 560), and Hesychius, *s.v.* Λεωκόριον; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 277, line 13 *sq.*; Apostolius, x. 53. That the Leocorium was in the market-place we learn from Demosthenes (liv. 7, p. 1258). Beside it Hipparchus fell by the swords of Harmodius and Aristogiton (Thucydides, i. 20, vi. 57; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 18). It was one of the famous places of Athens, being mentioned along with the Acropolis, the temple of Olympian Zeus, the Painted Colonnade, the Gardens of the Philosophers, the Lyceum, and the Academy (Strabo, ix. p. 396). This makes it all the more remarkable that Pausanias nowhere mentions it. Modern scholars are not agreed as to the uses to which the building was put. Prof. E. Curtius would derive the name from λεώς 'people' and κορεῖν 'to sweep,' and supposes that public ceremonies of expiation and purification were performed at it. See K. O. Müller, 'De foro Athenarum,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 5. p. 146; E. Curtius, 'Das Leokorion und die Volksversammlungsräume von Athen,' *Monatsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin) for 1878, pp. 77-87 (reprinted in Curtius's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 465-474); *id.*, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 63 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 413-418.

5. 2. **Erechtheus —— slew —— Immaradus.** Cp. i. 27. 4; i. 38. 3.

5. 3. **there were two kings of the name of Cecrops** etc. Cecrops the First, king of Athens, was supposed to be earth-born, and to be half-man and half-serpent; he married Agraulus, daughter of Actaeus. See Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1 *sq.*; cp. Paus. i. 2. 6. Cecrops the Second was the eldest son of Erechtheus, and succeeded his father on the throne of Athens. See Apollodorus, iii. 15. 5; cp. Paus. vii. 1. 2. He is said to have founded the town of Athens (Athenae Diades) in Euboea (Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. 2. pp. 26, 27, ed. Schöne). K. O. Müller held that the tribe whose settlements were called Athens (there was an Athens also in Boeotia, see ix. 24. 2), and whose goddess was Athena, everywhere revered as their founder a priestly chief named Cecrops. But King Cecrops II. of Athens was probably (as K. O. Müller and others have seen) a later fiction. See K. O. Müller, *Orchomenus*,[2] p. 116 *sq.* Elsewhere Pausanias mentions that a certain Cecrops, son of Pandion, had a shrine at Haliartus in Boeotia (see ix. 33. 1, and the note on ix. 24. 2). There can be no doubt that Clisthenes, in naming one of his new tribes after Cecrops, had in mind the first Cecrops, the half-man half-serpent, as the pseudo-Demosthenes says (lx. 30, p. 1398), not his double, Cecrops II., who was a mere genealogical stop-gap.

5. 3. **two kings called Pandion.** Pandion I., king of Athens, was a son of Erichthonius and a Naiad nymph named Praxithea. He succeeded his father Erichthonius on the throne. In his reign Demeter and Dionysus are said to have come to Attica. He married Zeuxippe, by whom he had two daughters, Procne and Philomela, and two sons, Erechtheus and Butes. See Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6-8. Pandion II. was a son of Cecrops II. and Metiadusa, daughter of Eupalamus. He succeeded his father Cecrops on the throne of Athens, but was expelled by the sons of Metion, and took refuge at Megara. See Apollodorus, iii. 15. 5. Eusebius calls Pandion II. a son of Erechtheus, not of Cecrops II. See the genealogy of the old kings of Athens in Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. 1. p. 183 *sqq.*, ed Schöne. The pseudo-Demosthenes (lx. 28, p. 1397) regarded Pandion I. (the father of Procne and Philomela) as the eponymous hero of the Attic tribe Pandionis.

5. 3. **driven from the throne by the Metionids** etc. Apollodorus tells us that Pandion, king of Athens, was expelled by the rebel sons of Metion, and fled to Megara, where he married Pelia (or Pylia) daughter of Pylas, the king of the city. He afterwards came to the throne of Megara; for Pylas slew his own paternal uncle Bias, and withdrew to Peloponnese where he founded Pylus, leaving the kingdom of Megara to Pandion. The sons born to Pandion at Megara were Aegeus, Pallas, Nisus, and Lycus. See Apollodorus, iii. 15. 5; cp. Paus. i. 39. 4. The usurper Metion was himself a scion of the royal house of Athens, being either a son or a grandson of Erechtheus (Pherecydes, quoted by Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 472; Diodorus, iv. 76). According to one tradition the famous artist Daedalus was a son of Metion. See note on ix. 3. 2; and as to the house of the Metionids, see Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 161-169.

5. 3. **his tomb is by the sea-shore in the land of Megara.** See i. 41. 6 note.

5. 4. **in respect of his daughters Pandion was unlucky,** etc. The daughters were Procne and Philomela. See i. 41. 8 *sq.*; x. 4. 8 note. "The Thracian prince" is Tereus; he reigned at Daulis in Phocis, but the population of the district was then Thracian (Thucydides, ii. 29).

5. 5. **tribes called after Attalus —— and Ptolemy.** In 200 B.C. Attalus I., king of Pergamus, visited Athens in company with the Roman ambassadors, and was received with great demonstrations of enthusiasm; amongst other honours conferred on him the tribe Attalis was created and named after him. See Polybius, xvi. 25; Livy, xxxi. 15; cp. Paus. 1. 8. 1. The exact date when the tribe Ptolemais was instituted is not known. If the Ptolemy, from whom the tribe took its name, was Ptolemy Philadelphus, as Pausanias supposed (see i. 6. 8; i. 8. 6), then the tribe must have been created between 285 and 247 B.C., that being the period of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Prof. Beloch, however, has argued that the Ptolemy in whose honour the tribe was created was Ptolemy Euergetes, who reigned from 247 to 221 B.C. His reason is that in the tribe Ptolemais there was a township (*deme*) called Berenicidae after Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes (Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Βερενικίδαι); this township must have been instituted in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, and Prof. Beloch holds that the tribe Ptolemais must have been instituted simultaneously. According to him, the creation of the tribe took place somewhere between 229 B.C. (the date when the Macedonian garrisons were withdrawn from Attica, see C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 630 *sq.*) and 221 B.C., the date of the death of Ptolemy Euergetes. See J. Beloch, 'Die Errichtung der Phyle Ptolemais,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 30 (1884), pp. 481-488.

Pausanias has omitted to mention that in 306-305 B.C. two new tribes, the Demetrias and Antigonis, were instituted in honour of Demetrius and Antigonus (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 10): but they were abolished not very many years afterwards, though the exact date of the abolition is not known. See G. Gilbert, 'Zur Geschichte der Zwölfzahl der attischen Phylen,' *Philologus*, 39 (1880), pp. 373-378; *id.*, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 222 *sq.*

5. 5. **a tribe called after the Emperor Hadrian.** This tribe (Hadrianis) is mentioned in many inscriptions (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 81-83, 1113, 1114, 1120, 1121 etc.) See Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 343 *sq.* From inscriptions we learn that there were tribes named after Hadrian at Megara and in the Phrygian town of Eumenia (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 72, 74, 101; *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 8 (1884), p. 234).

5. 5. **he quelled the revolt of the Hebrews.** In the reign of Hadrian the Jews revolted (132 A.D.), but were put down after a long and most desperate resistance. More than half a million of them were slaughtered, and the number that perished by hunger, and disease, and fire was past finding out. Judaea was almost turned into a desert. Its desolation is said to have been foreshadowed by signs and omens before

the war. For Solomon's tomb had suddenly fallen down, and wolves and hyaenas ran howling through the streets of the cities. On the Roman side, too, the losses were so heavy that in the despatches which announced his victory the emperor omitted the usual preliminary flourishes about the health and spirit of the troops. It was not Judaea only that suffered; the Jews all over the world were in agitation and engaged in hostilities, more or less open, against the Roman government, aided and abetted, from mercenary motives, by the scum of other nations. So that, in the words of the ancient historian who records these events, the whole world was shaken. All this was because the chosen people were not allowed to circumcise themselves (*quod vetebantur mutilare genitilia*). See Dio Cassius, lxix. 13 *sq.*; Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 14; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 8. p. 175 *sq.*; H. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1. pp. 612-615.

5. 5. **the common sanctuary of the gods.** Cp. i. 18. 9.

6. 2. **Ptolemy —— was really the son of Philip.** Cp. Quintus Curtius, ix. 8. 22.

6. 2. **when Alexander was in danger amongst the Oxydracians** etc. Alexander the Great, in storming the citadel of a city in India, was the first to mount the scaling-ladder; but the ladder breaking down behind him he was left alone, and it was some time before his men could reach and rescue him. See Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi. 9 *sq.*; Quintus Curtius, ix. 4 *sq.*; Appian, *Bellum Civile*, ii. 152; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 63. The city in which this took place is commonly said to have been in the territory of the Oxydracian tribe (so Quintus Curtius and Appian, *ll.cc.*; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* xiv. 5; Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Ὀξυδράκαι). But this is expressly denied by Arrian, who affirms that it occurred in the city of an independent Indian tribe called the Malli (Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi. 11. 3). His testimony is supported by that of Plutarch (*l.c.*) Again, the view that Ptolemy had been among the foremost in rescuing Alexander from his peril, thereby earning the title of Saviour, is combatted by Arrian, who tells us that Ptolemy in his own published memoirs expressly denied having been present at the action at all; he had been away, he said, on an expedition against another tribe at the time (Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi. 11. 8). Clitarchus, indeed, affirmed that Ptolemy was present on the occasion (Quintus Curtius, ix. 5. 21); but Ptolemy must have known better himself, and he could have no motive for disclaiming a share in the glory of rescuing Alexander. Stephanus Byzantius compresses both mistakes into his short note on the Oxydracians (Ὀξυδράκαι). Cp. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] i. 2. p. 185.

6. 2. **he opposed those who would have transferred the whole power to Aridaeus** etc. Cp. Justin, xiii. 2. 11 *sq.*

6. 3. **He prevailed on the Macedonians who were charged with the conveyance of Alexander's body** etc. After being brought with extraordinary pomp from Babylon to Memphis, the remains of Alexander were finally laid in a splendid sepulchre in Alexandria, where sacrifices were offered to him as a hero, and magnificent games celebrated in his honour. Here the body still reposed at the beginning of our era, lying

in a crystal coffin, the golden coffin in which it was originally deposited having been stolen. Alexander died in 323 B.C.; but nearly two years were spent in preparing the funeral pageant, and it was towards the end of 322 B.C. when the stately train set out from Babylon. See i. 7. 1; Diodorus, xviii. 26-28; Arrian, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 70 b, ed. Bekker; Strabo, xvii. p. 794; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 1. p. 110 *sqq.*

6. 3. **he was repulsed** etc. The defeat and death of Perdiccas took place in 321 B.C. See Diodorus, xviii. 33-36; Arrian, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 71 a, ed. Bekker; Justin, xiii. 6 and 8; Droysen, *op. cit.* ii. 1. p. 125 *sqq.*; Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 7. p. 236 *sqq.*

6. 4. **when Seleucus —— fled to him** etc. Seleucus fled to Ptolemy in Egypt in 316 B.C., and the alliance between Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander was concluded soon afterwards. See Diodorus, xix. 56; Appian, *Syr.* 53.

6. 5. **the revolt of Cyrene.** Cyrene revolted in 312 B.C., but was reduced to subjection by Agis, the general of Ptolemy, according to Diodorus (xix. 79). Droysen puts the revolt of Cyrene in 313 B.C. (*Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 34 *sq.*)

6. 5. **entrusting them to his son Demetrius** etc. Demetrius was at this time twenty-two years old. He rashly gave battle to Ptolemy at Gaza and was defeated in 312 B.C. See Diodorus, xix. 80-84; Appian, *Syr.* 54; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 5; Justin, xv. 1. 6; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. p. 340; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 40 *sqq.*

6. 5. **marched towards the Hellespont** etc. According to Diodorus (xix. 77) Antigonus reached the Propontis, and then, without crossing over into Europe, went into winter quarters. Cp. Critical Note.

6. 5. **he had even surprised and cut to pieces a handful of Egyptian troops.** After the battle of Gaza, Ptolemy despatched a force against Demetrius with instructions to drive him out of Syria. But Demetrius succeeded in surprising and capturing the whole force sent against him, including the general (312 B.C.) His success would seem to have been much more considerable than Pausanias here represents it. See Diodorus, xix. 93; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 6; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 52 *sq.*

6. 6. **Demetrius sailed to Cyprus and defeated Menelaus —— in a sea-fight.** In 306 B.C. Demetrius sailed to Cyprus, landed in the island, defeated Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, in a land battle, and besieged him in Salamis. Ptolemy came to relieve Salamis with a large fleet, but was decisively defeated by Demetrius in a great naval battle. After the battle Menelaus surrendered Salamis to him, with all his army and fleet, and Ptolemy fled to Egypt. On the strength of this great victory Demetrius and his father Antigonus both assumed the title of king. See Diodorus, xx. 47-53; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 15-17; Polyaenus, iv. 7. 7; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. pp. 364-368; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. pp. 125-137. Thus Pausanias has committed two mistakes in the present passage. He implies that the Cyprian

expedition of Demetrius followed his Syrian at an interval of a year, whereas there was a lapse of six years between them ; and he says that the battle which Menelaus lost to Demetrius was fought at sea.

6. 6. **Ptolemy —— was besieged by Antigonus and Demetrius.** The unsuccessful expedition of Antigonus and Demetrius against Egypt in 306 B.C. is described by Diodorus, xx. 73-76 ; cp. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 19 ; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. pp. 368-370 ; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. pp. 146-152.

6. 6. **the Rhodians sustained the siege with valour and skill.** On the memorable siege of Rhodes by Demetrius in 305-304 B.C., see Diodorus, xx. 81-88, 91-100 ; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 21 *sq.*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. pp. 372-381 ; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. pp. 155-174.

6. 6. **Ptolemy put forth all his power to assist them.** He sent them reinforcements and provisions (Diodorus, xx. 88. 9 ; xx. 94. 3 ; xx. 96. 1 ; xx. 98. 1 ; cp. xx. 99. 2). For this help the Rhodians surnamed him Saviour. See i. 8. 6 note.

6. 7. **Antigonus —— ventured to take the field against Lysimachus** etc. The battle to which Pausanias here refers was fought at Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 B.C. It is not certain that Cassander was present in person on the field, but some of his troops probably took part in the engagement ; for before the battle he had sent a force into Asia to the help of his allies, Lysimachus and Seleucus. Antigonus, then more than eighty years old, was slain in the battle. See Diodorus, xx. 112, xxi. 1 (fragments) ; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 28 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pyrrhus*, 4 ; Appian, *Syr.* 55 ; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. p. 395 *sqq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. pp. 215-219.

6. 7. **it was by Antigonus' means that he had recovered the government of Macedonia.** When Antipater, regent of Macedonia, died in 319 B.C., he bequeathed his power, not to his son Cassander, but to Polysperchon, one of Alexander the Great's veteran generals. Cassander crossed to Asia and threw himself upon the protection of Antigonus, who received him kindly and afterwards equipped him with a fleet and military force, by means of which Cassander ultimately regained the government of Macedonia. See Diodorus, xviii. 48 *sq.*, 54, 68 ; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. pp. 259-261, 264, 280, etc. ; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 1. pp. 177, 183 *sqq.*

6. 8. **restored Pyrrhus to Thesprotia in Epirus.** Cp. i. 11. 5 note. Pyrrhus at the age of seventeen was expelled from his kingdom of Epirus. He fought on the side of Demetrius and Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus. On the conclusion of peace he was sent as a hostage to Egypt, where, having won the friendship of Ptolemy, he was furnished by the king with money and a military force which enabled him to return to Epirus. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 4 *sq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 255 *sq.*

6. 8. **Cyrene —— was taken in the fourth year after the revolt by Magas** etc. Cyrene revolted from Ptolemy in 313 or 312 B.C. (see note on § 5). Hence Droysen places the expedition of Magas against it in 308 B.C. (*Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 64). But Pausanias clearly

implies (1) that the expedition of Magas took place after the battle of Ipsus, which was fought in 301 B.C.; and (2) that Cyrene had continued in a state of revolt for four years before it was reduced by Magas. If Pausanias is right in either of these implications the revolt referred to here cannot be the revolt of 313 or 312 B.C., since that revolt (1) occurred ten or twelve years before the battle of Ipsus, and (2) was suppressed in the same year. It would seem that after the revolt 313 or 312 B.C., Cyrene revolted a second time not earlier than 305 B.C., and remained independent for four years.

6. 8. **he left the kingdom of Egypt to Ptolemy, his son by her etc.** It is said that Demetrius Phalereus, then residing in Egypt, endeavoured to dissuade the king from this step and to induce him to leave the kingdom to the children whom he had by Eurydice (Diogenes Laertius, v. 5. 78).

7. 1. **Ptolemy fell in love with his full sister, Arsinoe, and married her.** The date of the marriage of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) with his sister Arsinoe is not known; but an Egyptian inscription found on the site of the ancient Pithom-Heroopolis (*Tell el-Maschûtah*) and dated in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, proves that they were already married in the month of Pachon 273-272 B.C. See A. Wiedemann, 'Die Ehe des Ptolemaeus Philadelphus mit Arsinoe II.,' *Philologus*, 47 (1889), p. 81 *sq.*

Pausanias's statement that it was a custom with the native Egyptians to marry their sisters is confirmed by Diodorus (1. 27. 1) and fully borne out by the evidence of Egyptian inscriptions and papyruses which have been deciphered in modern times. Indeed, under the Ptolemies and the Romans marriages with sisters seem to have been the rule, not the exception, in Egypt. See Ad. Erman, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 221 *sq.* That such marriages were still prevalent in Egypt in Pausanias's time appears from a number of Egyptian tax-papers of the year 189 A.D. For a decided majority of the marriages mentioned in these tax-papers were contracted with sisters; and that these marriages were not with half-sisters only is proved by a phrase in one of the documents, "his wife, being his sister by the same father and the same mother." See U. Wilcken, 'Arsinoitische Steuerprofessionen aus dem Jahre 189 n. Chr.,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin) for 1883, p. 903.

The marriage of brothers with sisters is reported to have been practised amongst other peoples besides the Egyptians, for example, amongst the Waganda of Central Africa (R. W. Felkin, in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 13 (1884-1886), p. 756), the Masai (Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 93 *sq.*), the Obongos, a dwarf race of West Africa (Du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango Land*, p. 320), the Zabalat, an African tribe between the Dender and the Blue Nile (Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, 10. p. 363), in some parts of Borneo (Schwaner, *Borneo*, 1. p. 198), among the Yesos (Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 6. p. 109 note), New Caledonians (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 341), and Hawaiians (Freycinet, *Voyage autour du Monde*, 2. p. 599; J. J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich*

Islands, p. 80; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 414 *sq.*) (According to another report marriages between brothers and sisters in Hawaii were only allowed in the royal family, see Ch. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 4. p. 32.) Amongst the Veddahs of Ceylon the most correct marriage a man could contract was with his younger sister; but for a man to marry his elder sister was incest (*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. 2 (1863), p. 294). Among some peoples it has been required of, or permitted to, kings and ruling chiefs to marry their sisters, in order to maintain the blood royal pure from admixture. This was the case with the Incas of Peru (Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, trans. by Markham, 1. pp. 93, 308 *sq.*; Acosta, *History of the Indies*, 2. pp. 411 *sq.*, 425, Hakluyt Society's publ.; Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, trans. by Markham, pp. 84, 103; *id.*, *Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, trans. by Markham, pp. 20, 23, 26), the royal family of Siam (Loubere, *Royaume de Siam*, 1. p. 159, Amsterdam 1691; Turpin, 'History of Siam,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 9. p. 585), Burma (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1. p. 71; *id.*, 2. p. 170), the Karagwahs in Equatorial Africa (Featherman, *Nigritians*, p. 116), the Wahuma (J. A. Grant, *Walk across Africa*, p. 186), and apparently Bergoo (W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa*, *Egypt*, *and Syria*, p. 293), and Bali (R. van Eck, 'Schetsen van het eiland Bali,' in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, N.S. 9 (1880), p. 412). (In Burma it was only the half-sister whom the king might marry.) Myths and legends of marriages between divine or human brothers and sisters are not uncommon. The Greeks had their stories of the marriages of Cronus and Rhea, and of Zeus and Hera. Stories of the same sort are found among the people of Nias (Nieuwenhuisen en Rosenberg, *Verslag omtrent het Insel Nias*, pp. 109, 110), Java (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1852, Tweede Deel, p. 352), the Mentra tribes (*Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 10, December, 1882, p. 190), the Koopas of northern Burma (Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 1. p. 117), and the Santals of Bengal (Hunter, *The annals of rural Bengal*, p. 188). For other evidence of the prevalence of such marriages, see E. Westermarck, *The History of human Marriage*, p. 290 *sqq.*

7. 3. **I have already mentioned that this Ptolemy sent a fleet** etc. See i. 1. 1.

8. 1. **the history of Attalus.** The origin of the kingdom of Pergamus is told by Strabo (xiii. p. 623 *sq.*) The acropolis of Pergamus was used by Lysimachus as a treasury. This treasury he entrusted to the charge of a certain Philetaerus, a native of Tieum, a small town in Bithynia (Strabo, xii. p. 543), who had been rendered an eunuch by an accident in childhood. At first Philetaerus remained loyal to Lysimachus; but after a while, suspecting the intrigues of Arsinoe, wife of Lysimachus, he revolted and went over to the side of Seleucus, who conquered Lysimachus in 281 B.C. (cp. Paus. i. 10. 4 *sq.*) Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy surnamed Thunderbolt in 280 B.C. (cp. Appian, *Syr.* 62 *sq.*) But by trimming and temporising adroitly Philetaerus continued master of the fortress and its treasures through

all the political vicissitudes of these troubled times. He died in 263 B.C., having been in possession of Pergamus for twenty years. He had two brothers Eumenes and Attalus. Eumenes, the elder brother, had



FIG. 1.—PEACE CARRYING WEALTH (MARBLE STATUE, MUNICH).

a son Eumenes, who succeeded Philetaerus in possession of Pergamus. And Attalus, the younger brother, had a son Attalus, who succeeded his cousin Eumenes in 241 B.C. It was this Attalus who after defeating the Gauls assumed the title of king and reigned as Attalus I. As

to the chronology of Philetaerus, Eumenes, and Attalus I., see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenica*, 3.[2] p. 410 *sq.*

8. 1. **How Philetaerus revolted from Lysimachus** etc. See i. 10. 4 *sq.*

8. 2. **Amphiaraus.** Professor Köhler conjectured (*Hermes*, 6 (1872), p. 99) that this statue stood on the right of the way up from the market-place to the Acropolis, at the sanctuary of the Furies, since that sanctuary contained statues of the subterranean deities (Paus. i. 28. 6), with whom Amphiaraus was elsewhere associated.

8. 2. **Peace carrying the child Wealth.** This group was by Cephisodotus (see ix. 16. 2). It has been conjectured with a high degree of probability that the marble group commonly known as the Leucothea at Munich (Fig. 1) is really a copy of the group here described by Pausanias. It represents a woman clad in a long robe bearing on her left arm a little naked boy, who is looking up at her and stretching his right hand towards her face, which is bent towards him with a look of tenderness. In her raised right hand (which, with the arm, is a modern restoration) she holds a long sceptre. Both of the boy's arms are also restored; and his head, though ancient, does not belong to the body. In spite of these defects, both the conception and the execution of the group are fine. But competent critics hold that it is a copy of a bronze original. That the original was the group here described by Pausanias is made probable by the close resemblance of the Munich group to one depicted on Athenian coins (Fig. 2), where the identification of the boy as Wealth is proved by his holding a Horn of Plenty in his left hand. In the Munich group the boy holds in his left hand a jug, but this is a modern and doubtless incorrect restoration. A marble replica of the boy, skilfully but somewhat hastily executed, was found in dredging the northern end of the harbour of Piraeus in 1881; it bears still more clearly than the Munich statue the marks of being copied from a bronze original. This marble boy resembles somewhat closely the infant Dionysus in the now famous group by Praxiteles representing Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus on his arm (see v. 17. 3 note). As Cephisodotus seems to have been the father and master of Praxiteles (see note on viii. 30. 10), the son may have borrowed the idea from his father. There is a third replica, in marble, of this boy in the Dresden Museum. In the seventeenth century there was found at Athens, among the ruins of the chapel of St. Dionysius, a marble statue described as the Virgin holding the infant Christ in her arms. It was probably Peace holding Wealth; it may have been the original group by Cephisodotus or (if the original was in bronze) a marble copy of it. The chapel of St. Dionysius is at the north-east end of the Areopagus; and the original statue must have stood very near this spot, though probably lower down. The statue, when found, was promptly smashed by order of the Archbishop.



FIG. 2.—PEACE CARRYING WEALTH (COIN).

It has been plausibly conjectured that the group of Peace carrying

Wealth was made soon after the conclusion of peace between Athens and Lacedaemon in 374 B.C.; for Isocrates tells us (xv. 109 *sq.*) that from that day the Athenians annually offered sacrifices to Peace as to the deity who had done more for the city than any other, and Cornelius Nepos says (*Timotheus*, 2) that the Athenians then for the first time erected altars to Peace at the public expense and spread a festal couch for the goddess. The date 374 B.C. falls within the lifetime of the sculptor Cephisodotus. Sacrifices to Peace are mentioned in an Attic inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 741; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 374, lines 30 and 64).

See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. viii., Nos. 99 a, 99 b, pl. xxxv. No. 407; H. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München*, No. 96, pp. 126-129; U. Köhler, 'Der Plutos des Kephisodot,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 363-371; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 166 note 1, 585 note 3; *id.*, 2. p. 433 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 1210, 1211; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 8 *sqq.*; Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 244 *sq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 433 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 65 *sqq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 147, with pl. DD, ix. x.; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 175; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 513 *sq.*

On a black-figured Attic vase, found in a Greek grave of the fourth century B.C. in the south of Russia, there is painted a figure of Athena with a pillar, surmounted by a statue, on each side of her. The statue on one of the pillars represents a woman holding a sceptre in her raised right hand, and a naked winged boy on her left arm. Stephani interpreted this as Peace carrying Wealth, though he admitted that it might perhaps be Aphrodite and Love. The god of wealth seems to have been sometimes represented with wings (Philostratus, *Imag.* ii. 27). See Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1876, pp. 14-18, with *Atlas*, pl. i. In Greek literature the god of wealth is spoken of as blind (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 90; Timocreon, quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 532; *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. Bergk, 3.[3] p. 1204; Theocritus, x. 19); and the ancient painters are said to have depicted him so (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* x. 102, p. 81, ed. Potter); but on existing monuments of antiquity he is represented seeing, and he was so depicted in a painting mentioned by Philostratus (*Imagines*, ii. 27). See Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, p. 106.

8. 2. **a bronze statue of Lycurgus.** This statue was erected in the market-place during the archonship of Anaxicrates, 307-306 B.C., as a memorial of the great services which the orator Lycurgus had rendered to the state. The decree for the erection of the statue was proposed by Stratocles, son of Euthydemus. See [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 843 c, 852. Two fragments of the decree have been found inscribed on stone at Athens. See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 240; C. Curtius, 'Zum Redner Lykurgos,' *Philologus*, 24 (1866), pp. 83-114; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 70 *sqq.* A fragment of what seems to have been the pedestal of the statue itself was found at Athens in 1888, at the Gate of the Market-place (gate of Athena Archegetis, see note on

i. 18. 9). It is of Hymettian marble and bears a mutilated inscription which may be thus restored:

Λυκοῦργος Λυκ]όφρονος Βο[υτάδης

"Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of the Butad family." The style of the letters is that of the Macedonian epoch. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 190. The fragments of the pedestal of another statue of Lycurgus were found at Athens, but the inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 944, Λυκοῦργος ὁ ῥήτωρ "Lycurgus the orator") is of Roman date. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 614 *sq.*

If we may believe Dinarchus (i. 43), bronze statues of Birisades, Satyrus, and Gorgippus, tyrants of Pontus, were set up in the market-place on the motion of Demosthenes, and a statue of Diphilus was erected there also on the motion of the same orator. There was also a bronze statue of Demades in the market-place (Dinarchus, i. 101).

8. 2. **Callias, who —— negotiated the peace** etc. From the fourth century B.C. onwards there was a tradition that about the middle of the fifth century B.C. the Greeks and particularly the Athenians had concluded a peace with Persia, whereby the Persian king Artaxerxes bound himself to send no warships into the Aegean Sea, and to allow none of his troops to approach within three days' march or one day's ride of the sea; the chief of the embassy which negotiated this peace was said to have been the Athenian Callias. See Demosthenes, xix. 273, p. 428 *sq.*; Diodorus, xii. 4; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13; Suidas, *s.v.* Καλλίας. That Callias went with an Athenian embassy to Susa is certain (Herodotus, vii. 151); but it is extremely doubtful whether any such peace as later writers credit him with having negotiated was ever actually concluded. Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides mentions it; and the course of events in the second half of the fifth century B.C. proves that, if such a treaty was concluded, it was not observed by either side. It is moreover intrinsically improbable that the Persian king would have bound himself to observe any such conditions as were imposed on him in the supposed treaty. The first writer who mentions the treaty is Isocrates in a speech (iv. 118 and 120) composed about 380 B.C. A copy of the treaty, engraved on stone, certainly existed in the fourth century B.C.; but Theopompus declared it to be a forgery, his reason apparently being that the inscription was in the new Ionic characters instead of in the old Attic (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν). (As to the Attic and Ionic alphabets, see note on i. 2. 4.) But Theopompus's reason for treating the inscription as a forgery is not conclusive. The document he saw may have been a copy, not the original. It may even have been the original; for Attic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. in the Ionic alphabet are not unknown (Köhler, in Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*, 2. p. 514 note). Craterus included the document in his collection of decrees (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13). The terms in which Pausanias refers to the peace of Callias show that he had his doubts about it. See on the subject E. Curtius, *Griech. Geschichte*,[6] 2. p. 181 *sqq.*; Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, 9. p. 40 *sq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2. p. 513 *sqq.*; Holm, *Griech.*

Geschichte, 2. p. 201 *sqq.*; Fr. Köpp, 'Ein Problem der griechischen Geschichte,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 48 (1893), pp. 485-511.

8. 2. **a statue of Demosthenes.** This statue was erected in 280-279 B.C. The decree for its erection was moved by Demochares, a nephew of the orator. The statue was of bronze, a work of Polyeuctus, and represented the orator with his hands locked in each other. It stood in the market-place near the altar of the Twelve Gods and a place called *perischoinisma* ("place roped in"). A small plane-tree grew beside it. On the base of the statue was engraved a couplet to the effect that if Demosthenes's power had been equal to his will, Greece would never have been conquered by Macedonia. According to Demetrius the Magnesian this couplet was composed by Demosthenes himself just before his death. See [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 847 a d, 850 e; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 302, 308; Suidas, *s.v.* Δημοσθένης. There is a well-known marble statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican which is supposed to be a copy, with some variations, of the bronze statue by Polyeuctus in the market-place at Athens. The orator stands holding a roll in his hands, whereas in the original statue (as we learn from Plutarch) the hands were locked together. This change, it has been suggested, was made in a later age when Demosthenes's reputation as a man of letters overshadowed his renown as a statesman and an orator. The statue is full of life and expression, the features sharply cut, the face deeply furrowed, the expression haggard and care-worn. It struck Macaulay very much on his first visit to the Vatican. He says: "The Demosthenes is very noble. There can be no doubt about the face of Demosthenes. There are two busts of him in the Vatican, besides this statue. They are all exactly alike, being distinguished by the strong projection of the upper lip. The face is lean, wrinkled, and haggard; the expression singularly stern and intense. You see that he was no trifler, no jester, no voluptuary; but a man whose soul was devoured by ambition, and constantly on the stretch. The soft, sleek, plump, almost sleepy, though handsome face of Aeschines presents a remarkable contrast" (Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, popular edition, London, 1890, p. 361). There is a replica of the statue in possession of Lord Sackville, at Knole in Kent. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 115 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1312; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Demosthenes,' p. 425; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 407 *sq.* On portraits of Demosthenes, cp. G. Scharf, 'On the ancient portraits of Menander and Demosthenes,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, 4 (1853), pp. 381-394. The altar of the Twelve Gods, near which the statue of Demosthenes stood, was set up in the market-place by Pisistratus and afterwards enlarged under the democracy (Thucydides, vi. 54. 6 *sq.*) It seems to have been regarded as the central point of Athens, for distances were reckoned from it as from a central milestone. See Herodotus, ii. 7; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1078; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1043. The altar was an asylum. See Herodotus, vi. 108; Diodorus, xii. 39; Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 93. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die*

Stadt Athen, 2. pp. 434-436. The plane-tree growing beside the statue of Demosthenes may have been one of the planes with which Cimon planted the market-place (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13). The *perischoinisma* is mentioned again by Alciphron (*Epist.* ii. 3), but what it was is not known. Prof. E. Curtius conjectured that it was the enclosure in which the citizens assembled to vote on certain occasions, *e.g.* on a proposal of ostracism. See E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, 2. p. 39 *sqq.* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. p. 367); C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 167 *sq.*

8. 2. **whom the Athenians forced to withdraw to Calauria** etc. Being accused of having taken bribes from Harpalus, Demosthenes was tried and thrown into prison; but he escaped and went into exile in Troezen and Aegina, from which, it is said, he often looked across to the coast of Attica with tearful eyes. From this exile he was brought back in triumph after the death of Alexander the Great. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 26 *sq.*; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 846 b c d; Justin, xiii. 5. 9-11. Cp. Paus. i. 37. 5, ii. 33. 3-5.

8. 3. **In his second exile Demosthenes —— drank poison and died.** This was in 322 B.C. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 29 *sq.*; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 846 e-847 b; Diogenes Laertius, v. 1. 10; cp. Paus. ii. 33. 3.

8. 3. **Archias was a native of Thurii** etc. He is said to have been a tragic actor. His infamous activity as a catchpole earned him the nickname of 'the exile-catcher.' Among the men whom he haled to death was the orator Hyperides. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 28.

8. 4. **a sanctuary of Ares.** The exact site of this sanctuary is not known. It probably stood somewhere on the northern slope of the Areopagus. Prof. Milchhöfer thinks that the site may be marked by the ruined chapel of St. Dionysius at the north-east corner of the Areopagus ('Athen,' p. 165). L. Ross argued that the sanctuary of Ares was no other than the well-preserved temple traditionally known as the Theseum. See L. Ross, *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares in Athen* (Halle, 1852), p. 52 *sqq.* But it seems unlikely that the sanctuary of Ares should have been so far from the Areopagus, the hill which the ancients associated, rightly or wrongly, with Ares (see note on i. 28. 5). Besides, the sanctuary of Ares was near the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which were on the way up from the market-place to the Acropolis (see § 5 with the note). Prof. Furtwängler considers that the Borghese Ares, now in the Louvre, is a replica of Alcamenes's image of Ares which stood in this sanctuary. The original of the Borghese Ares must certainly have been a famous work, as there are numerous other copies of it in existence. The god is represented as a powerfully built man, standing naked but for a crested helmet which he wears; his right arm hangs by his side, his left hand grasped the lance. See Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 489; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1298; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 121 *sq.*, 128. As to Alcamenes see v. 10. 8 note and the Index. There were many statues by him in the temples at Athens (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 16).

8. 4. **two images of Aphrodite.** L. Urlichs broached a theory

that the famous Venus of Milo in the Louvre was a copy of one of these statues (*Skopas*, p. 122). The relation of Aphrodite to Ares is the subject of an elaborate dissertation by Mr. K. Tümpel, 'Ares und Aphrodite. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Bedeutung ihrer Verbindung,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Suppl. 11 (1880), pp. 641-754.

8. 4. **Enyo.** We hear of a priest of Enyo and Ares Enyalius at Athens in Roman times (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 2).

8. 4. **the sons of Praxiteles.** Their names were Cephisodotus and Timarchus. See ix. 12. 4 note; cp. note on viii. 30. 10.

8. 4. **Apollo binding his hair with a fillet.** On the ancient custom of tying ribbons on persons, animals, and things as a mark of distinction, especially in connexion with religion, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1874, p. 137 *sqq.*

8. 4. **Calades.** Nothing more is known about this person. The Greek word here translated 'laws' (νόμοι) means also 'tunes.' Hence Bursian supposed him to have been a musical composer rather than a lawgiver (*Geogr. von Griechenland*, 1. p. 285, note 1). The suggestion is, with some reserve, approved by Professor C. Wachsmuth (*Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 405, note 1). Cp. the Critical Note.

8. 4. **Pindar.** According to the pseudo-Aeschines (*Epist.* iv. 2 *sq.*) the statue of Pindar was of bronze, and stood in front of the Royal Colonnade; it represented the poet seated, clad in a long robe, his head decked with a diadem or fillet, a lyre beside him, and a book unrolled on his knees. No copy of the statue is known to exist, though Professor Brunn proposed to identify as Pindar the statue of a poet found in the Villa Borghese (Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*.[3] 2. pp. 146, 184). The statement of the pseudo-Aeschines that Pindar's statue stood in front of the Royal Colonnade, seems inconsistent with Pausanias's description; for amongst the statues near the Royal Colonnade Pausanias makes no mention of the statue of Pindar (i. 3. 2), but says that it was not far from the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which we know to have been on the way up to the Acropolis. It would seem that either Pausanias or the pseudo-Aeschines is wrong. Prof. C. Wachsmuth attempts to reconcile their statements, but his solution is unsatisfactory (*Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 169 *sq.*) The statue must have been put up long after Pindar's death, since in describing the honours bestowed by Athens on the poet for his eulogium Isocrates (xv. 166) makes no mention of the statue, as he would have done if it had been in existence in his time; he merely says that Pindar was made a public friend (*proxenos*) of the city, and received a present of 10,000 drachms. In the verses which earned him these rewards Pindar had addressed Athens as "O bright and famous Athens, pillar of Greece." See pseudo-Aeschines and Isocrates, *ll.cc.*; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 299; Pindar, *Frag.* 54, ed. Bergk.[3] Cp. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 402, 407.

8. 5. **statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton.** The statues of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton stood on a conspicuous spot in the market-place called 'the orchestra,' which was used for festivals (Timaeus, *Lexicon Platonicum*, *s.v.* ὀρχήστρα; Photius,

Lexicon, *s.v.* ὀρχήστρα). The spot was in the Ceramicus (market-place), on the way up to the Acropolis, opposite the Metroum (Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 16. 8). That the statues stood in the market-place appears from other passages of ancient writers; for example, the chorus in Aristophanes's play *Lysistrata* (v. 633) speak of doing their marketing beside the statue of Aristogiton. Cp. Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 682 *sq.*; Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 51; Lucian, *Paras.* 48. The exact situation of this 'orchestra,' on which the statues stood, is not known. It is supposed to have been some high conspicuous terrace, semicircular in shape, like the orchestra in a Greek theatre. Professor U. Köhler conjectured that it may have been the semicircular, rocky terrace now occupied by the chapel of St. Athanasius, on the north-western slope of the Areopagus (*Hermes*, 6 (1872), p. 95 *sq.*) It certainly seems to have been somewhere on the north-west, rather than (as has commonly been held) on the north-east side of the Areopagus. See note above on i. 3. 5, 'a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods.'

Harmodius and Aristogiton were the first men of whom statues were set up in the market-place (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, i. 9, p. 1368 a, 17 *sq.*; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 17). For a long time it was forbidden to set up any other statues beside them (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 300, 410; cp. the decree in [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 852 d). But in 307 B.C. gilt statues of Antigonus and Demetrius standing in a chariot were set up beside the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton (Diodorus, xx. 46). At a later time bronze statues of the tyrannicides Brutus and Cassius were set up beside those of the old tyrannicides (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 20). Sacrifices were regularly offered to Harmodius and Aristogiton by the polemarch (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58; Pollux, viii. 91).

Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, was assassinated in 514 B.C., but the statues of his assassins were not set up till 510 B.C., the date of the expulsion of Hippias (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 17). The statues were of bronze (Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 16. 7; *id.*, vii. 19. 2; Valerius Maximus, ii. 10. ext. 1). After being carried off to Persia by Xerxes in 480 B.C., they were sent back to Athens by Alexander the Great (according to Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 16. 8, and Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 70), or by Seleucus (according to Valerius Maximus, ii. 10. ext. 1), or by Antiochus (according to Pausanias). But in 477 B.C., three years after the statues had been carried off by Xerxes, they were replaced by a new group executed by Critius and Nesiotes (Parian Chronicle, line 70; Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 18). (Pausanias mentions Critius alone; he was probably the chief artist.) The new group was probably an imitation, more or less free, of the old one. Whether it was in bronze or marble is not said, but it would seem to have been of bronze. For it is said that once at the court of the tyrant Dionysius I. (431-367 B.C.), a discussion arose over the wine as to which was the best kind of bronze; whereupon the Athenian orator Antiphon, who happened to be present, remarked that the best bronze was that out of which the statues of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton were made ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 833 b). If this story is true, it makes it probable, though not certain, that the later group by

Critius and Nesiotes was (like the original group by Antenor) made of bronze; for Antiphon would naturally refer to the group which he had himself often seen, rather than to one which had been carried off to Persia before or immediately after his birth. Moreover Lucian says that the statues of the tyrannicides in the market-place were of bronze (*Paras.* 48), and as he elsewhere (*Philopseudes*, 18) mentions the group by Critius and Nesiotes, it is probable that he had it in his mind in writing the former passage also. After the restoration of the old statues, the two groups continued to stand side by side down to the time of Pausanias, whose words clearly imply it. That the old group by Antenor stood in the Ceramicus down to his time, is expressly stated by Arrian, a contemporary of Pausanias (*Anabasis*, iii. 16. 8).



FIG. 3.—HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON (COIN).

Amongst existing works of ancient art the following have been recognised with great probability by archaeologists as representing one or other of the two groups of the tyrannicides, either the group by Antenor, or the group by Critius and Nesiotes:

1. On four-drachm pieces of Athens (Fig. 3), coined by the mint-masters Mentor and Moschion, there are figured two men charging side by side towards the left. The nearer of the two is beardless and naked; he has his sword raised to strike; the farther of the two is bearded and has his left arm stretched out in front with a cloak hanging over it, and a scabbard in his hand. The beardless figure is doubtless Harmodius, the younger of the two friends; the bearded one is Aristogiton. See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 335 *sq.*; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. No. 30; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 148, pl. DD, xiv. xv. The same group appears on coins of Cyzicus (Head, *Historia Numrum*, p. 452).

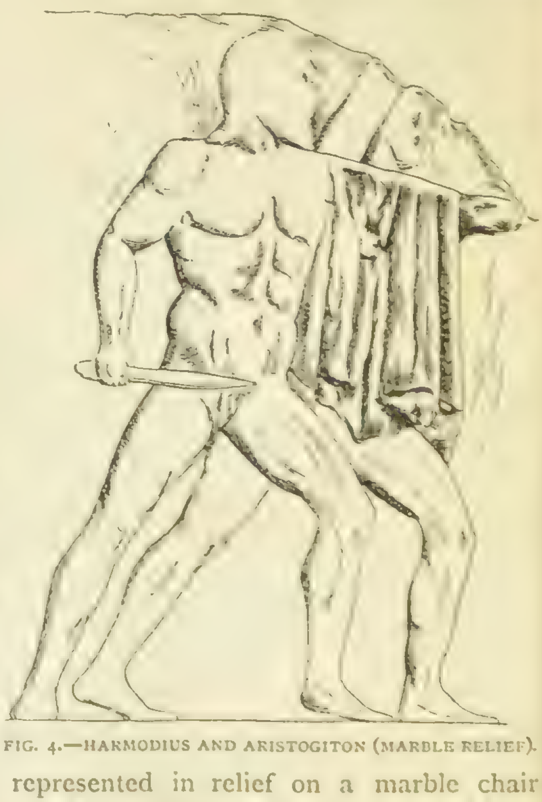


FIG. 4.—HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON (MARBLE RELIEF).

2. The same group is represented in relief on a marble chair formerly in Athens, now at Broom Hall in Fifeshire. But in the relief (Fig.

4) the group is represented from the other side, charging to the right, so that the man with the cloak over his left arm (Aristogiton) is the nearer; in his right hand he carries a short sword. The fact that on the coins and on the relief the group is represented from opposite sides proves (as Stackelberg pointed out) that the original must have been a group of statuary standing free, so that it could be copied from either side.



FIG. 5.—HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON (PANATHENAIC AMPHORA).

See Ad. Michaelis, in *Journal Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), p 146 *sq.*, with plate xlviii.

3. On a vase of the class known as Panathenaic amphoras, found in the Cyrenaica, and now in the British Museum, Athena is depicted (Fig. 5) carrying a shield on which the group described above appears as a blazon, the two men charging to the left as on the coins. See G. Dennis, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second

Series, 9 (1870), pp. 171-173, with pl. i.; *Monumenti Inediti*, 10 (1877), tav. xlviii. d; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 27 (1869), pl. 24, No. 2; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1153, fig. 1347.

4. The same group is repeated on two Attic lead tokens, one in a private collection, the other in the National Museum at Athens. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 27 (1869), pl. 24, No. 1; *Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 3 (1879), pl. vi. No. 2; *Zeitschrift fur die österreich. Gymnasien*, 26 (1875), p. 618, No. 48; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 8 (1884), p. 11, with pl. iii. No. 72.

5. On a black-figured Greek vase of the shape called *lekythos*, in the possession of Mrs. Scaramanga of Vienna, the same group is depicted charging to the right, but with this difference, that the beardless man (Harmodius) with his sword raised is striding ahead of the bearded man (Aristogiton), who, with the cloak over his left arm, the scabbard in his left hand, and the sword in his right, is hurrying after him with long steps. The style of the drawing is distinctly archaic. See *Archaeol. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 3 (1879), p. 76 *sq.*, with pl. vi. No. 1.

6. But by far the finest and most perfect reproduction of the group is a well-known pair of marble statues in the museum at Naples, which were first recognised as those of Harmodius and Aristogiton by K. Friederichs in 1859. The group is a splendid specimen of ancient art, the figures models of athletic vigour, their attitudes full of fiery energy. Some portions of the group are restored, but on the whole rightly and successfully. The head of the figure with the cloak (Aristogiton) is ancient, but does not belong to the group; it is a fine head, but is much later than the head of Harmodius, resembling in fact the head of the Hermes of Praxiteles, whereas the head of Harmodius is entirely archaic. It is moreover youthful and beardless, whereas in the original group Aristogiton was represented bearded, as we see from the reproduction of the group on the marble chair, the lead tokens, the *lekythos* of Vienna, and one at least of the coins (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, pl. DD, xiv.)

See K. Friederichs, 'Harmodios und Aristogiton,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 17 (1859), pp. 65-72, with pl. cxxvii.; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 121-124; Ad. Michaelis, 'Harmodios und Aristogiton,' *Archäol. Zeitung*, 23 (1865), pp. 13-15; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 286 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 160 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 155 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 369 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 340, fig. 357.

7. In the Boboli Gardens at Florence there are two statues which have by some been held to be reproductions of the same group. It appears, however, that one of them (the supposed Harmodius) has no connexion with the group of the tyrannicides, but that the torso of the other is ancient and is a replica of the Aristogiton. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 8 (1867), pl. xlvi.; O. Benndorf, 'Ritratti dei tirannicide Armodio ed Aristogitone,' *Annali dell' Inst.* 39 (1867), pp. 304-325; H. Dutschke, 'Die vermeintlichen Statuen der Tyrannenmörder im

Boboli-Garten in Florenz,' *Archäol. Zeitung*, 32 (1875), pp. 163-165; A. Furtwängler, in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 8 (1888), p. 1448 *sq.*



FIG. [illegible].—HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON (NAPLES MUSEUM).

The number of these copies shows that the original must have been famous; and that it was at Athens is proved by its reproduction on Athenian coins and a Panathenaic vase. Moreover, a comparison of

these copies demonstrates, as we have seen, that the original was a group of statuary standing free and visible on all sides. Such a group was that of the tyrannicides in the market-place at Athens: and as the figures and attitudes in our copies answer perfectly to what those of Harmodius and Aristogiton might be expected to be, it is a reasonable conclusion that our copies represent the famous statues of the tyrannicides at Athens. In this conclusion all archaeologists are agreed with the exception of Prof. E. Curtius, who holds that the works of art enumerated above are copies of the figures of Miltiades and Callimachus in the painting of the battle of Marathon which adorned one of the walls in the Painted Colonnade at Athens (Paus. i. 15. 3). This theory is refuted by the single observation, made long ago by Stackelberg, that our copies represent the original from different sides, showing that it was not a painting but a group of statuary in the round which stood free and could be seen from all sides. Other arguments in refutation of Prof. Curtius's theory are adduced by Mr. E. Petersen. See E. Curtius, 'Harmodios und Aristogeiton,' *Hermes*, 15 (1880), pp. 147-153; E. Petersen, 'Harmodios und Aristogeiton nochmals,' *ib.* pp. 475-477.

But a question remains, in answering which archaeologists have not been so unanimous. It is this. Do our copies represent the original group by Antenor, or the later group by Critius and Nesiotes? Till lately no work of any of these sculptors was known to be in existence, so that a decisive answer to the question was impossible. But among the archaic female statues discovered a few years ago on the Acropolis at Athens there is one by Antenor, as the inscription on the pedestal attests. Like its sister statues this one of Antenor (discovered in 1886) represents a woman completely draped in garments of a peculiar cut, with long ringlets hanging down on either side of her breast. The workmanship is refined, but the figure is stiff and somewhat lifeless. The contrast between it and the Naples group, glowing with exuberant life and energy, is immense. It is difficult to understand how any one who has seen them both should conceive them to be creations of the same master. Yet this is the view of Mr. Collignon and Prof. C. Wachsmuth; and Mr. A. S. Murray seems to incline to it. Mr. Studniczka formerly took the same view, but he has since abandoned it. On the other hand Mr. B. Graef has argued against it at length; and Prof. Overbeck observes that a comparison of the Naples group with Antenor's statue on the one hand, and with other early statues of the fine period of Greek art on the other hand, leaves no room to doubt that the representations of the tyrannicides which have come down to us are copied, not from the original group by Antenor, but from the later group by Critius and Nesiotes. This, I am convinced, is the true view, so far as regards the Naples statues at least. The other copies of the group are, with perhaps two exceptions, too small to enable us to pronounce with confidence on the style of the original. One of these exceptions is the Aristogiton in the Boboli gardens at Florence. The other is the painting on the *lekythos* in the Scaramanga collection (which is overlooked by Prof. Overbeck, Prof. C. Wachsmuth, Mr. A. S.

Murray, and Miss Harrison). This painting is indeed more archaic in style than the Naples statues and may possibly be a copy of Antenor's group. But it is also possible that its archaic style may be due to the painter, who has certainly taken great liberties with his model, treating it in a thoroughly pictorial rather than plastic style.

As to Antenor's statue discovered on the Acropolis, see *Les Musées d'Athènes*, 1re livr. pl. vi.; F. Studniczka, in *Jahrbuch des k. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 2 (1887), pp. 135-148; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 150 *sq.*; E. A. Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), pp. 278-280; *id.*, 11 (1890), pp. 215-217; P. Wolters, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 225 *sq.*; B. Graef, 'Die Gruppe der Tyrannenmörder und stilistisch verwandte Werke in Athen,' *ib.* 15 (1890), pp. 1-39; R. Heberdey, 'Zur Statue des Antenor,' *ib.* pp. 126-132; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 158 *sq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. 365 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 152 *sq.*; H. Lechat, in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 16 (1892), pp. 485-489. For the inscription on the base of Antenor's statue see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 81; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 22 (1887), pp. 129-135; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 373[91], p. 88. On the statues of the tyrannicides and their reproductions see (in addition to the passages cited above) Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 2. pp. 213-215; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 170 *sq.*, 508 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. pp. 393-398; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 77-84; A. S. Murray, *op. cit.*[2] 1. pp. 159-164; Mitchell, *op. cit.* pp. 285-287; Overbeck, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 155-158; Collignon, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 367-374; E. Petersen, in *Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 3 (1879), pp. 76-86.

The sculptors Critius and Nesiotes flourished in Ol. 83 (448-444 B.C.) according to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 49). But they must have been at work much earlier, since, as we have seen, they made the statues of the tyrannicides in 477 B.C. Their style is characterised by Lucian as "tight, sinewy, hard, and with rigid lines" (ἀπεσφιγμένα καὶ νευρώδη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀποτεταμένα ταῖς γραμμαῖς, *Rhet. praecept.* 9). See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 101-105. A statue of Apollo with a lyre, now in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence, is assigned by Prof. Furtwängler to Critius (Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 81 *sq.*; as to the statue see Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. p. 170 *sq.*) As to the spelling of the name Critius (instead of Critias) see note on i. 23. 9.

8. 5. **the cause and the manner of the deed have been told by others.** The story of the assassination of Hipparchus (the younger brother of the tyrant Hippias) by Harmodius and Aristogiton in 514 B.C. is told by Thucydides (i. 20, vi. 54-58) and with some variations by Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 18).

8. 6. **the theatre which they call the Music Hall.** See note on i. 14. 1.

8. 6. **a name bestowed upon him by the Rhodians.** Because he helped them when they were besieged by Demetrius. See i. 6. 6 note. They not only called him Saviour but worshipped him as a god. A square precinct, each side a furlong in length and enclosed by a colonnade, was dedicated to his worship and called the Ptolemaeum (Diodorus, xx. 100. 3. *sq.*) A common, but incorrect, tradition was that Ptolemy had received the title of Saviour because he had saved Alexander the Great's life in India. See note on i. 6. 2.

8. 6. **a statue of his sister Arsinoe.** There was a statue of her

in the sanctuary of the Muses on Mt. Helicon (ix. 31. 1) and another at Olympia (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 174; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 388).

9. 1. **Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor.** A head of Ptolemy VI. (Philometor) carved out of dark granite and bearing an Egyptian inscription in hieroglyphics was found in the harbour at Aegina in 1842. See J. Six, 'Ein Portrait des Ptolemaios VI. Philometor,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 212-222, with pl. vii. viii.

9. 1. **she would not suffer him to be called to the throne** etc. Cp. Justin, xxxix. 3.

9. 5. **Alexander —— shut him up in a lion's den** etc. Cp. Justin, xv. 3. 7 *sqq.*; Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 27; Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 54; Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 17. 2; Valerius Maximus, ix. 3. ext. 1. Quintus Curtius narrates (viii. 1. 15 *sqq.*) that once while hunting in Syria Lysimachus had killed single-handed a gigantic lion; which, thought Curtius, might be the origin of the common story here told by Pausanias.

9. 6. **he marched against the Getae and their chief Dromichaetes** etc. According to Diodorus (xxi. 11 frag.) the Thracians captured Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, but dismissed him with presents, in the hope that Lysimachus would in return resign to them the territory which he had taken from them. On another occasion, according to Diodorus (xxi. 12), Lysimachus with all his army was captured by the Thracian King Dromichaetes, who treated him in the most hospitable and generous manner and set him at liberty, receiving in return the places which Lysimachus had previously taken from him. The capture of Lysimachus by Dromichaetes is also described or alluded to by Strabo (vii. pp. 302, 305), Memnon (*Frag.* 5, in *Histor. Graec. Frag.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 531; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 225 a 1 *sqq.*, ed. Bekker), and Plutarch (*De sanit. praecept.* 9; *id.*, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 11). Polyaenus says wrongly (vii. 25) that Lysimachus and all his men were slain by Dromichaetes. Justin says (xvi. 1. 19) that Lysimachus, being hard pressed in war by Dromichaetes, king of the Thracians, resigned a part of Macedonia to him. Dromichaetes is called king of the Thracians by Diodorus, Polyaenus, and Justin; Pausanias and Strabo, on the other hand, represent him as king of the Getae; and Plutarch, though he does not mention Dromichaetes, speaks of Lysimachus's capture by the Getae. Suidas (*s.v.* ἀναδρομαί) speaks of "the expedition of Lysimachus through Thrace against Dromichaetes, king of the Odrysians." Cp. Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8. pp. 24-26; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 274-278. As to the Getae see E. Roesler, 'Die Geten und ihre Nachbarn,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Philos. histor. Cl. 44 (1863), pp. 140-187; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 2. p. 383 *sqq.* Müllenhoff thought that the Getae were the Slavs and Bulgarians.

9. 7. **He also crossed over to Asia** etc. In 302 B.C. Lysimachus formed an alliance with Cassander, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, crossed with an army into Asia, and afterwards (301 B.C.) took part in the battle of

Ipsus against Antigonus and Demetrius, in which Antigonus lost his life. See Diodorus, xx. 106 *sqq.*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. p. 389; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 200 *sq.*; and Paus. i. 6. 7 note.

9. 7. **He founded, too, the present city of Ephesus —— importing inhabitants from Lebedus and Colophon** etc. Cp. vii. 3. 4 *sq.* From the time of Croesus down to the age of Alexander the city of Ephesus was clustered round the sanctuary of Artemis. Lysimachus built the city on a new site, and as the inhabitants were unwilling to leave the old one, he blocked up the water-channels and flooded the old city till the people were glad to quit it for the new one. He called the new city Arsinoe after his wife, but the old name afterwards prevailed. See Strabo, xiv. p. 640; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἔφεσος.

9. 7. **the iambic poet Phoenix.** Verses of his are quoted by Athenaeus (viii. p. 359 e-360 a, x. p. 421 d, xi. p. 495 d e, xii. p. 530 e-531 a).

9. 8. **Hieronymus the Cardian.** This writer composed a history of the successors of Alexander. He was at the head of an embassy sent by Eumenes to Antipater in 320 B.C. (Diodorus, xviii. 42), and in 319 B.C. he was sent by Antigonus on an embassy to Eumenes (Diodorus, xviii. 50). He must have been alive as late as 272 B.C., since he described the death of Pyrrhus which happened in that year (Paus. i. 13. 9). According to Lucian (*Macrobii*, 22) he lived to the age of one hundred and four, in spite of all the hardships he had endured and the wounds he had received in the wars.

9. 8. **founded Lysimachia.** Cp. Justin, xvii. 1; Strabo, vii. p. 331, frag. 52 and 54. It would seem either that Cardia was not wholly destroyed when Lysimachia was founded or that it afterwards revived; for in describing the civil war between Octavian and Antony on the one side and Brutus and Cassius on the other, Appian observes (*Bell. Civ.* iv. 88) that Lysimachia and Cardia occupied between them, like gates, the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonese. Pausanias himself in the next chapter (i. 10. 5) speaks of Cardia as of a village which still existed in his time.

10. 1. **he had murdered Alexander and reigned in his stead.** This was in 294 B.C. Alexander had intended to assassinate Demetrius, but Demetrius anticipated him. See Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 36 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pyrrhus*, 6 *sq.*; Justin, xvi. 1; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 18 *sq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* ii. 2. p. 265 *sqq.*

10. 2. **Pyrrhus came to his help** etc. In 288 B.C. Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from the east, while Pyrrhus attacked it from the west. When Demetrius, then king of Macedonia, would have given battle to Pyrrhus, his army went over to the enemy and he had to flee in disguise. Lysimachus and Pyrrhus then divided Macedonia between them, the lion's share falling to Pyrrhus. See Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 44; *id.*, *Pyrrhus*, 11 *sq.*; Justin, xvi. 2; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. pp. 33-36; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 296-298.

10. 2. **when Demetrius fell into the hands of Seleucus.** In 286 B.C. Demetrius was defeated by Seleucus and surrendered to him shortly afterwards. He died in captivity. See Plutarch, *Demetrius*,

49-52; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 40 *sqq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 307 *sqq.*

10. 2. By a decisive victory etc. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 12; Justin, xvi. 3. 1 *sq.* According to Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 233, ed. Schöne) Pyrrhus had retained possession of Macedonia only seven months. Cp. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 312.

10. 3. Arsinoe —— plotted against Agathocles. According to Justin (xvii. 1. 4), Arsinoe poisoned Agathocles. But Memnon says (Frag. 8, *Histor. Graec. Frag.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 532) that Lysimachus, deceived by the wiles of Arsinoe, attempted to poison his son Agathocles, and failing in the attempt cast him into prison, where Ptolemy Thunderbolt, brother of Arsinoe, despatched him with his own hand. Strabo merely says (xiii. p. 623) that Lysimachus was compelled by domestic troubles to slay his son Agathocles. The murder seems to have been perpetrated in 284 or 283 B.C. See Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 47; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 321 *sqq.* As to the marriage of Lysimachus with Arsinoe, see Droysen, *op. cit.* ii. 2. p. 236.

10. 5. gave battle to Seleucus etc. The battle was fought in 281 B.C., at a place called the Plain of Corus in Hellespontine Phrygia. Lysimachus fell by the hand of a man named Malacon, a native of Heraclea. See Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. 1. p. 234 *sq.*, ed. Schöne; Appian, *Syr.* 62; Memnon, Frag. 8 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 3. p. 532); Justin, xvii. 1 *sq.*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 48 *sq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 326 *sq.*

10. 5. Alexander —— succeeded —— in obtaining his body etc. According to one account the body of Lysimachus was left lying on the field, guarded from the wolves and vultures by a faithful dog, till it was found and buried by Thorax, a Pharsalian (Appian, *Syr.* 64; cp. Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*, xiv. 2; *id.*, *Praecept. gerend. reipub.* xxviii. 2). According to another account, which is here followed by Pausanias, the remains of Lysimachus were conveyed by his son Alexander to Lysimachia in the Thracian Chersonese, where they were laid in a sanctuary called after him the Lysimacheum (Appian, *l.c.*)

11. 1. a statue of Pyrrhus. There was a statue of Pyrrhus also at Olympia (vi. 14. 9). No portraits of Pyrrhus, authenticated by inscriptions, have come down to us. The supposed portraits on coins appear to be ideal heads, perhaps of Achilles, the legendary ancestor of the royal family of Epirus. In the Uffizi gallery at Florence there is a black marble bust of a man with long dishevelled locks and beard, which Mr. Dütschke attempted to identify as Pyrrhus on the strength of an inscription on it. But he misread the inscription, which appears moreover to be a forgery. The bust, as Mr. Friedländer remarked, is clearly that of a barbarian. The features seem Celtic; with its wild expression and shock of unkempt hair, the head might be that of a Highland cateran. Anything more unlike what we should expect to be the features of the chivalrous Greek prince, it would be hard to conceive. See H. Dütschke, 'Büste des Königs Pyrrhos,' *Archaeologische*

Zeitung, 35 (1877), pp. 68-74; J. Friedländer, Die Büste des Pyrrhos,' *ib.* p. 131 *sq.*; C. Robert, 'Die angebliche Pyrrhos-Büste der Uffizien,' etc., *Hermes*, 17 (1882), p. 134 *sqq.* With more plausibility Mr. J. Six has identified as a portrait of Pyrrhus a bust in the National Museum at Naples (No. 6150). The head is that of a soldier wearing a Macedonian helmet with cheek-pieces, which are fastened by straps under his chin. It represents a man in the prime of life; the features are strong, mobile, and masculine, but seen in front they have a slight nervous contraction, which gives the face a somewhat anxious and haggard look. The helmet which he wears is encircled with a wreath of oak-leaves, and from under its rim at the back hangs the knotted end of a royal diadem. On the strength of this diadem and of the oak-wreath, which is supposed to have been a national emblem of Epirus (see Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 11; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 273 *sq.*), Mr. Six concludes that the bust is a portrait of Pyrrhus. See J. Six, 'Un ritratto del re Pirro d' Epiro,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Instituts*, Römische Abtheilung, 6 (1891), pp. 279-284. More recently Mr. W. Helbig has claimed as a portrait of Pyrrhus a marble head which was bought by Mr. Charles Jacobsen at Naples in 1891. It represents a young man with keen, well-cut features, his curly hair wreathed with a garland of oak-leaves. Mr. Helbig holds that the face is the same as in the Naples bust and is probably a portrait of Pyrrhus. See W. Helbig, 'Deux portraits de Pyrrhus, roi d'Épire,' *École Française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 13 (1893), pp. 377-390, with plates iii. and iv.

11. 1. Pyrrhus was related to Alexander only by ancestry. The family tree, according to Pausanias, was this:—

Tharypas
|
Alcetas I.
├── Neoptolemus
│   ├── Alexander (slain in Lucania) See § 3
│   └── Olympias
│   └── Alexander the Great
└── Arybbas
    ├── Alcetas II. (see § 5)
    └── Aeacides
        └── Pyrrhus

A fuller tree is given by Droysen at the end of his *Geschichte des Hellenismus*.

11. 1. Arybbas. He was expelled from his kingdom by Philip of Macedonia, and died in exile, according to Justin (vii. 6. 11 *sq.*; viii. 6). He took refuge in Athens, where he was hospitably received and placed under public protection, as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 115; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 113; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 106). Cp. Fr. Reuss, 'König Arybbas von Epiros,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 36 (1881), pp. 161-174.

11. 1. Tharypas was educated at Athens and was the first to

introduce Greek manners, laws, letters, and forms of civil government among his subjects. See Justin, xvii. 3. 9-13; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 1. In 429 B.C. he was a child under the guardianship of the regent Sabylinthus (Thucydides, ii. 80. 8).

11. 1. Pyrrhus —— landed in Epirus etc. Cp. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 1; Justin, xvii. 3. 3.

11. 1. He had no child by Hermione. For the discrepant traditions as to the children of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) by his different wives, see the scholia on Euripides, *Andromache*, 24 and 32.

11. 1. Andromache married Helenus. Cp. ii. 23. 6.

11. 2. Cestrinus —— took possession of the land etc. See ii. 23. 6 note.

11. 2. Pergamus —— Teuthrania. As to Pergamus cp. iii. 20. 8; as to Teuthrania, see note on i. 4. 5. Nicomedes of Acanthus, in his history of Macedonia, represented Pergamus as a son of Pyrrhus by Leonassa, daughter of Cleodaeus (Schol. on Euripides, *Andromache*, 24, ed. Schwartz).

11. 2. Pielus. He is called Piales by Justin (xvii. 3. 8). Pielus was mentioned by Proxenus in the first book of his history of Epirus (Schol. on Euripides, *Andromache*, 32, where Πίελον is a correction of Schwartz's, the MSS. reading πρέλλον and π. λλον).

11. 3. the sons of Alcetas. These were Neoptolemus and Arybbas. See above § 1.

11. 3. Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, died in Lucania. Cp. § 7. He was slain by a Lucanian exile in 326 B.C. at the river Acheron, near the town of Pandosia, on the borders of Lucania and Bruttium. He had gone with a fleet and army to Italy in 340 B.C. to help the people of Tarentum. See Livy, viii. 3. 6, viii. 24; Justin, xii. 2, xvii. 3. 14 *sq.*, xxiii. 1. 15.

11. 3. Olympias had returned to Epirus etc. The restoration of Olympias to Macedonia was effected jointly by Polysperchon and Aeacides in 317 B.C. Eurydice the queen attempted to give battle to their forces at a place Evia in Macedonia; but her troops went over to the side of Olympias. She and her husband, Philip Aridaeus, fell into the hands of Olympias, who caused them both to be put to death, and then executed Cassander's brother Nicanor and a hundred Macedonians of the highest rank, the friends of Cassander. See Diodorus, xix. 11; Justin, xiv. 5. 9 *sq.*; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 36; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. pp. 309-311; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 1. pp. 238-241.

11. 4. received no more than she deserved etc. In 316 B.C. Olympias fell into the hands of Cassander, who caused her to be put to death (Diodorus, xix. 50 *sq.*; Justin, xiv. 6; Paus. ix. 7. 2 note; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 1. p. 246 *sqq.*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 7. p. 315 *sqq.*)

11. 4. the Epirots —— would not receive Aeacides. The Epirots were so disgusted at the support which their king Aeacides gave to Olympias that they formally banished him and entered into alliance with Cassander, who sent Lyciscus into the country to manage the government (316 B.C.) See Diodorus, xix. 36 and 52; Justin,

xvii. 3. 16; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 2; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* ii. 1. p. 244.

11. 4. **A battle was fought at Oeniadae** etc. According to Diodorus (xix. 74) Philip defeated Aeacides in two battles, in the second of which Aeacides was slain (313 B.C.) Cp. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* ii. 2. p. 30 *sq.* As to the situation and ruins of Oeniadae, see L. Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, pp. 435-460.

11. 5. **The Epirots now recalled Alcetas** etc. This happened in 312 B.C. The names of the two sons of Alcetas who were massacred with him were Eioneus and Nisus. He had two other sons named Alexander and Teucer. See Diodorus, xix. 88 *sq.*

11. 5. **at the approach of the Macedonians Pyrrhus betook himself to Egypt** etc. See i. 6. 8 note. Pausanias here attributes Pyrrhus's expulsion to the approach of a Macedonian army under Cassander; Plutarch attributes it to a conspiracy of his own subjects (*Pyrrhus*, 4). The wife whom Ptolemy gave to Pyrrhus was Antigone, daughter of Ptolemy's wife Berenice by Philip, her former husband (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 4). The restoration of Pyrrhus to Epirus by the help of Ptolemy is dated by Droysen in 295 B.C. (*Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 256). Prof. G. F. Unger argues that the restoration took place in 297 B.C. at latest, possibly in the second half of 298 B.C. (*Philologus*, 43 (1884), p. 363 *sq.*)

11. 6. **what he suffered in the war with Lysimachus.** See i. 9. 7 *sq.*

11. 6. **how he expelled Demetrius, and reigned over Macedonia.** See i. 10. 2.

11. 7. **The conquest of all Italy was one of the many dreams of Athenian ambition.** It is said that Alcibiades regarded the projected conquest of Sicily as merely a step towards the conquest of Carthage, Africa, Italy, and Peloponnese (Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 17). Again Plutarch tells us (*Pericles*, 20) that in the age of Pericles the conquest of Etruria and Carthage was the dream of some of the Athenians, a dream which they were not hopeless of seeing one day fulfilled.

12. 1. **Pyrrhus —— crossed the Ionian Sea —— to attack the Romans** etc. This was early in 280 B.C. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 13-15; Justin, xviii. 1; Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, iii. 1. p. 127 *sqq.*

12. 2. **in a battle between the Tarentines and Romans** etc. Pyrrhus's first battle with the Romans was fought near Heraclea in Lucania in 280 B.C. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 16 *sq.*; Justin, xviii. 1; Florus, i. 13. (18). 7 *sq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 1. p. 140 *sq.*

12. 3. **Alexander was the first European who acquired elephants after his conquest of Porus** etc. The number of elephants captured by Alexander after his battle with Porus is said to have been eighty (Diodorus, xvii. 89. 2). The total number of elephants in the army or in the possession of Porus is variously stated at 200, 130, and 85. See Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 15. 4; Diodorus, xvii. 87. 2; Quintus Curtius, viii. 13. 44. Though Alexander the Great was the first European who owned elephants, the existence of elephants was known to the Greeks long

before Alexander's time, for Herodotus (iv. 191) mentions the African elephants without describing them, as if they were familiar to his readers. Aristotle knew of both the Indian and the African species (*De Coelo*, ii. 14, p. 298 a, 12 *sqq.*) The ancients considered the Indian elephant superior in size and strength to the African elephant (Diodorus, ii. 16. 4, ii. 35. 4; Quintus Curtius, viii. 9. 31). Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt (283-247 B.C.), was the first to tame the African elephant and use it in war; his elephants were brought from Nubia (*C. I. G.* No. 5127; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 173, line 10 *sqq.*; Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 1. pp. 578 *sq.*, 607 *sq.*) From Ptolemy Philadelphus the Carthaginians probably borrowed the idea of taming the African elephant for military purposes; for in the Carthaginian army which defeated Regulus in 255 B.C. there were about 100 elephants (Polybius, i. 32. 9). It was easy for the Carthaginians to procure elephants, since in antiquity the animal was found native in the regions of North Africa now known as Tripoli and Morocco (Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 32). In modern times the African elephant is not found wild to the north of the Sahara (Rawlinson, on Herodotus, iv. 191); indeed it had disappeared from North Africa by the seventh century A.D. (Isidore, *Origines*, xiv. 12). The range of the Asiatic elephant would seem also to have been much wider in early times than it is now, and even than it was in the days of Alexander the Great. For in the time of the 18th Egyptian dynasty elephants appear to have abounded in Syria; Thutmes III., king of Egypt, hunted 120 elephants in the district of Ni in Syria, and Tiglathpileser I. hunted them in the district of Charrân (Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. § 220). On the obelisk of Salmanasar II., king of Assyria, the Asiatic elephant is sculptured in relief along with other Asiatic animals, including the two-humped Bactrian camel and apes (Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 2. pp. 270 *sq.*, 564 *sq.*, 777 note 5; Fr. Lenormant, in *Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache*, 8 (1870), p. 21 *sqq.*) The Asiatic elephant is easily distinguished from the African, even on the monuments, by the comparative smallness of its ears. The ear of the African elephant measures some four feet across; it can shelter a man completely from the rain. The ear of the Asiatic elephant is not more than a third of this size. See D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 563 *sq.* A terra-cotta group found in the necropolis of Myrina represents an Asiatic elephant trampling on a Gaul; this is doubtless a memorial of the victories of the kings of Pergamus over the Gauls (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 9 (1885), p. 485 *sqq.*, with pl. xi.) There was a well-known picture of an elephant at Pergamus (Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Βοῦρα). The large-eared African elephant is represented on a Punic monument (*Gazette Archéologique*, 3 (1877), p. 24 *sq.*); and it is always the African elephant which is figured on Roman coins and monuments (Bunbury, *op. cit.* 1. p. 608; Livingstone *l.c.*) That the ancients, from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus onward, should have so commonly tamed the African elephant is all the more remarkable, since in modern times the African species is considered untameable (Livingstone and Bunbury, *ll.cc.*) The elephant appears

very little on the Egyptian monuments, and not at all in Egyptian mythology (Mr. W. Houghton, in *Academy*, June 27th, 1885, p. 459; cp. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1887), p. 143). It is never depicted on Greek vases (Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1875, p. 96 note 3). The ancients procured their ivory both from the African and the Indian elephant (Paus. v. 12. 3 note). On the elephant in antiquity see S. Reinach, article 'Elephas,' in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, 3. p. 536 *sqq*.

12. 3. **At their appearance a panic now seized the Romans** etc. The Romans had never seen elephants before; they called them Lucanian oxen because they first encountered them in Lucania (Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 39; Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 16). The panic of the Romans at first seeing elephants may be compared with the alarm of the Mexicans at the sight of the horses of the Spanish invaders, which they regarded "with the mysterious terror felt for a supernatural being" (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, bk. iii. ch. 3).

12. 4. **Homer —— represents the couches and houses —— adorned with ivory.** See Homer, *Od.* iv. 72 *sq.*, xix. 55 *sq.*, xxiii. 199 *sq.*

12. 4. **a battle of pygmies and cranes.** Homer (*Il.* iii. 3 *sqq.*) speaks of the cranes "flying towards the streams of Ocean, bearing slaughter and doom to the Pygmies." The war waged by the Pygmies with the cranes is often alluded to by ancient writers. See, for example, Hecataeus, Frag. 266 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 18); Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 16; Athenaeus, ix. p. 390 b; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* xv. 29; Ovid, *Met.* vi. 90 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Fasti*, vi. 176; Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 26; Juvenal, xiii. 167 *sqq.*; Mela, iii. 81, p. 81, ed. Parthey; Solinus, x. 11. Aristotle mentions the war of the Pygmies and cranes, and positively asserts that the Pygmies were a real tribe living in the marshes of Upper Egypt, from which the Nile flowed (*Hist. An.* vii. 12, p. 597 a, 6 *sqq.*) The ancients certainly seem to have had information of dwarf tribes in Central and Western Africa (see Herodotus, ii. 32, iv. 43). In modern times, especially within the last half century, travellers have brought accounts of dwarf tribes in various parts of Equatorial Africa, and it appears not improbable that reports of some of these tribes had reached the ancients. But whether the fable of the war between the Pygmies and the cranes actually originated in such reports, may well be questioned. For accounts of these dwarf tribes of Africa, see 'Adventures of Andrew Battel,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 16. p. 334; Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 332; Du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango-land*, p. 315 *sqq.*; Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*,[3] 2. p. 66 *sqq.*; H. H. Johnston, *The River Congo*, p. 396 *sq.*; *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (London), New Series, 8 (1886), p. 446; *id.*, 9 (1887), pp. 407, 440, 646; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loanga-Küste*, 1. p. 342 *sqq.*, *id.* 2. p. 96 *sqq.*; J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, etc., in Eastern Africa*, p. 51 *sqq.*; Sibree, *Madagascar, the Great African Island*, p. 136 *sq.*; *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 3; H. M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, 1. pp. 345 *sq.*, 352

sq.; *id.* 2. pp. 40 *sqq.*, 92 *sqq.*, etc.; Quatrefages, *Les pygmées*, p. 239 *sqq.*; Hellmuth Panckow, 'Ueber Zwergvölker in Afrika und Süd-Asien,' *Zeitschrift d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 27 (1892), pp. 75-120; Windle, Introd. to Tyson's *Essay on the Pygmies* (London, 1894), p. xxix. *sqq.*

Ctesias described a race of Pygmies in Central India (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 46, ed. Bekker), and so did Megasthenes and Basilis (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 2. pp. 423, 425; Strabo, ii. p. 70; Athenaeus, ix. p. 390 b). A hardy tribe of men of low stature who live in trees is reported to dwell in the upper valley of the Irawadi, between Moulmein and Manipur. Hence Mr. V. Ball supposes that the accounts of Ctesias, etc., may have referred to this tribe (*Indian Antiquary*, 12 (1883), p. 235). It is more likely that Ctesias, at least, was romancing; he was a notorious liar.

On the Pygmies, their war with the cranes, and its representation in ancient art, see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 418-434; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1865, pp. 118-121. The monograph of de Quatrefages, *Les pygmées* (Paris, 1887), and the essay of Mr. Windle (cited above) discuss the Pygmies of antiquity and existing dwarf races in all parts of the world.

12. 5. An embassy from Syracuse diverted Pyrrhus to Sicily etc. On Pyrrhus's expedition to Sicily, see Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 22 *sq.*; Appian, *Samn.* 11 *sq.*, Diodorus, xxii. 7 *sq.* and 10; Justin, xviii. 2. 11 *sq.*, xxiii. 3; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 1. p. 162 *sqq.*; A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, 2. p. 277 *sqq.*

12. 5. he now aspired to fight the Carthaginians at sea. On the naval victory of the Carthaginians over Pyrrhus in the straits of Messina, see Appian, *Samn.* 12; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 24; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 1. p. 174.

12. 5. A verse of Homer etc. *Od.* xi. 122 *sq.*

12. 5. Nor eat food seasoned with salt. Many savage tribes are ignorant of salt or do not use it in food though they can procure it in abundance. Such tribes are or were the Numidians in antiquity (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 89), many tribes of North American Indians at the date of their discovery or down to the present time (*Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, p. 53, Canadian reprint; *id.* 1658, p. 27; Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1612, p. 317; Hontan, *Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, p. 100; Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, Reprint, Paris, 1865, p. 67 *sq.*; J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 262; Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 56; W. H. Dall, *Alaska*, p. 201; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. p. 55; *Adventures and Sufferings of R. Jewitt*, Middletown, 1820, p. 25; *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for* 1863, p. 366), the Caraibs of the West Indies (De la Borde, 'Relation de l'origine, etc. des Caraibes sauvages,' p. 17 in *Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique*, Paris, 1684; Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1742, 2. p. 155), some tribes of South America (Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, 2. p. 13; E. Bancroft, *Natural History of*

Guiana in South America, London, 1769, p. 325; G. Osculati, *Esplorazione delle regione equatoriali lungo il Napo ed il fiume delle Amazzoni*, Milan, 1850, p. 172; A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazons*, 2nd ed. 1889, pp. 355, 358, cp. p. 340; A. Simson, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 7 (1878), p. 503; *id.*, 12 (1883), p. 21; *id.*, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 151), many African tribes (Kolbe, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1. p. 207; Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Africa*, 2. pp. 316, 534; J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, p. 430; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, 10. p. 140; Francis Galton, *Tropical South Africa*, London, 1890, p. 111; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, 2. p. 619; Featherman, *Nigritians*, p. 653; A. Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa*, 1. p. 263), many Beduin tribes at the present day (A. von Kremer, 'Brot und Salz,' *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. d. Wissen. in Wien*, Philosoph. histor. Classe, 120 (1890), p. 28), the Koos of North-Eastern India (Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 115), the Veddahs of Ceylon (*Indian Antiquary*, 8 (1879), p. 318), various tribes of the Malay Archipelago (Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, 2. p. 86; Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel*, pp. 212, 433, 452; Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 270; *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 26 (1881), p. 82), some of the Papuan tribes of New Guinea (*Nieuw Guinea, ethnographisch en natuurkundig onderzocht en beschreven*, Amsterdam, 1862, pp. 149, 159; G. W. Earl, *Papuans*, p. 147; O. Finsch, *Neu Guinea und seine Bewohner*, pp. 69, 81; Miklucho-Maclay, in *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, 35 (1875), p. 70), some of the Melanesians (W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, p. 174; cp. C. M. Woodford, *A Naturalist among the Head-hunters*, p. 230), some of the Micronesians of the Marshall Islands (Kotzebue, *Entdeckungsreise in die Süd-See*, Weimar, 1821, 3. p. 117; C. Hager, *Die Marshall-Inseln*, p. 64), some of the Polynesians (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 112; A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 1. p. 161), the people of Sŭ-schin in Corea (A. Pfizmaier, 'Nachrichten von den alten Bewohnern des heutigen Corea,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Royal Academy of Vienna, Phil. hist. Cl. 57 (1868), p. 517), and the Gilyaks of Eastern Siberia (L. v. Schrenk, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande*, 3. p. 443 *sqq.*)

A few of the tribes enumerated above live on the sea-coast and use sea-water with their food, but most of them appear to use salt in no form whatever, and many of them have a strong disgust at it. To hunting and pastoral tribes, who live on milk and flesh, salt is not a necessity of life, as their ordinary food supplies them with alkalis in sufficient quantity; but with agricultural peoples, who live mainly on a vegetable diet, salt is a necessity. Hence it is at the transition from a nomadic to a settled agricultural life that the need of salt makes itself felt; and thus the introduction of salt as a regular article of diet marks an important advance in civilisation. Cp. Schleiden, *Das Salz*, p. 5 *sqq.*; von Kremer, *op. cit.* p. 28 *sq.*; W. Robertson Smith, article 'Salt,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., 21. p. 234.

13. 1. **There he suffered a severe reverse.** Pyrrhus was defeated by the Romans under Manius Curius, not at Tarentum, but at Beneventum, whither he had marched to attack them. This was in 275 B.C. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 25; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, iii. 1. p. 176 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, 1. p. 449 *sq.*

13. 1. **he —— sent letters —— to Antigonus** etc. Cp. Justin, xxv. 3. 1-4.

13. 2. **Having beaten the forces of Antigonus** etc. On this victory of Pyrrhus over Antigonus and his Gallic auxiliaries (274 B.C.), see Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 26; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 1. p. 203.

13. 2. **the sanctuary of Itonian Athena** etc. Itonian Athena was the Thessalian watchword in battle (x. 1. 10). The goddess had also a sanctuary in Boeotia (see ix. 34. 1 note).

13. 3. **Pyrrhus the Molossian hung up** etc. This inscription is quoted also by Plutarch (*Pyrrhus*, 26).

13. 3. **Aqueous Zeus.** 'Aqueous' (*Naïos*) was the regular epithet applied to Zeus at Dodona, as we learn from inscriptions. See E. S. Roberts, 'The oracle inscriptions discovered at Dodona,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), p. 231 *sq.*; *id.*, *Greek Epigraphy*, Nos. 105, 273; S. Reinach, *Traité d'Epigraphie Grecque*, p. 115; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 429; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 145; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 2. Nos. 1557, 1564, 1565, 1567, 1582, etc. Cp. Schol. on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 233; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 283, line 22 *sqq.*; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 123; and especially G. F. Unger, 'Ueber die Entstehung des Cultus von Dodona,' *Philologus*, 24 (1866), p. 392 *sqq.* The inscription of a votive offering dedicated by Pyrrhus to Aqueous Zeus at Dodona has actually been found, but the victory which it commemorates was gained over the Romans, not over Antigonus and his Gauls. See Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 162; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 147. We are told that a sacred spring gushed from the roots of the holy and oracular oak at Dodona, and that the purling of its cool water was listened to as the voice of the god and interpreted as such to pilgrims by an ancient priestess (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 466; cp. Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 228; Solinus, vii. 2. p. 60 *sq.*, ed. Mommsen; Mela, ii. 43, p. 43, ed. Parthey; *Etymol. Magn.*, *s.v.* ἀναπαυόμενον ὕδωρ, p. 98, line 22 *sqq.*) Possibly the epithet 'aqueous' applied to Zeus at Dodona may have had some reference to this holy spring.

13. 4. **Cleonymus —— persuaded him** etc. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 26.

13. 5. **To Cleomenes were born two sons** etc. Cp. iii. 6. 2 *sq.*

13. 6. **sustained a severe reverse at the hands of Antipater and the Macedonians.** In 330 B.C., while Alexander the Great was carrying on his conquests in the East, the Peloponnesians took up arms against the Macedonian supremacy, but were defeated by Antipater in a bloody battle. Among the slain was the Spartan king Agis. See Diodorus, xvii. 62 *sq.*; Quintus Curtius, vi. 1; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 6. p. 310 *sqq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, i. 1. p. 395 *sqq.*

13. 6. **the invasion of Demetrius.** In 295 B.C. Demetrius de-

feated the Lacedaemonians under King Archidamus, near Mantinea; then he invaded Laconia, defeated them again under the walls of Sparta, and was on the point of capturing the city when he was suddenly called away by tidings from Asia. See Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 35; Polyaenus, iv. 7. 9; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 14 *sq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* ii. 2. p. 257 *sq.*

13. 6. **Pyrrhus was victorious** etc. This happened in 272 B.C. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 26-30; Polyaenus, viii. 49; Justin, xxv. 4. 6-10; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 76 *sqq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 1. p. 209 *sqq.*

13. 6. **The Lacedaemonians made ready for a siege** etc. They fortified the city with a trench and a barricade of wagons. See Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 27; Polyaenus, viii. 49. Cp. Paus. vii. 8. 5.

13. 7. **Pyrrhus came to Argos** etc. As to Pyrrhus's attempt on Argos and his death (272 B.C.) see Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 31-34; Justin, xxv. 5. 1; Polyaenus, viii. 68; Strabo, viii. p. 376; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. pp. 80-83; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 1. pp. 214-219.

13. 8. **Demeter in the likeness of a woman.** The reason why Demeter might be thought to have a grudge at Pyrrhus and a hand in his death was no doubt (as Preller pointed out, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 114) that Pyrrhus had once sacrilegiously rifled a sanctuary of Proserpine, carrying off much gold which had been stored in the vaults. The ships conveying the treasure were wrecked, and Pyrrhus in alarm restored the stolen gold to the goddess. But she was apparently not appeased; for Pyrrhus's subsequent defeat at the hands of the Romans was attributed to her displeasure. See Dionysius Halic. vol. 4. pp. 2362-2365, ed. Reiske; Suidas, *s.vv.* *ἄβυσσος* and *Πύρρος*.

13. 8. **Lyceas, the local antiquary.** He is mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (ii. 19. 5; ii. 22. 2; ii. 23. 8).

13. 8. **On the spot where Pyrrhus fell there is a sanctuary of Demeter.** See ii. 21. 4, where Pausanias seems to speak as if the sanctuary already existed when Pyrrhus attacked Argos.

13. 9. **Homer says that Achilles was slain by Alexander** etc. See *Il.* xxii. 359 *sq.* Later writers told how his mother Thetis had dipped Achilles in the water of Styx, and so made him invulnerable except in the heel by which she had held him. Hence Paris killed him by shooting him in the heel. See Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 57; Hyginus, *Fab.* 107; Fulgentius, iii. 7. Similarly in a Celtic tale a certain Dermid is vulnerable only in the heel; through the machinations of an enemy he is wounded in it by the bristle of a boar and dies in consequence. See J. G. Campbell, *The Fians* (London, 1891), p. 54. In an Indian tale an ogre is cased in adamant all over except in his left hand; the hero kills him by wounding him with an arrow in that hand. See *The Kathá Sarit Ságara*, translated by C. H. Tawney, 1. pp. 70 *sq.*, 572.

13. 9. **If Philistus is fairly excused** etc. On the banishment of the historian Philistus from Syracuse by the tyrant Dionysius the elder, see Diodorus, xv. 7; Plutarch, *Dion*, 11. Plutarch says that

Philistus was not restored to Syracuse till after the tyrant's death; but according to Diodorus he came back in the tyrant's lifetime.

14. 1. the Music Hall. Pausanias has already spoken of this building (i. 8. 6) as "the theatre which they call the Music Hall." The statues which stood in front of it led him into the long digression (i. ch. 9-ch. 13) on the history of the Ptolemies, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus. He now resumes the thread of his topographical description at the point where he had left off, namely, "the theatre which they call the Music Hall." This building, he tells us, was near the fountain called Enneacrunus; hence the position to be assigned to this Music Hall depends on the position we give to the Enneacrunus (see next note).

But if, as we should naturally infer from the order of Pausanias's description, this "theatre called the Music Hall" was in or near the market-place, it is probably identical with "the theatre in the Ceramicus called the Agrippeum" which is mentioned by Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 5. 4; cp. *id.*, ii. 8. 4). For a Roman Music Hall (Odeum) was nothing but a small theatre roofed over, as we see from the existing remains of the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus at Athens. That the same building should be called 'the Music Hall' by Pausanias and 'the Agrippeum' by Philostratus, is probably to be explained (as Dr. Dörpfeld has pointed out) by the fact that immediately after Pausanias's visit to Athens a second Roman Music Hall or theatre was built, namely the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus (see Paus. vii. 20. 6). Hence when Philostratus wrote, the older Music Hall built by Agrippa could no longer be called 'the Music Hall' simply, but had to be called the Music Hall of Agrippa or the Agrippeum to distinguish it from the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus. There was a third Music Hall in Athens, namely the one built by Pericles, but it seems to have been no longer called a Music Hall in Pausanias's time (see i. 20. 4 note). This Music Hall of Pericles was of a different shape from the Roman structures of the same name. See W. Dörpfeld, 'Die verschiedenen Odeien in Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 252-260. Cp. E. Hiller, 'Die athenischen Odeen und der ΠΡΟΑΓΩΝ,' *Hermes*, 7 (1873), pp. 393-406.

14. 1. a fountain called Enneacrunus. The question, where this fountain was situated, has been much debated. From the place which it occupies in Pausanias's description we should expect it to be in or near the market-place. For his description of the market-place and its immediate surroundings, with historical digressions, certainly extends from i. 3. 1 to i. 8. 5, and again from i. 14. 6 to i. 17. 2. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that the objects described in the intermediate passage (i. 8. 6-i. 14. 5) were also in or near the market-place. The supposition is all the more natural because Pausanias elsewhere regularly follows a strictly connected topographical order in describing places and things, except when, on rare occasions, he departs from it for the purpose of describing together monuments akin in kind though locally separate, as the courts of justice at Athens (i. 28. 8-11), the altars at Olympia (v. 14. 1 to v. 15. 12), the votive offerings at Olympia (v. 21. 1 to v. 27. 12), and the honorary statues in the same place

(vi. 1. 1 *sqq.*); and these deviations from the topographical order are expressly indicated by the author, except where such an intimation would be obviously superfluous, as where he mentions together the various structures with which Hadrian adorned Athens (i. 18. 9). But in the passage in question (i. 8. 6-i. 14. 5) Pausanias gives no hint that he has departed from the neighbourhood of the market-place. There is, therefore, a very strong presumption that the objects described in this passage (namely the Odeum, the Enneacrunus fountain, the temple of Demeter and Proserpine, the temple with the image of Triptolemus, the Eleusinium, and the temple of Fame) were all in or near the market-place. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that with regard to two of the structures in question, namely the Eleusinium and temple of Fame, we have independent reasons for believing them to have been in or near the market-place (see the notes on §§ 3 and 5 of this chapter).

If, then, Pausanias has here as elsewhere followed the topographical order of description, we should expect the objects in question (the Odeum, Enneacrunus fountain, etc.) to be at or near the south side of the market-place. For we have seen that in describing the market-place Pausanias proceeded from north to south till he reached the statues of the tyrannicides at the point where the ancient road to the Acropolis began to ascend between the Areopagus and the Museum hill (see notes on i. 3. 5 'a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods,' and i. 8. 5 'statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton'). Thus we should expect Pausanias to follow up this road and to describe the objects which he saw on or near it, between the Areopagus and the Nymphaeum hill, and then between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. This expectation, again, is confirmed by the fact that this part of Athens is not described by Pausanias elsewhere; he either describes it here or nowhere.

Can then the Odeum, Enneacrunus fountain, Eleusinium, etc., be placed in this hollow between the Nymphaeum, Areopagus, Pnyx, and Museum hills, through which the ancient road wound up from the market-place to the Acropolis? In regard to the Eleusinium this question may be answered affirmatively (see note on § 3).

In regard to the Enneacrunus fountain, excavations conducted by Dr. Dörpfeld in 1891-1894 have led to the discovery that in antiquity there must have been several natural springs rising at the foot of the rocky Pnyx hill, just below the ancient place of public assembly, to the west of the modern road which leads up to the Acropolis. Here the rock has been deeply tunnelled in the search for water, and cisterns have been hewn in the rock. At least seven such tunnels and six cisterns have been found. The tunnels yield water no longer, but that they did so in antiquity is proved by the water-pipes made of earthenware, which still lie in or before the tunnels. The cisterns, on the other hand, still contain some water. Even in antiquity, however, the water of these springs would seem to have been scanty, since wells, some of which still yield water, have been found sunk in the rock in front of what seems to have been the site of the ancient fountain.

Immediately above the site of the fountain Dr. Dörpfeld also dis-

covered the remains of a large cistern carefully built of polygonal masonry, which, from its style, appears to belong to the fifth or sixth century B.C. Further, Dr. Dörpfeld excavated here a portion of a large rock-cut aqueduct or conduit partly built and roofed with large blocks of limestone. The style of the conduit shows it to be Greek, not Roman; and its size suggests that it must have been the chief aqueduct by which fresh water was brought to Athens. Its direction indicates clearly that it came from the upper valley of the Ilissus and was carried along the southern slope of the Acropolis, where indeed it has been traced. The conduit seems to have ended originally at the cistern. It can, indeed, be traced beyond the cistern to the north and west; but this part of the water-channel appears, from the manner of cutting and from the built portions where it is led outside the rock, to be a Roman continuation of the original Greek aqueduct. A clue to the date of the aqueduct is furnished by two sets of water-pipes which have been found diverging from it. These pipes are made of a yellowish clay with a red glaze in the interior. They exactly resemble the pipes of the famous aqueduct built by Polycrates of Samos in the sixth century B.C. (see E. Fabricius, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 175 *sq.*); presumably, therefore, they are of the same date. This date is confirmed by the discovery of two wells between the cistern and the ancient street. For these wells were filled up not later than the sixth century B.C., as appears from the style of potsherds found in them. Probably they were filled up at the time when they were superseded by the construction of the aqueduct.

From these facts Dr. Dörpfeld infers that in the sixth century B.C. the springs and wells at the foot of the Pnyx were found insufficient to supply the needs of the city, and that consequently an additional supply of water was brought in this large rock-cut conduit or aqueduct from the upper valley of the Ilissus. And as we learn from Thucydides (ii. 15, 7) and the present passage of Pausanias that a certain open spring, formerly called Callirrhoe, was enclosed with masonry and converted into a fountain with nine jets by Pisistratus, Dr. Dörpfeld concludes that the springs of which he has discovered the site on the side of the Pynx are no other than the Callirrhoe or Enneacrunus, and that the conduit was made by Pisistratus at the same time that he converted the open spring into a fountain, the water brought by the conduit being used to reinforce the insufficient supply of the natural springs. Pieces of the masonry which inclosed the fountain have been found. They consist partly of large blocks of 'poros' stone, one of which contains a water-channel with two openings or mouths; partly of blocks of a limestone which is quarried at *Kara*, a village at the fort of Hymettus, and which was regularly used in buildings of the sixth century B.C.

See Dr. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.* 16 (1891), p. 444 *sq.*; *id.*, 17 (1892), pp. 92 *sq.*, 439-445; *id.*, 19 (1894), p. 143 *sqq.*; *id.*, Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, pp. 1-10; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), p. 66; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, 89 *sq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 139-142; *id.*, 14 (1894), pp. 224-226; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 624 *sq.*

Plausible as this view of Dr. Dörpfeld's is, there are grave difficulties in the way of accepting it; for the evidence of ancient writers (with the exception of Pausanias) is decidedly in favour of placing the Callirrhoe or Enneacrunus spring near the Ilissus, in the south-east of Athens. Thus Herodotus tells a story (vi. 137) that in the old days the Pelasgians, dwelling at the foot of Mt. Hymettus to the east and south-east of Athens, used to violate the Athenian girls when the latter went out to fetch water at the Enneacrunus spring. Such a story would hardly have been told if the Enneacrunus had been (as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes) on the *west* side of Athens. Again, Thucydides, in a passage which has been often quoted (ii. 15), tells us that ancient Athens embraced the Acropolis and the district immediately to the south of it; and in proof of this he refers to the sanctuaries on the Acropolis and to the south of it; amongst the latter he enumerates the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (which was to the south-east of the Acropolis), and the sanctuaries of the Pythian Apollo, Earth, and 'Dionysus in the Marshes.' He then immediately proceeds: "And other old sanctuaries also are situated in this quarter. And the spring, which is now called Enneacrunus ('with nine jets'), because the tyrants constructed it so, but which of old, when the springs were open, was called Callirrhoe ('fair-flowing'), was used by the ancient Athenians for most purposes because it was near, and to this day it is still the custom, derived from antiquity, to use the water before marriages and for other sacred rites. And down to the present time the Acropolis is still called 'the city' by the Athenians because they dwelt there of old." (The full force of this passage is especially brought out by Professor C. Wachsmuth, in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen* of the Royal Saxon Society (Leipsic), Phil. hist. Cl. 39 (1887), p. 382 *sqq.*) Again, the comic poet Cratinus wrote: "The fountains of his streams of words do plash; a mouth with twelve jets; the Ilissus in his gullet" (quoted by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 526). The allusion here certainly seems to be to the Enneacrunus, though the poet speaks of twelve instead of nine jets of water. Again, the writer of the dialogue *Axiochus*, attributed to Plato, says (p. 364 a): "As I was going out to Cynosarges and had come to the Ilissus, I heard the voice of one shouting 'Socrates! Socrates!' and turning round to look whence the voice came, I saw Clinias the son of Axiochus running towards Callirrhoe." Again, the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* says (*s.v.* Ἐννεάκρουνος, p. 343): "Enneacrunus is a fountain at Athens beside the Ilissus; it was formerly the Callirrhoe. They fetch the bathing-water for brides from it." Again, Himerius writes: "If I had had a poet's licence I would have shown you the Ilissus weeping and would have painted in gloomy colours Callirrhoe's fair streams" (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 369, ed. Bekker). Lastly, Hierocles says in the preface to his tract 'De febri equi,' *Veterinariae Medicinae libri duo* (Bâle, 1537, p. 4): "Tarantinus relates that when the Athenians were building the temple of Zeus near the Enneacrunus they voted that all the beasts of burden should be collected from Attica into the city." The temple of Zeus here referred to by Hierocles can be no other than the great temple of Olympian Zeus to the south-east of the Acropolis.

On the strength of these passages the Enneacrunus or Callirrhoe has been generally identified with a spring which still bears the ancient name of Callirrhoe, situated a little to the south-east of the temple of Olympian Zeus. The water issues from the foot of a ledge of rock which here crosses the bed of the Ilissus; so that in rainy weather the spring is enveloped in a small cascade formed by the river tumbling over the rock. But when the bed of the stream is (as it usually is) dry or nearly so, the water of the spring forms a pool, which never dries up, at the foot of the ledge of rock. The inhabitants of the neighbouring part of Athens resort to the spring for drinking water, and the women wash their linen in the pool. See Leake, *Topography of Athens*, 1. p. 175 *sq.*; Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, pl. ix. 3, with the text. p. 32; E. Ziller, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 110; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 87 *sq.*

Dr. Dörpfeld holds that this spring in the bed of the Ilissus was the Callirrhoe of Greek writers from the fifth century B.C. onward, and that the name Enneacrunus was exclusively applied to the spring to the west of the Acropolis, the old name of which (Callirrhoe) had been abandoned from the time that Pisistratus converted it into a fountain with nine jets. But he ignores the testimony of Hierocles and the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, who plainly identify the Enneacrunus with the spring in the Ilissus, near the great temple of Olympian Zeus. The testimony of Thucydides to the fact of the Enneacrunus having been to the south of the Acropolis is in my opinion almost equally indubitable, in spite of Dr. Dörpfeld's attempt to wrest it so as to favour his own view. On the whole the evidence of all ancient writers except Pausanias goes to show that the names Callirrhoe and Enneacrunus were always applied to one and the same spring, and that this was the spring in the bed of the Ilissus which still bears the ancient name of Callirrhoe

But if this spring on the Ilissus be the Enneacrunus, how is it that Pausanias's description of the Enneacrunus occurs in the middle of his account of the market-place, which was certainly in an opposite quarter of Athens? Two answers are possible: either the spring described by him was not the true Enneacrunus; or his description of it has, whether purposely or accidentally, been interpolated into the midst of his account of a totally different part of Athens. The latter is the answer generally given. The description of the Enneacrunus and the buildings near it is regarded as a digression or episode; but the theories started to account for this digression are very various. As these theories rest purely on conjecture and are unsupported by evidence, it would be idle to enumerate and criticise them. I will mention only Professor C. Wachsmuth's conjecture that the whole of the passage containing the account of the Enneacrunus and the buildings near it (i. 8. 6-i. 14. 5) has been accidentally displaced in the manuscripts and that it originally occurred after i. 19. 6. But as all the manuscripts agree in placing the passage where it occurs in our printed texts, and as there is no other example of any such dislocation of the text in Pausanias, Professor Wachsmuth's theory appears very improbable.

If the current view be accepted, that the Enneacrunus or Callirrhoe

was the spring on the Ilissus which is still called Callirrhoe, and that the whole passage in Pausanias from i. 8. 6 to i. 14. 5 is a digression, it follows that all the buildings mentioned in that passage (namely the Music Hall, the temple of Demeter and Proserpine, the temple containing an image of Triptolemus, the Eleusinium, and the temple of Fame) were situated, not in the neighbourhood of the market-place, but in the south-eastern quarter of Athens near the Ilissus. Against this it has to be urged that, as has been already remarked, we have positive reasons for placing two at least of these structures (the Eleusinium and the temple of Fame) in the neighbourhood of the market-place. And the improbability of the view that, in the middle of describing the market-place in the north-west of Athens, Pausanias should have suddenly digressed, without a word of warning, to describe the south-eastern quarter of Athens, is greatly increased by the fact that he subsequently describes this very south-eastern quarter in its proper topographical order (i. 18. 6-i. 19. 6).

On the whole the balance of evidence seems to point to these two conclusions: (1) the spring described by Pausanias as the Enneacrunus and the buildings near it were situated immediately to the south of the market-place, in the hollow between the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Nymphaeum hills; (2) the spring which classical writers in general call the Enneacrunus or Callirrhoe was the spring which still retains the name of Callirrhoe, situated in the bed of the Ilissus, to the south-east of the temple of Olympian Zeus.

Thus it would seem that what Pausanias calls the Enneacrunus was not really the spring to which classical writers in general gave the name. Whether the mistake was his own or that of his guides, we cannot say. It is possible that in or before his time the name Enneacrunus may have been transferred from the spring on the Ilissus to one between the Pnyx and Areopagus. But, if so, the historical tradition of the adornment of the spring by Pisistratus must have been transferred also. The whole question, however, remains obscure. Further excavations, it may be hoped, will one day settle it.

Those who desire to go more fully into the discussion of "the Enneacrunus episode," as it is called, may consult (in addition to the works cited above) Leake, *Topography of Athens*, 1. p. 170 *sqq.*; Schubart, 'Verschiebungen in Pausanias,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), pp. 821-831; E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, 2. p. 15; *id.*, *Erläuternder Text der sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, pp. 49, 51; *id.*, 'Die Quellen der Akropolis,' *Hermes*, 21 (1886), pp. 198-205 (reprinted in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 401-408); C. Wachsmuth, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 23 (1868), p. 27 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 272-284; *id.*, 'Kallirrhoe—Enneakrunos,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* Phil. histor. Cl. 39 (1887), pp. 381-395; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 517-520; Unger, 'Enneakrunos und Pelasgikon. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie der alten Athen,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. u. hist. Cl. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Munchen*, 1874, pp. 263-351; G. Loeschcke, *Die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias* (Dorpat, 1883); P. Weizsäcker, 'Die Beschreibung des Marktes von Athen und die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 33 (1887), pp. 577-612; Wecklein, in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. u. hist. Cl. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1887, pp. 91-97; Milchhofer, 'Athen,' pp. 165, 185 *sqq.*; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 749 *sqq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' pp. 310, 317; Miss Harrison, *Ancient*

Athens, p. 87 *sqq.*; A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 70 *sqq.*; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 280-283, 330-335; G. Nikolaïdes, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1893, pp. 177-186.

14. 1. an image of Triptolemus. In the monuments of ancient art Triptolemus is generally portrayed seated or standing in a winged or dragon-drawn car. See vii. 18. 3 note. But on a well-known and very beautiful relief, found at Eleusis and now in the National Museum at Athens, Triptolemus is represented as a lad standing between Demeter and Proserpine, the former of whom is handing something (probably the ears of corn) to him. See Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 5. pp. 104-121, with pl. vi. (Welcker interpreted the lad as Iacchus); Overbeck, in *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Cl. 12 (1860), pp. 163-194; *id.*, 13 (1861), pp. 133-144; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 3. pp. 426 *sqq.*, 565 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1182; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 126.

14. 1. Deiope. According to one account Deiope was a daughter of Triptolemus and mother of Eumolpus by Musaeus (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1053; Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.* 131 (143); Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Εὐμολπίδαι). According to another account she was the mother of Triptolemus. It is said that when the Athenians were building the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis they found a bronze pillar or tablet with the inscription, "This is the monument of Deiope" (Aristotle, *l.c.*)

14. 2. Triptolemus the son of Celeus. There were other legends as to the parentage of Triptolemus besides those mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. According to Apollodorus (i. 5. 1 *sq.*) his father was Celeus and his mother was Metanira. According to others his father was Eleusinus and his mother Cothonea (Hyginus, *Fab.* 147) or Cyntinia (Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19). Panyasis said that Triptolemus was a son of Eleusis (Apollodorus, i. 5. 2).

14. 3. a child of Ocean and Earth. This was the parentage assigned to Triptolemus by Pherecydes (Apollodorus, i. 5. 2).

14. 3. Eubuleus. An inscription found at Eleusis and dating from the middle of the fifth century B.C. mentions a sacrifice of a perfect victim "to Triptolemus and the God and the Goddess and to Eubulus" (*Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 4 (1880), p. 227; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 13, line 39 *sq.*) That this Eubulus is identical with Eubuleus we learn from an inscribed relief, also found at Eleusis, dedicated by a priest "of the God, the Goddess, and Eubuleus." The relief is a mere fragment, but one of the figures is certified by an inscription to be Pluto; from which it probably follows that 'the God' mentioned in the inscription is Pluto and 'the Goddess' Proserpine. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 25 *sq.*, with pl. iii. 2; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1620 c. Further it follows from this relief that Eubuleus at Eleusis was not identified with Pluto, as in later times he sometimes was (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 272; Nicander, *Alexipharm.* 14, with the Schol.; Hesychius, *s.v.* Εὐβουλεύς). Another Eleusinian inscription (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1886, p. 262; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1620 d) contains

a dedication to Eubuleus alone. Now on two inscriptions of Amorgus and Paros we find Zeus with the surname of Eubuleus ('Good Counsellor') associated with the Eleusinian deities Demeter and Proserpine (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 334; *id.*, 16 (1891), p. 6), and on an inscription of Myconus it is decreed to offer, on behalf of the crops, a pig pregnant for the first time to Demeter, an uncut boar to Proserpine, and a pig to Zeus surnamed Buleus ('Counsellor') (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 373, line 17 *sq.*) Further the name Eubuleus ('Good Counsellor') is mentioned by Diodorus (v. 72) as a title of Zeus, and appears to have been specially applied to him at Cyrene (Hesychius, *s.v.* Εὐβουλεύς). It also occurs as an epithet of Zeus on a mutilated inscription copied by me at Mantinea in 1890 (see note on viii. 9. 2 'Saviour Zeus').

From facts like these Mr. Otto Kern has argued that Eubuleus at Eleusis was no other than Zeus. The tradition which represented him as a swineherd, whose pigs were swallowed up in the chasm down which Pluto carried Proserpine to the nether world (Schol. on Lucian, ed. by E. Rohde, *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 25 (1870), p. 548 *sqq.*; cp. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 20. p. 17, ed. Potter), is held by Mr. Kern to be a late Orphic story, not a genuine Eleusinian tradition. See O. Kern, 'Eubuleus und Triptolemos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), pp. 1-29. But against this proposed identification of the Eleusinian Eubuleus with Zeus, it has to be said that there is little or no other evidence of the association of Zeus with the rites and myths of Eleusis. The identification is, however, accepted by Mr. M. Fränkel, who quotes in support of it two Delian inscriptions, in one of which mention is made of offerings to Demeter, Proserpine, and Zeus Eubuleus, in the other of an offering of a pregnant sow to Demeter and a sucking pig to Zeus Eubuleus. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 643 *sq.* On the other hand, Prof. Furtwängler maintains that Eubuleus was probably at first an independent deity of the subterranean world who was at a later time identified with Zeus (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 562 *sqq.*) His view is more in accordance with the general development of Greek religion than that of Mr. Kern; for the tendency was rather to identify originally independent local divinities with the great gods than to create mythological figures out of the names and attributes of these great gods. The tendency, in a word, was rather to unification than to multiplication of deities.

14. 3. **the Eleusinium.** This sanctuary was probably close to, if it did not indeed include within its limits, the two temples mentioned in § 1. Nothing could be more appropriate than that an Eleusinium should include temples of Demeter, Proserpine, and Triptolemus. We have seen that these two temples were probably situated to the west of the Acropolis, in the hollow between it and the Areopagus and Pynx. Here, therefore, probably lay the Eleusinium. It would seem to have been nearly at the western foot of the Acropolis, for it is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter; cp. Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, vi. 6) and in an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 5; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 387), as being situated "under

the Acropolis." This situation agrees well with a passage in Xenophon (*Hipparchicus*, iii. 2), where it is said that to make a fine show on festive occasions the cavalry should ride round the market-place, and then gallop up, in squadrons, as far as the Eleusinium. That is, Xenophon proposes that the cavalry should ride up the road to the Acropolis so far as horses could go. The procession of the ship at the Panathenaic festival went from the Ceramicus as far as the Eleusinium, rounded it, and then passed by the Pelargicum (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 7 ; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566 ; Suidas, *s.v.* πέπλος ; as to the Pelargicum, see note on i. 28. 3). The Eleusinium is mentioned by Plutarch (*De exilio*, 17) along with the Parthenon among the holy places of Athens. It was strongly enclosed (Thucydides, ii. 17). Immaradus, son of Eumolpus and Daira, was buried within the precinct (Clement of Alexandria, *l.c.* ; as to Immaradus, see Paus. i. 5. 2 ; i. 27. 4 ; i. 38. 3). In accordance with a law of Solon the Council of Five Hundred met in the Eleusinium on the day after the celebration of the mysteries at Eleusis (Andocides, i. 111 : cp. *C. I. A.* ii. No. 431, line 30 *sq.*) Such a meeting was called a sacred assembly of the Council (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 2, line 3). There was an altar in the Eleusinium on which it seems that suppliants were forbidden to lay their olive-branches, either absolutely or at least during the celebration of the mysteries (Andocides, i. 110-116). Decrees relating to the rites of Eleusis were engraved on stone and set up in the Eleusinium (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 315 ; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 5 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 386, 387). There was a bronze statue of a horse in the Eleusinium, dedicated by Simon, a writer on horsemanship of the fifth century B.C. ; on the base of the statue were reliefs representing the feats of Simon (Xenophon, *De re equestri*, i. 1 ; Hierocles, 'De febri equi,' Praef., *Artis Veterinariae libri duo* (Bâle, 1537), p. 3). The horse is mentioned in an inscription which records certain repairs which were to be made in the Eleusinium in 329-328 B.C. (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 834 b, ii. line 58). This statue of the horse is probably to be distinguished from the equestrian statue of Simon executed by the sculptor Demetrius (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 76).

An Eleusinian inscription of 329-328 B.C., which refers repeatedly to repairs carried out at "the Eleusinium in the city," makes mention of the making of doors for it, the plastering and painting of the edifice, the purchase of bricks and of pots of pitch for smearing roofs and doors, of logs and bolts (?) for the oven, etc. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 115 *sqq.*

The site of the Eleusinium has been the subject of much difference of opinion, and the position here assigned to it (immediately to the west of the Acropolis) cannot be regarded as certain.

See Leake, *Topography of Athens*,[2] 1. p. 296 *sq.* ; Gerhard, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 18 (1863), pp. 300-302 ; C. Botticher, in *Philologus*, 25 (1867), pp. 193-211 ; *id.*, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), p. 287 *sqq.* ; C. Wachsmuth, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 23 (1868), p. 57 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 207 *sqq.* ; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 222 *sqq.* ; Unger, in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. u. hist. Cl. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1874, pp. 28[illegible]-

297; Loeschcke, *Die Enneakrunosepisode bei Pausanias*, p. 13; P. Weizsäcker, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 33 (1887), p. 608; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 317; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 93 *sq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 188.

14. 4. **he entered a cave and slept** etc. The story was this. Epimenides, living in the city of Cnosus in Crete, was one day sent by his father and brethren to a farm which they owned to fetch a sheep. In the noontide heat he turned aside from the road and slept in a cave for fifty-seven years. When he awoke it seemed to him that he had been sleeping only a little while; so he went to fetch the sheep from the farm. But when he came to the farm he found that it had been sold and was in other hands and that the whole appearance of the place was changed. He returned to the city much perplexed, and when he entered his father's house the people asked him who he was, for most of his relations were dead. At last he found his younger brother, now an old man, who explained to him what had happened. See Theopompus, Frag. 69, in *F. H. G.* 1. p. 288; Diogenes Laertius, i. 10. 109; Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 175. The number of years during which he slept is variously stated at fifty-seven (Theopompus, Diogenes Laertius, Pliny, *ll.cc.*), fifty (Plutarch, *An seni sit gerend. respublica*, i. 12), sixty (Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐπιμενίδης), and forty (Pausanias). His long sleep is alluded to by Lucian (*Timon*, 6; *Philopseudes*, 26). According to Maximus Tyrius (*Dissert.* xvi. 1), the cave in which Epimenides slept was the cave of Dictaean Zeus, and as he slept he beheld in a dream gods, and Truth, and Justice. The cave to which Maximus Tyrius refers is probably the one on Mount Ida (see note on v. 7. 6); in any case he means to imply that Epimenides obtained his powers of divination by the process of 'incubation' or sleeping in a sacred place for the purpose of receiving a revelation in a dream. But stories of the Rip van Winkle type are widely spread; they are folk-tales, and need not have originated in any real events, such as a practice of sleeping in a holy place to obtain visions.

A story of this kind was current in Sardinia, as we learn from Aristotle, who, after observing that without change there is no perception of time, thus continues: "For when a change either does not take place in our minds or takes place without our being aware of it, it seems to us that there has been no lapse of time, just as it happens on awakening to the persons who are fabled to sleep in the abode of the heroes in Sardinia; for they join the past to the present, blotting out all the intermediate time because they have had no perception of it" (*Physic. Auscult.* iv. 11, p. 218 b, 21 *sqq.*) On this passage of Aristotle the old Greek commentator Philoponus remarks: "Sick people were said to go to the heroes in Sardinia and to be healed; on their departure they slept for two days continuously, and on awakening they thought that the time was the same as when they met the heroes" (Schol. on Aristotle, p. 388 b, 3 *sqq.*, ed. Brandis). From Simplicius's comment on the same passage we learn that these Sardinian heroes were supposed to be nine of the sons of Hercules by the daughters of Thestius; these sons of Hercules had migrated from Thespiae in Boeotia to Sardinia (see Paus. ix. 23. 1; ix. 27. 6; x. 17. 5 note), and after

their death their bodies were said to remain entire and undecayed as if in sleep (Schol. on Aristotle, p. 388 a, ed. Brandis). See E. Rohde, 'Sardinische Sage von Neunschläfern,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 35 (1880), pp. 157-163; *id.*, 37 (1882), pp. 465-468.

The story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is another tale of the same class. To escape the persecution of the Emperor Decius, seven noble youths of Ephesus hid themselves in a cave. They slept there for 187 years and awoke, as they thought, after a slumber of a few hours. One of their number, being sent into the city secretly to buy food, was astonished to find it completely changed and a large cross planted over the chief gate of Ephesus. His quaint garb and obsolete language surprised the baker to whom he offered an ancient coin of Decius as the current coin of the empire, and inquiries elicited his strange story. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 23, vol. 6, p. 32 *sqq.* (Edinburgh, 1811). The tale of these sleepers was adopted, with modifications, by Mohammed in the Koran (ch. 18). A version of the story, borrowed perhaps from the Koran, is reported from Afghanistan. See *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20th July 1886; *Indian Notes and Queries*, 4 (1886), No. 31. Paulus Diaconus transferred the Seven Sleepers to a cave on the shore of the ocean, in the furthest part of Germany, but said nothing about their awakening (*Historia Langobardorum*, i. 4). A Wendish version of the story of the Seven Sleepers includes the awakening of the sleepers and the incident of offering the obsolete money as current coin. See von Schulenburg, *Wendische Volkssagen und Gebräuche*, p. 63.

A German story tells how a monk named Fulgentius or Urban, meditating on the text "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past," was lured by the sweet song of a bird into a wood, where he tarried a little. When he returned to the monastery it was so changed that he did not know it, and none of the monks recognised him. But on searching the chronicle of the monastery it was found that a monk named brother Fulgentius (or brother Urban) had vanished without leaving a trace three hundred years ago. The long-lost brother then partook of the sacraments and fell asleep to wake no more. See Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, p. 543; Bechstein, *Deutsches Märchenbuch*,[9] p. 205 *sq.*, 'Der Mönch und das Vögelein.'

In a Slovack tale a shepherd sees a great many serpents entering into a cavern. He follows them, and, the mouth of the cavern closing by magic, finds himself unable to get out. He falls asleep, but wakes up after what seems to him a short time, and succeeds in escaping from the cavern. It was autumn when he entered the cave, and to his astonishment he finds on issuing from it that it is now spring; he had been sleeping all the winter with the serpents in their cavern. Leger, *Contes populaires Slaves*, No. 7.

In a Lapp tale a hunter seeks shelter for the night in a witch's hut. Next morning, so he fancies, he awakes, but finds to his surprise that the food in his bag is all mouldy and decayed; he has been sleeping a whole year. Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen*, No. 16. p. 72 *sq.*

The Canadian Indians tell of a hunter who made his way to the abode of a wonderful old man and his daughter and stayed with them a day or two, but on returning home found he had been absent several years. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1636, p. 38 *sq.* (Canadian Reprint); C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England*, pp. 259-261; and for more such tales see E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 161 *sqq.*

Folk-tales based on a converse illusion in regard to time, the hero of the tale believing himself to pass many years in a space of a few seconds, are also current, but they are rarer. See *The Spectator*, No. 94 (June 18th, 1711); *Katha Sarit Sagara*, translated by Tawney, 2. p. 326 *sq.*; van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden Sumatra*, p. 78 *sq.*

14. 4. he made verses and purified cities, Athens among the rest. Epimenides was a contemporary of Solon and purified Athens about 600 B.C. from the pollution contracted in connexion with the conspiracy of Cylon. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 1 (with Dr. Sandys's note); Plutarch, *Solon*, 12; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐπιμενίδης. Plato, indeed, says that Epimenides came to Athens and there performed sacrifices and prophesied the repulse of the Persians ten years before the Persian war broke out, that is, in 500 B.C. (*De legibus*, i. p. 642 d); but this must certainly be a mistake. The poems attributed to Epimenides included one on the voyage of the Argo, a collection of oracles, a work on methods of purification, etc. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 232 *sqq.*; E. Hiller, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 33 (1878), pp. 525-529. Prof. Diels argues that these poems were forged in Epimenides's name about a century after his time, and that Plato was misled by the date of the appearance of these forged writings into supposing that Epimenides lived and visited Athens in 500 B.C. That the poems were later forgeries is possible, though the evidence adduced by Prof. Diels (if it can be called evidence) is inadequate to prove it. But that Plato should have committed the mistake of supposing Epimenides to have lived at the time when the writings forged in his name were published, is highly improbable. The forgers would certainly not represent Epimenides as a contemporary of their own. Plato's anachronism was probably wilful. See H. Diels, 'Ueber Epimenides von Kreta,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1891, pp. 387-403. The historical reality of Epimenides has been questioned, but without sufficient reason. See Rohde, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 33 (1878), pp. 208-210; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 140 *sqq.*; Loeschcke, *Enneakrunosepisode*, p. 23 *sqq.*

It has been conjectured that the Epimenides whose statue Pausanias saw in front of the temple of Triptolemus was not the Cretan seer, but a legendary personage of the same name, the first of the ancient and noble Attic family of the Buzygae ('Ox-yokers'). See Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19; Hesychius, *s.v.* Βουζύγης; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 140.

14. 4. Thales, who stayed the plague at Lacedaemon. Thales or Thaletas was said to have stayed the plague at Lacedaemon by his music, in obedience to the Delphic oracle (Plutarch, *De musica*, 42; cp. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 50). He was a famous musician; Lycurgus

is said to have taken lessons from him (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 4 ; Strabo, x. pp. 480 *sq.*, 482 ; Sextus Empiricus, p. 679, line 1, ed. Bekker).

14. 5. a temple of Good Fame. In the inscription of Roman date, already referred to, which records the repair of many holy places in Athens and Piraeus, mention is made of a sanctuary of Good Fame and Good Order (Euclea and Eunomia). See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170. A priest of these two personifications is mentioned in inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1598 (=iii. No. 733) ; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 623, 624, 738) ; he had a seat in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 277). The goddess of Good Fame, who was commonly identified with Artemis, had an image and an altar in the market-place of every town in Boeotia and Locris (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20 ; see Paus. ix. 17. 1 note). At Corinth also her sanctuary seems to have been on the market-place ; for Xenophon tells us (*Hellenica*, iv. 4. 2) that the Corinthians chose the festival of Good Fame as an occasion for perpetrating a massacre, because they hoped at that time to catch more people on the market-place ; when the signal was given and the butchery began, the people rushed for refuge to the images of the gods in the market-place. All this raises a presumption that at Athens also the temple of Good Fame was in or near the market-place.

14. 5. Aeschylus, in the prospect of death, etc. The current story in antiquity was that Aeschylus had been killed near Gela in Sicily by a tortoise dropt on his head by an eagle, which mistook the bald shiny pate of the venerable poet for a stone, and hoped to smash the tortoise on it. See *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 120 ; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* vii. 16 ; Suidas, *s.v.* Αἰσχύλος ; Valerius Maximus, ix. 12. Ext. 2. This important topic has produced the usual crop of learned dissertations. The late Professor F. G. Welcker gravely discussed it by the help of ornithological information derived from Aesop's fables, notes of travel made by the professor himself on the supposed scene of the catastrophe, and statistics as to the number of bald-headed men in antiquity. The interesting inquiry has since been prosecuted by other scholars with equal judgment and learning. The reader who desires to peruse these ponderous lucubrations should consult *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 7 (1850), pp. 139-144, 285 *sq.* ; *id.*, 9 (1854), pp. 148-155, 160* ; *id.*, 37 (1882), pp. 308-312 ; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 26 (1880), pp. 22-24 ; Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 2. pp. 337-346.

14. 5. recorded nothing but his father's name etc. See *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 120 ; Athenaeus, xiv. p. 627 c d ; Plutarch, *De exilio*, 13 ; *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*,[3] ed. Bergk, 2. p. 571.

14. 6. Above the Ceramicus and the Royal Colonnade is a temple of Hephaestus. The Greek is *ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην βασίλειον ναός ἐστιν Ἡφαίστου.* Here it has been questioned whether ὑπὲρ means 'above' or 'beyond.' Pausanias's use of the preposition ὑπὲρ in a local sense has been carefully and exhaustively studied by Mr. E. Reitz, with the result that in Pausanias the preposition ὑπὲρ with the accusative is thrice used in the sense of 'beyond' and sixty-three times in the sense of 'above' ; while with

the genitive it thirteen times means 'beyond' and sixty-eight times means 'above.' These statistics are conclusive; wherever there is room for doubt whether ὑπέρ in Pausanias means 'beyond' or 'above' the meaning 'above' is to be preferred. For examples of ὑπέρ with the accusative meaning 'above,' see ii. 17. 3; ii. 38. 7; vii. 25. 5; viii. 13. 6; ix. 39. 9; x. 25. 5 compared with x. 25. 7; x. 27. 1. The three instances of ὑπέρ with the accusative meaning 'beyond' in Pausanias are i. 11. 2; v. 7. 7; and x. 1. 2. See Ed. Reitz, *De praepositionis* ΥΠΕΡ *apud Pausaniam Periegetam usu locali* (Friburgi Brisigaviae, 1891).

In the present passage, therefore, we may assume that Pausanias means to describe the temple of Hephaestus as situated above (not beyond) the Ceramicus or market-place and the Royal Colonnade. Now we have seen (note on i. 3. 1) that the Royal Colonnade probably stood at the eastern foot of the hill on which the well-preserved Doric temple commonly known as the Theseum is situated. It follows that the temple of Hephaestus stood on this hill. This is confirmed by further considerations. For the temple of Hephaestus may be assumed to be identical with the Hephaesteum or sanctuary of Hephaestus, which is stated by Harpocration (*s.v.* Κολωνέτας) to have stood, together with the Eurysaceum, on the Market Hill (*Kolōnos Agoraios*) near the market-place. So far this statement of Harpocration only shows that the temple of Hephaestus stood on a hill near the market-place, but it does not show whether the hill was to the west or the east of the market-place. This uncertainty is removed by another statement of Harpocration (*s.v.* Εὐρυσάκειον) that the Eurysaceum was in the quarter Melite; for Melite, as we shall see immediately, was the quarter to the west and south-west of the market-place. It follows that the Market Hill, on which the Eurysaceum and Hephaesteum stood, was also in Melite, and therefore to the west or south-west of the market-place. It might thus be questioned whether the Market Hill was the gentle eminence immediately to the west of the market-place on which the so-called Theseum stands, or the higher, more pointed and rocky hill to the south-west of the market-place, which is known as the Nymphaeum hill and is crowned by the modern Observatory. The statement of Pausanias that the Hephaesteum stood above the Royal Colonnade decides the question in favour of the 'Theseum' hill as against the Nymphaeum hill; for we have seen grounds for believing that the Royal Colonnade stood at the foot of the former. We conclude, then, with tolerable certainty, that the Market Hill was the eminence crowned by the 'Theseum,' and that at some point on this eminence stood the temple of Hephaestus.

The evidence which proves that the quarter Melite lay to the west and south-west of the market-place is as follows. Themistocles founded a sanctuary of Artemis in Melite at a place where afterwards the dead bodies of criminals who had been executed were exposed by the executioners (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 22). But we know that the place where the corpses of executed criminals were exposed was outside the northern Long Wall on the way to Piraeus (Plato, *Repub.* iv. p. 439 e),

The bodies were thrown into the *barathron*, a sort of chasm (Herodotus, vii. 153; Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 516 d e; Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1450; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 431; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 219, line 10 *sqq.*), which has been identified with a hollow enclosed by steep rocks, about 60 feet high, on the west side of the Nymphaeum hill, near the modern Observatory (C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 350). This hollow in the rocks seems to be artificial, not natural; it was probably the oldest quarry of Athens (G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, p. 115). Thus Melite included the Nymphaeum hill, and extended to the western city-wall of Athens. It also included the Pnyx hill as well as the Market Hill (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 997). In short it seems to have comprised the hilly district in the west and south-west of Athens. It must also have extended to near the market-place, as we learn from the opening of Plato's *Parmenides* (p. 126 a-c), where Cephalus meets Adimantus in the market-place at Athens, and says he wishes to see Antiphon. "That's easily done," replies Adimantus, "he has just gone home, and lives near at hand in Melite." Again, in Demosthenes (liv. 7. p. 1258) we read: "I was taking my evening stroll with a friend in the market-place when up comes Ctesias drunk. No sooner did he clap eyes on us than he uttered a yell, and then, after muttering to himself in the inarticulate manner of a tipsy man, he passed up to Melite." This latter passage proves that Melite was near the market-place and on higher ground. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 348 *sqq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 254 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 150; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 306.

From the preceding discussion it appears that the Market Hill (*Kolonos Agoraios*) was within the quarter Melite. This, however, has been denied on the following grounds: Melite was a township or *deme*, and so (according to some) was the Market Hill. From this it would follow that Melite and the Market Hill were separate quarters of Athens. But though it is certain from inscriptions that there were several townships or *demes* called Hill (*Kolonos*), it has not been proved that the Market Hill was one of them. Till this is done, we may acquiesce in the testimony of Harpocration (*s.vv.* Κολωνέτας and Εὐρυσάκειον) that the Market Hill was in Melite. See A. Milchhöfer, 'Ueber die Lage des Kolonos in Athen,' in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 341-352; W. Dittenberger, in *Hermes*, 9 (1875), p. 403 *sqq.*; U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 102; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 306 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 233-238; Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 7.

The shops of the braziers and ironmongers were near the sanctuary of Hephaestus (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 316, line 23 *sq.*; cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* χάλκεα), a natural situation since Hephaestus was the patron of these artificers. The shops seem to have stood on the slope of the hill a little below the Hephaesteum, for Andocides says (i. 40) that Dioclides, perceiving Euphemus seated in a smith's shop, led him up to the sanctuary of Hephaestus and there made a communication to him. The judicial torture of slaves to wring evidence from them appears to

have taken place regularly at the Hephaesteum (Isocrates, xvii. 15). The Market Hill was also the place where servants were engaged; so numbers of them lounged about here waiting to be hired; their special station was at the Eurysaceum (Harpocration, *s.v.* Κολωνέτας; Pollux, vii. 132 *sq.*; Argument II. to Sophocles' *Oed. Colon.*)

The priest of Hephaestus is repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1203, iii. No. 1280 e); he had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 288). A mutilated inscription of the fifth century B.C. appears to record the erection of an altar and image to Hephaestus (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 35 b, p. 64 *sq.*) The image may have stood in the temple of Hephaestus, and may possibly have been the celebrated one by Alcamenes in which the lameness of the god was partially concealed by the drapery (Cicero, *De natura deorum*, i. 30. 83; Valerius Maximus, viii. 11. Ext. 3). Another inscription, dating from 343-342 B.C., also appears to record the dedication of an image of Hephaestus; it makes mention of Hephaestian Athena (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 114). Two other inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 318, 319) prove that during the years 421-417 B.C. a public commission was sitting engaged in arranging for the production of two bronze images of deities which were to be placed on the same pedestal. Mr. E. Reisch supposes that these two bronze images were the images of Hephaestus and Athena here mentioned by Pausanias. He thinks that a statue of Athena in the Villa Borghese at Rome (Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen*, 2. No. 928) is a replica of the image of Athena in question. Professor Furtwängler conjectures that a torso of a male statue in Cassel is a replica of the image of Hephaestus.

The temple of Hephaestus stood, as we have seen, on the low hill where the so-called 'Theseum' still stands. It is not improbable that the so-called 'Theseum' is actually the temple of Hephaestus, as Pervanoglu, Dr. Lolling, and Professor Dörpfeld have held. See note on i. 17. 2.

See P. Pervanoglu, 'Das Hephaesteion in Athen,' *Philologus*, 27 (1868), pp. 660-672; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 175-180; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 168; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 318; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 112-120; E. Reisch, in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 21; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 119 *sq.*, 742.

14. 6. **the story about Erichthonius.** Erichthonius was said to have been born from the ground in consequence of an unsuccessful attempt made by Hephaestus upon the goddess Athena (Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6; Schol. on Homer, *Il.*, ii. 547; Augustine, *Civit. dei*, xviii. 12). According to others, the link between Hephaestus and Athena was not Erichthonius but Apollo, who was said by some to be a son of Hephaestus and Athena, and to be, in his character of Paternal Apollo, the guardian deity of Athens (Cicero, *De natura deorum*, i. 22. 55; *id.*, i. 23. 57; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 28, p. 24, ed. Potter). The joint worship of Athena and Hephaestus seems to have been very ancient in Attica (cp. Plato, *Critias*, p. 109 c), but it was found nowhere

else, so far as we know. See C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 390-392. The joint temple of Hephaestus and Athena (Vulcan and Minerva) at Athens is mentioned by Augustine, *l.c.*

14. 6. **observing that Athena's image had blue eyes** etc. This is one of many proofs that ancient statues were painted. A common Homeric epithet of Athena is *glaukōpis* ('blue-eyed'). Dr. Schliemann found at Troy certain rude representations of women with what he took to be the heads of owls. On the strength of these representations and the sacredness of the owl to Athena, he proposed to explain *glaukōpis* as 'owl-faced,' deriving the word from *glaux* 'owl' and *ops* 'face,' and supposing that the goddess was originally represented with the head of an owl. See Schliemann, *Troy and its remains*, pp. 54, 112 *sq.* But these supposed owl-faces seem to be merely rude imitations of the human face (Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 66). Another explanation of the epithet *glaukōpis* is given by Mr. R. Hildebrandt, who derives it from *glaukos* ('bright' or 'blue') and a root *ap* ('water'), so that *glaukōpis* would designate a goddess of the bright blue sea. See R. Hildebrandt, 'Ἀθήνη Γλαυκῶπις,' *Philologus*, 46 (1888), pp. 201-209. That the Greeks understood the epithet to mean 'blue-eyed' is clear from the present passage of Pausanias. Cicero says (*Nat. deor.* i. 30. 83) that the colour of Minerva's (Athena's) eyes was bluish-gray, and the colour of Neptune's (Poseidon's) eyes sky-blue. This statement of Cicero's is in favour of interpreting the adjective γλαυκοὺς in the present passage as 'blue' rather than 'gray,' as it is sometimes translated; for Pausanias says that Athena's eyes were of the same hue as Poseidon's, and Cicero tells us that Poseidon's eyes were sky-blue (*caeruleos*). Pausanias would hardly have noticed the colour of the eyes of the image if it had been a neutral tint like gray.

14. 6. **the Libyans say that she is a daughter of Poseidon** etc. Cp. Herodotus, iv. 180; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 186 *sq.*

14. 7. **a sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite** etc. As this sanctuary was near the temple of Hephaestus, it probably stood on the Market Hill, the eminence crowned by the so-called Theseum (see note on § 6 'temple of Hephaestus'). The worship of the goddess whom the Greeks called the Heavenly Aphrodite was derived, as they were aware, from the Semitic peoples of Asia. Her worship prevailed among all the Semites of Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Phoenicia. Each Semitic tribe and city had its own local god or Baal ('lord,' 'owner'), and its corresponding goddess or Baalat ('mistress,' 'queen'). In Babylonia the name Baal appears as Bel, and the name Baalat as Belit; the name Mylitta (Herodotus, i. 131 and 199) is another form of Belit. Besides her general title of Baalat or Belit ('mistress') the goddess commonly bore also a name which, varying with the language or dialect of her worshippers, appears as Ishtar, Ashtar, Ashtart, Astarte, Ashtoreth, Attar, and Atar. Whether this name is of Semitic origin, or not, is disputed. Wherever the Baal of a tribe or city had a special name, his female correlate the Baalat or Astarte had a corresponding name. In Moab, for example, the tribal god was Kamosh; hence the goddess was called Ashtor-Kamosh, *i.e.* the Astarte of Kamosh. In

North Syria, side by side with the god Ate, we find a goddess Atar-ate or Atargatis (Strabo, xvi. pp. 748, 785), that is the Atar of Ate. The goddess was always the 'queen' or 'mistress' (*baalat* or *rabbat*) of the tribe or city in which she was worshipped: *e.g.* the goddess of Byblus, whom Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*, 15) calls Astarte, is designated as 'my mistress' (*rabbat*), 'the mistress (*baalat*) of Gebâl (Byblus),' without further title, in the inscription of King Jechaumelek.

The characters and functions of all these local Baals and Baalats or Astartes seem to have been pretty much alike. The Baal was viewed especially in two aspects, as the source of fertility, and as the heaven-god. Accordingly his female counterpart, the Baalat or Astarte, was similarly regarded as the giver of fertility to plants, animals, and men, and as the goddess of heaven. In her latter aspect Jeremiah speaks of her as "the queen of heaven" (vii. 18, xliv. 18 *sqq.*); in her double aspect as a goddess of love and of heaven the Greeks represented her as the Heavenly Aphrodite.

Sometimes she came to be regarded as a goddess of the moon. But this seems to have been chiefly due to an accident. The religious art of Syria, especially southern Syria, was wholly dependent on Egypt; hence the artistic representations of Astarte were modelled on those of the great Egyptian goddesses Isis, Hathor, etc. Now these Egyptian goddesses, as mothers of the sun, wore on their heads the sun's disc between cows' horns, and were sometimes depicted with cows' horns. Hence Astarte came to be similarly represented; and the sun's disc between horns being mistaken for a symbol of the full and crescent moon, she was held to be a moon-goddess (Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 4; Herodian, v. 6). But that this was not her original character is sufficiently proved by the fact that in all Semitic languages the moon is masculine.

The planet Venus was sacred to her, but this seems to have been brought about through Babylonian influence. For the non-Semitic population of Babylonia, the Sumerians and Accadians, worshipped a goddess Nana or Nanai, who corresponded to the Semitic Baalat or Astarte, and was moreover identified with the planet Venus. Hence by analogy the Semites dedicated 'the planet of love' to their Astarte. The Greeks called this old Babylonian goddess Nanaea (II. Maccabees, i. 13 *sqq.*); the chief seat of her worship was at the very ancient city of Uruk (Orchoë in Greek), the modern *Warka*, where her temple was called *Eanna*, 'the house of heaven.' She is represented in a number of clay statuettes as a woman, sometimes naked, sometimes clothed, pressing her hands to her breasts.

See Ed. Meyer, articles 'Astarte' and 'Baal' in Roscher's *Lexikon*; *id.*, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, I. §§ 146, 205-209; C. P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, pp. 526-528. On these Asiatic goddesses compare also Fr. Lenormant, 'Artemis Nanaea,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 2 (1876), pp. 10-18, 58-68; *id.*, 'Istar-Semiramis,' *Gaz. Archéol.* 4 (1878), pp. 75-81; C. W. Mansell, 'La Venus androgyne Asiatique,' *Gaz. Archéol.* 5 (1879), pp. 62-70; Ph. Berger, in *Gaz. Archéol.* 6 (1880), pp. 18-31, 164-169; A. Odobesco, 'De la déesse Nana-anat,' *Gaz. Archéol.* 10 (1885), pp. 286-296; *id.*, 11 (1886), pp. 5-15, 70-86. Movers's discussion of the subject (*Die Phoenizier*, I. pp. 584 *sqq.*, 601 *sqq.*) is now antiquated.

Pausanias's account of the way in which the worship of Astarte, originating with the Assyrians, was transmitted to Greece through the agency of the Phoenicians, seems to be derived from Herodotus. For in one passage (i. 105) Herodotus tells us that the oldest sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite that he knew of was at Ascalon, that her sanctuary in Cyprus was derived from the one at Ascalon, as the Cyprians themselves admitted, and that her sanctuary in Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from the same part of Syria. In another passage (i. 131) Herodotus informs us that the Persians learned the worship of the Heavenly Goddess (*i.e.* the Heavenly Aphrodite, Astarte) from the Assyrians and Arabians, and that the Assyrian name for Aphrodite was Mylitta, which, as we have seen, is another form of Baalat or Belit. In her sanctuary at Ascalon, which stood on the banks of a lake full of fish not far from the town, the goddess was represented as a woman from the hips upwards, but as a fish from the hips downwards. Here and throughout Syria fish were sacred to her and were not eaten. Her local name at Ascalon was Derceto, which is a corruption of Atargatis. See Diodorus, ii. 4; Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 14; Aelian, *Nat. An.* xii. 2; Plutarch, *De superstitione*, 10; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 15. As to the worship of Heavenly Aphrodite at Cythera, see Paus. iii. 23. 1. Professor C. Wachsmuth regards the worship of the Heavenly Aphrodite at Athens as evidence of an early Phoenician settlement on the spot. See Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 410 *sqq.*

14. 7. the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus. As to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, see viii. 5. 2 note.

14. 7. the misfortunes of his sisters. The sisters of Aegeus were Procne and Philomela. Cp. i. 5. 4; i. 40. 8 *sq.*; x. 4. 8 *sq.*

14. 7. a work of Phidias. There was another statue of Heavenly Aphrodite by Phidias at Elis. See vi. 25. 1 note.

14. 7. an Athenian township Athmonia. See i. 31. 4 note.

14. 7. Porphyrion. Professor C. Wachsmuth regards Porphyrion ('the purple man') as identical with Phoenix, and like him a representative of a Phoenician settlement in Attica (*Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 413 *sq.*)

15. 1. On the way to —— the Painted Colonnade. Pausanias now returns eastward from the Market Hill (the 'Theseum' hill) to the market-place. The Painted Colonnade stood certainly on the market-place and probably on its eastern side, either at its north-eastern or its south-eastern extremity (see below). Hence to reach it Pausanias has to cross the market-place, passing the statue of Hermes on the way.

15. 1. a bronze Hermes, surnamed Hermes of the Market. This statue stood in the market-place (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 297; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 339, line 1 *sq.*), beside the Painted Colonnade (Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 33, with the Schol.) Philochorus, in the third book of his history of Attica, mentioned that this statue was set up in the archonship of Cebris (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς). The date of Cebris's archonship is unknown, but as Philochorus mentioned it in his third book, which seems to have comprised the history of Attica between 683 B.C. and 460 B.C. (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed.

Müller, 1. p. 393), the statue was probably erected between these two dates. Now the archons from 480 B.C. to 460 B.C. are known, and Cebris is not among them. It follows that his archonship fell before 480 B.C. and therefore before the sack of Athens by the Persians in that year. But if the statue was erected before 480 B.C., it was probably destroyed or carried off by the Persians when they sacked the city. Hence it would seem that the statue mentioned by Pausanias and other writers was not the original Hermes of the Market, but a later one set up to replace it after the Persian invasion. Cp. Ad. Michaelis, 'Das Datum des ΕΡΜΗΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΣ,' *Hermes*, 21 (1886), pp. 493-495; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *ib.* p. 600 note 2. But whether the original statue or not, it was a fine specimen of early Greek art; its lines and contours were much admired, and, if we may believe Lucian, artists were daily taking casts of it in pitch, so that there was generally some pitch adhering to it (Lucian *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 33). Callistratus, an orator of repute in the fourth century B.C., dedicated an altar to Hermes of the Market ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 844 b).

The statue of Hermes of the Market seems to have been only one of a row of images of Hermes which extended from the Royal Colonnade to the Painted Colonnade (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ; Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, iii. 2). The direction of this row of Hermae depends on the position of the two colonnades. If, as is generally supposed, the Royal Colonnade and the Painted Colonnade faced each other on opposite sides of the market-place, the former being on the western, the latter on the eastern side, it would follow that the row of images of Hermes ran across the market-place from west to east. The writers who take this view commonly suppose further that this row of Hermae bisected the market-place into a northern and a southern half, the former being devoted to commerce, the latter to affairs of state and religion (see above, p. 56). On this view the gate mentioned by Pausanias as being near the Hermes of the Market was probably situated in the row of Hermae, and formed the principal thoroughfare between the two halves of the market-place.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the Royal Colonnade was on the western side, and the Painted Colonnade on the northern side of the market-place, the row of Hermae must have run north from the Royal Colonnade till it met the Painted Colonnade, thus forming the boundary of the market-place on the north-west.

These images of Hermes, probably square pillars with the head and bust of Hermes carved at the top, were set up both by magistrates and by private persons (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ). The row of these busts seems to have been a busy and lively part of the market. Here the cavalry recruits received riding-lessons (Athenaeus, ix. p. 402 f.), and here Socrates was to be seen elbowing his way through the crowds or lounging at the stalls and the Hermae (Theodoretus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, xii. p. 175, ed. Sylburg). A neighbouring barber's shop was the favourite haunt of the people from Decelea who had come to town to do their marketing and hear the news (Lysias, xxiii. 3). The row of Hermae was a good point for sight-seeing; for at the

festival of the Panathenaea a reckless and dissipated cavalry-general set up a stand here, higher than the Hermae, for the convenience of his mistress, remarking that any persons who should attempt to stop him might go to the devil (Athenaeus, iv. p. 167 f.) Men who had deserved well of the state were allowed, as a public honour, to have their names carved on one of these Hermae (Demosthenes, xx. 112) One of the images bore an inscription in archaic letters, recording that Agamemnon had been decorated by the grateful Achaeans (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ, where with ὄῃσαν we must understand ταινίαις). There was a colonnade called the Colonnade of the Hermae. Cimon, after defeating the Persians on the Strymon, was permitted, as an extraordinary honour, to set up three stone images of Hermes in the Colonnade of the Hermae with metrical inscriptions, but without mention of his own name. See Plutarch, *Cimon*, 7 *sq.*; Aeschines, iii. 183; Schol. on Demosthenes, xx. 183, p. 491, in Dindorf's ed. of the Scholia, p. 507 note; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖ; Tzetzes, *Scholia in Hermogenem*, in Cramer's *Anecdota Graeca*, 4. p. 21. But whether this Colonnade of the Hermae was near the row of the Hermae or not, we do not know.

Statues of Hermes of the Market, as the god of gain, were commonly set up in market-places. See iii. 11. 11; vii. 22. 2; ix. 17. 2.

Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 202 *sqq.*; *id.*, 2. pp. 430-432; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 166 *sq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 314; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 127-132.

15. 1. **a victory gained by the Athenian cavalry over Plistarchus** etc. The date and circumstances of this battle are unknown. Plistarchus was a brother of Cassander (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 31), who left him to command the Macedonian garrison at Chalcis in Euboea in 312 B.C. (Diodorus, xix. 77. 6).

15. 1. **The first painting in this colonnade** etc. The Painted Colonnade, one of the most famous buildings of ancient Athens, stood in the market-place. This appears from a passage of Aeschines (iii. 186), where he says: "Imagine yourselves at the Painted Colonnade; for the monuments of all your glories are in the market-place." Moreover, the statue of Solon which Pausanias (i. 16. 1) describes as standing in front of the Painted Colonnade, is said by Demosthenes (xxvi. 23, p. 807) and Aelian (*Var. Hist.* viii. 16) to have been in the market-place. Again, the statue of Hermes of the Market is said to have been beside the Painted Colonnade and in the market-place (see above, p. 130).

But on which side of the market-place was the Painted Colonnade? Pausanias, entering the market-place from the north, appears to have already described the buildings on its west and southern sides. It remains therefore that the Painted Colonnade stood either on the northern or on the eastern side. But of the east side the northern half was occupied, as we have seen (above, p. 55 *sq.*), by the Colonnade of Attalus. Thus the choice lies between the northern side or the southern half of the east side. The latter is the position now generally assigned to the Painted Colonnade. It is supposed to have stood on the south-

eastern side of the market-place, directly opposite the Royal Colonnade and united to it by the row of images of Hermes which extended across the market-place. It seems, however, also possible that the Painted Colonnade occupied the northern end of the market-place; it would thus enjoy a southern aspect, a considerable advantage to it as a popular lounge in winter. On this latter view, the row of Hermae, instead of running across the middle of the market-place, must have bounded it on the north-west, extending north from the Royal Colonnade (which stood on the west side of the market-place) to the Painted Colonnade, which (on this theory) stood on the north side. It has, indeed, been proposed by Bursian and Professor C. Wachsmuth to place the Painted Colonnade in this north-western corner of the market-place, in a line with, but to the north of, the Royal Colonnade. But a fatal objection to this view seems to be that Pausanias, approaching the Painted Colonnade from the Market Hill ('Theseum' hill), comes to the statue of Hermes of the Market in the row of Hermae before he reaches the Colonnade itself; whereas if the Painted Colonnade had bounded the market-place on the north-west, it must have been the first thing in the market-place he came to on descending into it from the Market Hill. Moreover, the north-west corner of the market-place is already occupied by the so-called Colonnade of the Giants, which, though a structure of very late Roman date, may very well have existed contemporaneously with the Painted Colonnade, since the latter was still in existence when Synesius visited Athens in 402 A.D. (*Epist.* 135). As to the ruins of the so-called Colonnade of the Giants, see C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 158 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 526 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 168; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 20 *sq.*

It would seem, then, that the site of the Painted Colonnade was either on the northern or the south-eastern side of the market-place. There is this objection to placing it on the northern side of the market-place that Pausanias's silence as to the Colonnade of Attalus would then be more inexplicable than ever. For his omission to mention that building may be explained (as we saw p. 56) on the hypothesis that the market-place was divided into two sections, a northern section devoted to commerce, and a southern section devoted to affairs of state and religion, and that the commercial part, including the Colonnade of Attalus, was passed over by Pausanias as comparatively uninteresting. But if the Painted Colonnade stood at the northern end of the market-place, it was (on the hypothesis just mentioned) within the commercial part of the market-place. If, then, Pausanias described one colonnade in the commercial market-place, why should he not have mentioned the stately colonnade of Attalus which stood in the same quarter? On the whole, the view that the Painted Colonnade stood on the eastern side of the southern half of the market-place, to the south of and in a line with the Colonnade of Attalus, seems open to the fewest objections. It may, therefore, be provisionally accepted. But the question of its site, like so many other questions touching the topography of the market-place, can only be settled, if at all, by excavations.

The Painted Colonnade was founded by a certain Pisianax (Schol.

on Demosthenes, xx. 112, p. 507 of Dindorf's ed. of the Scholia; Tzetzes, *Scholia in Hermogenem*, in Cramer's *Anecdota Graeca*, 4. p. 31; Schol. on Aeschines, iii. 186, p. 347 ed. Schultz), who may have been the father of Alcibiades's cousin Euryptolemus (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 4. 19, i. 7. 12). Hence the colonnade was also called the Colonnade of Pisianax after its founder (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4; Diogenes Laertius, vii. 1. 5; Schol. on Demosthenes, *l.c.*; Suidas, *s.vv.* Ζήνων and στοά). But its official designation seems to have been the Painted Colonnade (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 778). In the Painted Colonnade Zeno discussed philosophy with his disciples, who hence acquired the name of Stoics, *i.e.* "men of the colonnade" (from *stoa*, 'colonnade') (Diogenes Laertius, vii. 1. 5). The colonnade had previously been the favourite haunt of poets, who for the same reason had been called Stoics (Diogenes Laertius, *l.c.*) Lucian and Alciphron speak of the grave, bearded philosophers who paced the colonnade or sat on benches in the open air outside, discoursing to their pupils or wrangling with each other (Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 16; *id.*, *Icaromenippus*, 34; *id.*, *Dialog. Meretr.* x. 1; *id.*, *Piscator*, 13; Alciphron, *Epist.* i. 3; *id.*, iii. 53 and 64). Apuleius describes a juggler swallowing a sword and a spear, and a tumbling boy exhibiting his antics in front of the Painted Colonnade (*Metam.* i. 4). The colonnade was sometimes used as a court of justice (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 778), which may explain the strange statement of Diogenes Laertius (vii. 1. 5) that under the Thirty Tyrants 1400 citizens were put to death in it. The total number of victims put to death by the Thirty Tyrants is said to have been 1500 (Isocrates, vii. 67, xx. 11; Heraclides Ponticus, in *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 2. p. 209); it is possible, then, that Diogenes Laertius confounded the condemnation of the 1500 (or 1400) victims in the Painted Colonnade with their execution, which can hardly have taken place there. We hear of an altar in the colonnade (Diogenes Laertius, vii. 1. 14).

But the Painted Colonnade owed its name and most of its renown to the paintings with which it was adorned, and in respect of which it has been spoken of by some modern writers as the National Gallery of Athens. Pausanias has described four of them, namely (1) the battle between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians at Oenoe; (2) the battle between the Athenians and Amazons; (3) the Greeks after the capture of Troy; and (4) the battle of Marathon. Of these paintings the first (the battle of Oenoe) is mentioned by no other ancient writer than Pausanias, and the painter is not known. The second picture (the battle with the Amazons) was painted by Micon (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 668 *sq.*, with the Scholium; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 13. 5, where for Κίμωνος we should read Μίκωνος). The third picture (the Greeks after the capture of Troy) was by Polygnotus (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4). As to the painter of the fourth picture (the battle of Marathon) ancient writers are not agreed. According to Pausanias (v. 11. 6) and Pliny (xxxv. 57) the painter was Panaenus, the brother of Phidias. According to others the painter was Micon. This is stated by Aelian (*Nat. An.* vii. 38), who adds, however, that by some the picture was attributed to Polygnotus. Arrian (*l.c.*, emended as above) ascribed the

picture to Micon, and so did the rhetorician Sopatrus, for he wrote a discourse on the trial of Micon after the battle of Marathon for having painted the Persians larger than the Greeks. Sopatrus's authority was perhaps the orator Lycurgus, who in a lost speech mentioned a fine inflicted on the painter Micon (Harpocration, *s.v.* Μίκων, where Μίκων and Μίκωνα are corrections of the MS. readings Μήκων and Μήκωνα). Thus there are three claimants to the honour of having painted the battle of Marathon in the Painted Colonnade, namely Panaenus, Micon, and Polygnotus. Of these Polygnotus may be dismissed. He was by far the most famous of the three; some of his work was known to be in the Painted Colonnade; and when the pictures in it were referred to, his name was often mentioned alone (Harpocration, *s.v.* Πολύγνωτος; Diogenes Laertius, vii. 1. 5; Synesius, *Epist.* 135). It was, therefore, likely enough that the most famous and popular picture in the gallery, as the picture of the battle of Marathon seems to have been (Aeschines, iii. 186, with the Scholium, p. 347 ed. Schultz; [Demosthenes,] lix. 94, p. 1377; Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, vi. 3; Persius, *Sat.* iii. 53 *sq.*; Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 32; Himerius, *Orat.* x. 2; Schol. on Demosthenes, xx. 112, in Dindorf's ed. of the Scholia, p. 507), should have been ascribed by ignorant people to the most famous and popular of the painters who had contributed to the gallery. The choice, then, lies between Panaenus and Micon. The claims of both painters are supported by respectable authorities; perhaps we shall do best to suppose, with O. Jahn and H. Brunn, that both artists had a hand in painting the picture. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 17-21; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 19. Prof. W. Klein believes that the picture was by Panaenus alone (*Archaeolog. epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 12 (1888), p. 96).

Polygnotus, a man of independent means, painted only for the love of his art and the glory of his country; Micon, who depended for his bread on his profession, was paid for his services (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 59; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Πολύγνωτος). Polygnotus and Micon seem to have flourished in the first half, and Panaenus about the middle, of the fifth century B.C. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 15-17, 46 *sq.*; and notes on v. 11. 6; vi. 6. 1.

The question has been discussed whether these pictures by Polygnotus, Micon, and Panaenus in the Painted Colonnade were wall-paintings or easel-pieces. In favour of the view that they were easel-pieces painted on wood is adduced an expression of Synesius, who, describing the removal or destruction of the pictures in the Painted Colonnade, twice says that "the Proconsul removed the boards" (*Epist.* 54 and 135 τὰς σανίδας ἀφείλετο or ὑφείλετο, the reading seems doubtful). This certainly implies that in Synesius's opinion the paintings were on wood. But he spoke from hearsay; when he visited Athens in 402 A.D. the pictures were gone; how long before his arrival they had been removed or destroyed we do not know. It has been conjectured that the occasion of their destruction was the edict of Theodosius against paganism, published in 391 A.D.; but this is no more than a conjecture. Synesius's first mention of the removal of "the

boards" occurs in a letter (No. 54) written before he visited Athens, and hence at a time when he could hardly have had accurate information as to the circumstances of their removal or destruction. All that he seems to have known was that the pictures had been removed by the proconsul; this he expresses in his own way, taking it for granted that the paintings were easel-pieces, like most of the pictures of his own day. Very little weight can therefore be given to his evidence on this point.

On the other hand there is some evidence that Polygnotus and his contemporaries painted generally, if not exclusively, on walls. Pliny says of Polygnotus (*N. H.* xxxv. 59): "He painted the temple at Delphi and the Painted Colonnade at Athens gratuitously, while Micon painted part of it for hire." (By "the temple at Delphi" Pliny means, or ought to mean, the Lesche or club-room; see Paus. x. 25-31.) Again, Pliny speaks of walls at Thespiae which were painted by Polygnotus, and retouched by Pamphilus (*N. H.* xxxv. 123). These expressions of Pliny point to wall-paintings rather than to easel-pieces. So does an expression of Pausanias in reference to one of the pictures by Micon on the walls of the Theseum (i. 17. 3). Panaenus certainly executed wall-paintings in the temple of Athena at Elis (see note on vi. 26. 3). Again, if the famous pictures by Polygnotus, Micon, and Panaenus in the Painted Colonnade and the Theseum at Athens and in the club-room at Delphi had been easel-pieces, the chances are that some of them at least would have been carried off to Italy by the rapacious Romans. As they all remained uninjured, except by time, down to Pausanias's age, the presumption is that they were spared because they could not be removed, being painted on the walls of the buildings. Only one painting by Polygnotus and not a single one by any of his contemporaries is reported to have been conveyed to Italy (see Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 59).

The discovery of the remains of wall-paintings in the pre-historic palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae proves that the art of painting on walls had been practised in Greece centuries before the time of Polygnotus. The paintings at Tiryns seem to have been true frescoes, that is, they were painted on wet plaster so that, as the plaster dried and hardened, the colours were absorbed into it and became ineffaceable except by the removal of the plaster itself. See Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,[2] pp. 145 *sqq.*, 335 *sqq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 160 *sqq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 883 *sqq.* The difficulty of painting in fresco in this strict sense of the word is considerable, for the colours have to be laid on with great rapidity before the plaster dries, and mistakes once made cannot be rectified. Hence to paint successfully in fresco needs a very sure and rapid touch, and a complete mastery of the art.

On the whole, the evidence seems to be in favour of the view that the pictures of Polygnotus, Micon, and Panaenus in general, and their pictures in the Painted Colonnade in particular, were wall-paintings, not easel-pieces. See Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, 4. pp. 220-249; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 60-68.

With regard to the disposition of the paintings on the walls, we

know nothing but what Pausanias tells us, namely that the first picture was the battle of Oenoe; that on the middle wall was the battle with the Amazons, and after it was the sack of Troy; and that last of all was the battle of Marathon. From this we may perhaps infer that the battles of Oenoe and Marathon occupied the two short walls at the ends of the colonnade, while the long back wall contained the battle with the Amazons and the sack of Troy. As to the details of the pictures, see below.

There would seem to have been other pictures in the Painted Colonnade besides those described by Pausanias. We hear of a portrait of Sophocles with his lyre in the colonnade (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 127 *sq.*); and a picture by Pamphilus or Apollodorus of the Heraclids seeking the protection of the Athenians is said to have been in "the colonnade of the Athenians" (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 385), which may have been the Painted Colonnade.

The pictures in the Painted Colonnade seem to have survived till the middle of the fourth century A.D., for Himerius (*Or.* x. 2 *sq.*) speaks of the painting of the battle of Marathon as still extant in his time. But by 402 A.D., as we have seen, they had disappeared. Synesius, who visited Athens in that year, speaks of their removal or destruction in terms which lead us to suppose that it had taken place not long before he wrote. He had looked eagerly forward to his visit to Athens, but was sadly disappointed with the reality. Nothing of its ancient grandeur, he says, remained except the famous names of its places. It was like the bare hide of a victim which had been sacrificed, a mere token or memorial of what the living animal had once been. You could still walk about and admire the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Painted Colonnade, though the colonnade was painted no longer, "for the Proconsul removed the boards to which the Thasian Polygnotus had committed the treasures of his art." But the renown of Athens now rested, not on its philosophy, but on its honey. See Synesius, *Epist.* 135; cp. *Epist.* 54.

The house of the astronomer Meton was near the Painted Colonnade (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 12; cp. Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13). Lucian mentions a money-lender Demophantes who lived at the back of the Painted Colonnade (*Dial. Meretric.* viii. 2); and in another passage (*Navigium*, 13) he makes one of his characters say that if he had twelve talents he would build himself a house in a convenient situation a little above the Painted Colonnade.

See Gottling, in *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Cl., 5 (1853), pp. 59-72; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 133-150; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Kunstler*, 2. pp. 18-22; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 206 *sq.*, 714, 715; *id.*, 2. pp. 442, 445-447, 500-522; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 166 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 126 *sq.*, 132-140; A. S. Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, pp. 367-369.

15. 1. **the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe.** The battle of Oenoe is mentioned by no ancient author but Pausanias, who refers to it again in x. 10. 4. Its date is uncertain, but

a clue to it is furnished by the names of the artists Hypatodorus and Aristogiton who executed the group of statuary which the Argives dedicated at Delphi in memory of the joint victory (Paus. x. 10. 3 sq.) For the names of these artists occur on a Delphic inscription which, from the archaic style of the letters, appears to have been cut in the first half of the fifth century B.C. (Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 509, Inscr. No. 4; *C. I. G.* No. 25; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 165; *id.*, *Imagines Inscr. Graec. Ant.* No. 53, p. 13; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 101; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 142 *sq.*, note; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 204, pp. 215, 228 *sq.*) This gives us approximately the date of the artists, and consequently of the Argive trophy at Delphi, and of the battle of Oenoe. Now we know that after the breach with Sparta at Ithome, the Athenians concluded an alliance with the Argives, who were then at enmity with the Spartans (Thucydides, i. 102). The alliance was probably concluded towards the end of 463 B.C. (cp. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2. p. 453 *sqq.*); and the joint victory of the new allies over the Lacedaemonians may have taken place not long after. But in 458 B.C. the Lacedaemonians defeated the Athenians and Argives at the battle of Tanagra (Thucydides, i. 108; Paus. i. 29. 9), and set up at Olympia a conspicuous trophy of their victory (Paus. v. 10. 4). It is a plausible conjecture of Prof. C. Robert's that the proud trophy at Olympia was the reply made by the Lacedaemonians to the monuments at Athens and Delphi by which the Athenians and Argives had commemorated the victory of Oenoe. It would follow that the battle of Oenoe was fought and the picture commemorating it was painted between 463 B.C. and 458 B.C. See C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 25 (1890), pp. 412-422. Other writers have supposed that the battle of Oenoe was fought in the course of the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.) The chief ground for this view is the statement of Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 50) that the sculptor Hypatodorus flourished in Ol. 102 (372-369 B.C.) But the inscription referred to above seems to prove that the Hypatodorus who worked with Aristogiton at the Argive trophy at Delphi must have lived about a century earlier than the date assigned to Hypatodorus by Pliny. Either, therefore, Pliny was mistaken as to the date of Hypatodorus, or there were two sculptors of that name, and the Argive trophy at Delphi was executed by the elder of the two, assisted by Aristogiton. Moreover, on the view that the battle of Oenoe took place in the Corinthian War (395-387 B.C.), the picture of it in the Painted Colonnade must have been painted many years after the other wall-paintings in that building, which were executed by Polygnotus and his contemporaries. But it does not seem natural that one wall should have been left blank so long after the others had been covered with paintings. Cp. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 294 *sq.*; U. Köhler, in *Hermes* 5 (1871), p. 5 *sq.*; E. Curtius, *Griech. Geschichte*,[6] 3. p. 184 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 518-521. As to Oenoe in Argolis, where the battle appears to have been fought, see ii. 25. 2 note. There were two townships in Attica called Oenoe, one near Marathon (see note on i. 32. 3), and one on the Boeotian frontier (Herodotus, v. 74; Thucydides, ii. 18). The latter seems to have been at *Myupoli*.

a place at the foot of Mt. Cithaeron, four miles south-east of Eleutherae, where there are extensive vestiges of antiquity, with remains of walls. See A. Milchhöfer, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 32; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 130 (who identifies the ruins of Eleutherae with Oenoe, and places Eleutherae at *Myupoli*).

15. 2. **Theseus and the Athenians fighting the Amazons.** This painting was by Micon (see above, p. 134). The Amazons were depicted on horseback (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 678 *sq.*, with the Scholium). On similar representations of Amazons on red-figured Greek vases, see A. Klügmann, 'Combattimento di Amazzoni a cavallo sopra i vasi di stile bello,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 39 (1867), pp. 211-225. A fine picture of a fight between Greeks and mounted Amazons, from a Greek vase, is given in Miss Harrison's *Ancient Athens*, p. 135. Cp. S. Colvin, 'Paintings on the Amazon sarcophagus of Corneto,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4 (1883), pp. 354-369. As to the expedition of the Amazons against Athens, see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 26 *sq.*

Reinegg, in his description of the Caucasus, reports a legend of the Amazons as still current among the Circassians in his day. The legend, according to him, was this: "When our forefathers, they say, still dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, they had often wars with the Emmetsh. There were women who possessed what are now the Circassian and Soanian mountains, as well as the whole plain as far as Aghla-Kabak. They admitted no men among them, but, full of warlike spirit, associated with themselves every woman who cared to share in their wanderings and to join their heroic guild." At last, after long wars, peace was made, and the Amazons became the wives of the Circassians. See Reinegg, *Beschreibung des Kaukasus* (Gotha and St. Petersburg, 1796), 1. p. 238 *sq.*

Stories of nations of Amazons have been reported from South America from an early date, and Sir Robert Schomburgk found the stories still widely spread among the Macusis and Arawaks (Indian tribes) of Guiana. The origin of these stories has been variously sought in the warlike character of the women of some Indian tribes (so Schomburgk), in the feminine appearance of the young Indian warriors with their long hair, smooth faces, necklaces and bracelets (so Mr. A. R. Wallace), and in a misunderstanding of the native word *Amazunu*, which is said to mean "a torrent or roaring mass of water, and was applied to the dangerous bore at the mouth of the Amazon" (Dr. D. G. Brinton). See R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, 2. p. 329 *sqq.*; *id.*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 15 (1845), p. 65; A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, p. 343 (ed. 1889); von Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerika's zumal Brasiliens*, p. 729 *sqq.*; H. H. Smith, *Brazil*, pp. 573-585; D. G. Brinton, in *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, 8 (1886), p. 250. On the tales of Amazons in ancient and modern times in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, see *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 5 (1872), pp. 220-225.

15. 2. **Themiscyra was taken by Hercules.** Cp. i. 2. 1. As to vase-paintings illustrative of Hercules's expedition against the Amazons,

see E. Petersen, 'Ercole e le Amazoni,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 56 (1884), pp. 269-284.

15. 2. a picture of the Greeks after their conquest of Ilium. This picture was by Polygnotus. It is said that among the Trojan women in the picture Polygnotus introduced a portrait of Cimon's sister Elpinice, whose lover he was. She was represented as Laodice. See Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4. Laodice appeared also in Polygnotus's great picture of the capture of Troy, which adorned the club-room at Delphi. See x. 26. 7.

15. 2. the kings are gathered together to consult etc. The same subject was depicted by Polygnotus in his picture of the capture of Troy at Delphi. See x. 26. 3. Ajax's outrage on Cassandra is often depicted on vase-paintings. See note on v. 19. 5.

15. 3. The last painting depicts the combatants at Marathon. This picture, the most famous in the gallery, seems to have been a joint work of Micon and Panaenus. See above, p. 134 *sq*. From Pausanias's description it seems that the picture was divided into three sections or scenes: (1) the Greeks and Persians advancing against each other; (2) the flight of the Persians; (3) the embarkation of the Persians.

15. 3. the Boeotians of Plataea. They were depicted advancing in loose order, each man making the best speed he could: they wore the Boeotian helmets ([Demosthenes,] lix. 94, p. 1377). The Persians were portrayed wearing trousers, their national garb (Persius, *Sat.* iii. 53 *sq.*); they seem to have been represented as larger men than the Greeks (see above, p. 135).

15. 3. the Phoenician ships etc. When the Persians were throwing themselves into their ships and pushing off, an Athenian named Cynegirus laid hold of one of the ships to detain it, but his hand was severed by the blow of an axe and he fell (Herodotus, vi. 14; cp. Justin, ii. 9. 16-19; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 1; pseudo-Plutarch, *Pro nobilitate*, 10; Himerius, *Or.* ii. 21). There was a portrait of him in the picture; doubtless he was represented laying hold of a Persian ship (Aelian, *Nat. An.* vii. 38; Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 32; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 57; cp. Himerius, *Or.* x. 2).

15. 3. the hero Marathon. Cp. i. 32. 4. The picture of him in the great battle-piece is alluded to by Lucian (*Jupiter Tragoedus*, 32).

15. 3. Theseus, seeming to rise out of the earth. It is said that at the battle of Marathon not a few Greeks fancied they saw the phantom of Theseus, clad in armour, charging at their head against the Persians (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35). For other stories of phantom warriors in battle, see x. 23. 2 note. For examples of figures rising out of the earth on monuments of ancient art, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), for 1859, p. 51 *sq.*

15. 3. the people of Marathon —— were the first to regard Hercules as a god. Cp. i. 32. 4.

15. 3. the most conspicuous in the painting are Callimachus, —— Miltiades etc. The figures of the leaders on both sides were real likenesses, not ideal or fanciful portraits. Pliny mentions this to show the perfection which the art of painting had reached in Panaenus's

time; he specifies portraits of Miltiades, Callimachus, and Cynegirus on the Athenian side, and of Datis and Artaphernes on the Persian side (*N. H.* xxxv. 57). Callimachus was slain at the ships (Herodotus, vi. 114; cp. Plutarch, *Parallela*, 1). His portrait in the picture is referred to by Himerius (*Or.* x. 2) and Aelian (*Nat. An.* vii. 38). Miltiades was easily recognised though there was no inscription to identify him; for he was represented in front of all the other Athenian generals, extending one hand in the direction of the enemy and cheering the Greeks on (Aeschines, iii. 186, with the Scholium, p. 347, ed. Schultz; Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 232, ed. Dindorf; Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3. p. 566, ed. Dindorf; Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, vi. 3).

Another portrait in the painting seems to have been that of Aeschylus; for elsewhere (i. 21. 2) Pausanias remarks that the statue of Aeschylus in the theatre of Dionysus was executed much later than the painting of the battle of Marathon, a remark which implies that the painting contained a portrait of the poet. Another portrait in the picture was that of Epizelus (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 38), who was said to have been mysteriously struck blind by the sight of a phantom in the battle (Herodotus, vi. 117; he is called Polyzelus by Plutarch, *Parallela*, 1, and by Suidas, *s.v.* Ἱππίας). A faithful dog, who accompanied his master to the battle, had also the honour of a place in the picture which commemorated the victory (Aelian, *l.c.*)

15. 3. **a hero called Echetlus** etc. See i. 32. 5. Another hero to whom Micon is said to have given a place in the picture of the battle was Butes; only his helmet and one eye were visible, the rest of him was hidden by a mountain; his name was inscribed beside him. See Zenobius, iv. 28; *Proverb. e Cod. Bodleiano*, Nos. 224, 492, in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Gaisford, pp. 22, 57 *sq.*; cp. Suidas, *s.v.* θᾶττον ἢ Βούτης; Hesychius, *s.v.* Βούτης. It has been suggested that Butes appeared in the picture of the battle of the Amazons rather than in that of the battle of Marathon. Zenobius certainly only says that Butes was depicted "among the combatants in the colonnade"; but considering that the fame of the latter picture overshadowed that of all the rest in the Painted Colonnade, an expression like "the battle-piece in the Colonnade" could hardly but refer to the picture of the battle of Marathon. It has been conjectured also that the Butes of the picture was not the hero (cp. i. 26. 5 note), but the Argonaut of that name (Hyginus, *Fab.* 14; Apollonius Rhodius, i. 95; Apollodorus, i. 9. 16), and that the picture in which he appeared was Micon's painting of the Argonauts in the sanctuary of the Dioscuri (Paus. i. 18. 1). This is the view which O. Jahn (*Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 19, note 13), H. Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 23), and Professor C. Wachsmuth (*Die Stadt Athen*, 2. p. 509, note 3), are inclined to adopt. But there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the express statement of Zenobius that Butes was depicted "among the combatants in the colonnade."

15. 4. **shields —— taken from the Scionians and their allies.** Scione revolted from Athens in 423 B.C., but in 421 B.C. it was taken

by the Athenians, who put the men to the sword and sold the women and children into captivity (Thucydides, iv. 120, v. 32). During the siege of Scione some allied troops succeeded in breaking through the Athenian lines and reinforcing the garrison (Thucydides, iv. 131). They doubtless shared the fate of their friends, and their shields, as we learn from Pausanias, graced the Painted Colonnade.

15. 4. **the Lacedaemonians who were taken in the island of Sphacteria.** The Lacedaemonians captured in Sphacteria in 425 B.C. numbered 292 (Thucydides, iv. 38). Dio Chrysostom mentions their shields along with the sword of Mardonius as among the glories of Athens (*Or.* ii. vol. 1. p. 27, ed. Dindorf). Among these Lacedaemonian shields was probably that of the gallant Brasidas, which he lost while leading the attack on the Athenian entrenchments at Pylus; it adorned the trophy which the Athenians set up after repulsing the attack (Thucydides, iv. 12; Diodorus, xii. 62; Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 7).

16. 1. **bronze statues of Solon** etc. The bronze statue of Solon in the market-place is mentioned also by Demosthenes (xxvi. 24, p. 807) and Aelian (*Var. Hist.* viii. 16).

16. 1. **Seleucus —— fled to Ptolemy.** See Diodorus, xix. 55; Appian, *Syriac.* 53. His flight to Egypt took place in 316 B.C. (Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 1. p. 312; Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 7. p. 308).

16. 1. **he vanquished the army of Antigonus** etc. This was in the battle of Ipsus. See i. 6. 7 note.

16. 1. **Seleucus took him prisoner.** See i. 10. 2 note.

16. 2. **he was assassinated by Ptolemy** etc. Cp. x. 19. 7. On the assassination of Seleucus by Ptolemy, surnamed Thunderbolt, in 281 B.C., see Appian, *Syriac.* 62 *sq.*; Justin, xvii. 2. 3 *sq.*; Memnon, Frag. 11 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 533 *sq.*); Pliny, *N. H.* vi. 31; Orosius, iii. 23. 63 *sq.*; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 32[illegible] *sq.*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. p. 51.

16. 2. **the guards.** Literally "the kings" (τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν). I have adopted Kayser's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 6 (1848), p. 499) that "the kings" is here a complimentary title given to the Life Guards or Household troops (the French *Maison du Roi*). They may have been recruited from petty chieftains and men of good birth, and it may have been thought advisable to humour their pride with a high-sounding title. The English Life Guards were originally recruited largely from men of good family, and were always addressed as "Gentlemen of the Life Guards" (Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, ch. iii.; cp. Scott, *Old Mortality*, ch. vi.) But in the other passage on which Kayser rests this interpretation (Arrian, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 71 a, ed. Bekker) the expression "the kings" refers to the actual kings Philip Arrhidaeus and the youthful Alexander, son of Alexander the Great and Roxana, as my friend Mr. W. Wyse has pointed out to me.

16. 2. **venturing to give battle to the Gauls —— he was slain by them.** Ptolemy Thunderbolt was defeated and slain by the Gauls

in 280 B.C. See Memnon, Frag. 14 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 534); Justin, xxiv. 5. 1-7; Polybius, ix. 35. 4; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 235, ed. Schöne; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ii. 2. p. 343 *sq.*; Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8. p. 57 *sq.*

16. 3. **he sent back to the Milesians at Branchidae the bronze Apollo** etc. See viii. 46. 3 note; and as to the image, see ii. 10. 5; ix. 10. 2. As to the temple at Branchidae, see note on vii. 5. 4.

16. 3. **he founded Seleucia on the river Tigris.** The decline of Babylon dated from the foundation of Seleucia, to which Seleucus and his successors transferred the seat of government. In the time of Strabo, at the beginning of our era, Seleucia was larger than Babylon, the greater part of which lay desolate. See Strabo, xvi. p. 738. Pliny puts the population of Seleucia at 600,000, and says that its territory was the most fertile in all the east (*N. H.* vi. 122). In the time of Josephus the inhabitants of Seleucia were mostly Greeks, mixed with many Macedonians and not a few Syrians (*Antiquit. Jud.* xviii. 9. 8). All these writers mention the foundation of Seleucia by Seleucus. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 6. 23) calls it "an ambitious work of Seleucus." Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 42) speaks of it as a "powerful city, girt with walls, and not sunk in barbarism, but mindful of its founder Seleucus."

16. 3. **left standing both the walls of Babylon and the sanctuary of Bel.** Cp. iv. 23. 10; iv. 31. 5; viii. 33. 3, with the notes on this last passage. As to Bel (= Baal) cp. note on i. 14. 7 'Heavenly Aphrodite.'

17. 1. **an altar of Mercy.** If we may trust Statius, whose descriptions of Greece seem to be accurate (see note on ix. 19. 6), this altar stood in a grove of laurels and olives. There was no image beside it. No incense was burnt and no blood shed on the altar. But offerings of hair and clothes hung beside it, and ribbons were tied to the laurel trees. See Statius, *Theb.* xii. 481-505. The first writer, apparently, who speaks of the altar is Apollodorus, who flourished about 140 B.C. (*Bibl.* ii. 8. 1, iii. 7. 1). Later writers mention it frequently. See Diodorus, xiii. 22. 7; Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 12. 3; *id.*, *Epist.* 13 and 39; Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Mathematicos*, ix. 187, p. 430, line 7 *sq.*, ed. Bekker; Lucian, *Timon*, 42; *id.*, *Demonax*, 57; *id.*, *Bis Accusatus*, 21; Seneca, *Controvers.* x. 5. 10, p. 497, ed. H. J. Müller; Libanius, ed. Reiske, 1. p. 463; *id.*, 4. pp. 253, 257, 259; Longinus, 'De inventione,' in *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 9. p. 550; Sopatrus, *διαίρεσις ζητημάτων*, in *Rhet. Graeci*, ed. Walz, 8. p. 210; Theophilus Antecessor, *Paraphrasis Graeca Institut. Caesar.*, lib. i. tit. ii. vol. 1. p. 17 *sq.* ed. G. O. Reitz; Zenobius, i. 30; *id.*, ii. 61; Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 260; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1151; Schol. on Demosthenes, ii. 6, p. 19; Schol. on Aeschines, ii. 15, p. 286, ed. Schultz. It is also mentioned in a late Greek inscription found in the Odeum of Herodes Atticus at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 170; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 792). It is said that after the war of the Seven against Thebes, Adrastus fled to Athens and took refuge at the altar of Mercy (Apollodorus, iii. 7. 1; Zenobius, i. 30). Similarly, the

children of Hercules, pursued by Eurystheus after the death of their father, are said to have taken sanctuary at the altar of Mercy in Athens (Apollodorus, ii. 8. 1 ; Zenobius, ii. 61 ; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1151 ; Schol. on Demosthenes, ii. 6, p. 19). According to one tradition it was the children of Hercules who, grateful for the protection accorded them at Athens, founded the altar (Statius, *Theb.* xii. 497 *sq.* : Philostratus, *Epist.* 39). Diodorus tells us (xiii. 22. 7) that the Athenians were the first, and Pausanias here tells us that they were the only, Greek people who set up an altar of Mercy. But in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus a small altar has been found with an inscription : "Hieroclos (dedicated) an altar of Mercy in obedience to a dream" (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 150).

It has been conjectured that the altar of Mercy may have been identical with an altar of Zeus of the Market which is thought to have stood in the market-place (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 336, line 32 *sq.* ; compared with Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 410 ; *C. I. A.* i. No. 23, line 5). The grounds for this conjecture are (1) that Euripides in his drama *The Heraclids* (69 *sqq.*) represents the children of Hercules as suppliants of Zeus of the Market, and (2) that the common tradition represented them as taking refuge at the altar of Mercy (see above). These two traditions may be combined by supposing that the altar of Mercy was identical with the altar of Zeus of the Market. But the existence of this latter altar is not well attested. The exact situation of the altar of Mercy in the market-place is not known. It was perhaps near the Painted Colonnade, since Pausanias mentions it immediately after the colonnade. Cp. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 436-440.

17. 1. altars of Modesty, of Rumour. The altar of Modesty (*Aidōs*) stood on the Acropolis, near the temple of Athena Guardian of the City (Polias). Modesty was said to have been the nurse of Athena. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xxii. 451, p. 1279, lines 39-41 : Hesychius, *s.v.* Αἰδοῦς βωμός ; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 355, lines 14-16. There was a priestess of Modesty, who had a seat reserved for her in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 367). Cp. Paus. iii. 20. 10. Aeschines mentions the altar of Rumour at Athens (i. 128) and says that public sacrifices were offered to her as a goddess (ii. 145). Her altar is said to have been erected after the battle of the Eurymedon, because the rumour of that great Athenian victory had reached Athens the same day (Schol. on Aeschines, i. 128, p. 277, ed. Schultz).

17. 2. the gymnasium of Ptolemy. Pausanias has now quitted the market-place. The gymnasium of Ptolemy, which Pausanias tells us was not far from the market-place, probably stood to the east or north of it. For a Greek gymnasium, unlike the building to which we now give that name, was a spacious edifice with open courts for the practice of running and leaping ; and room for such a structure could hardly have been found to the west or south of the market-place on account of the rise of the ground. A number of inscriptions relating to the discipline and training of the Athenian lads (*ephebi*) have been found at the Colonnade of Attalus which, as we have seen (p. 55 *sq.*), enclosed the market-place on the north-east. These inscriptions re-

peatedly mention the Ptolemaeum or gymnasium of Ptolemy (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 468, line 25; *id.*, No. 471, line 19; *id.*, 482, line 50); and if, as is probable, they were set up in it, we may suppose that the Ptolemaeum was somewhere to the east or north of the Colonnade of Attalus. Pausanias's statement that the gymnasium was beside the Theseum is confirmed by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 36); but as the site of the Theseum is itself uncertain, this does not help us to determine the site of the gymnasium.

The founder of the gymnasium was probably Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) The building included a library to which the lads contributed a number of volumes (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 468, line 25; *id.*, No. 482, line 50). It seems indeed to have been specially used as a literary institute, for the lads attended lectures on philosophy in it (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 479, line 19), and Cicero represents himself and his friends as having listened to a discourse by the philosopher Antiochus in the same building (*De finibus*, v. 1. 1). Cp. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 169; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 319; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 144 *sqq.*

17. 2. **Juba the Libyan.** In the course of the excavations conducted at the Colonnade of Attalus in 1861 a marble head was found, which H. Brunn proposed to identify as the head of the statue of Juba II. here mentioned by Pausanias. The head is life-size and of fine workmanship. It represents a young man with a bandage or wrapper wound round his head several times. Brunn compared it with a head of a young man found at Julia Caesarea in Africa, the capital of Juba II. This African head Brunn had previously identified as that of Juba II. on the strength of its resemblance to portraits of Juba on coins, and on other evidence. He thinks that the head found in the Colonnade of Attalus represents the same man, namely Juba II. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 29 (1857), pp. 194-197, with Tav. d' agg. E; *id.*, 33 (1861), p. 412 *sq.*; *Bulletino dell' Inst.* for 1861, p. 42 *sq.*; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 457. Brunn shared the belief, then general, that the building in which the head was found was the gymnasium of Ptolemy. It is now known, however, to be the Colonnade of Attalus (see above, p. 55). This weakens Brunn's argument to some extent. In the Colonnade of Attalus was found the inscribed base of a statue of King Ptolemy, son of Juba; it was erected by the Athenian people, and probably stood beside or near the statue of his father King Juba in the gymnasium of Ptolemy (Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 3. p. 1; *C. I. G.* No. 360; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 555).

17. 2. **Chrysippus of Soli.** Cicero (*De finibus*, i. 11. 39) and Diogenes Laertius (vii. 7. 182) mention a statue of Chrysippus in the market-place (Ceramicus) at Athens. It represented the philosopher seated with his hand stretched out, but so puny in person that the statue was almost hidden by that of a burly cavalier which stood beside it. Whether this was the statue seen by Pausanias is doubtful.

17. 2. **a sanctuary of Theseus.** This sanctuary is said to have been constructed to enshrine the bones of Theseus which were brought to Athens by Cimon after the Persian war, apparently in the year 469

B.C. (see note on § 6). It became one of the most sacred and famous sanctuaries in Athens (Plutarch, *De exilio*, 17; Strabo, ix. p. 396). It enjoyed the privileges of an asylum or sanctuary in the strict sense; all persons in danger who took refuge within its precinct were safe. Runaway slaves especially seem to have fled to it. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1311 *sq.*, with the Scholium; Aristophanes, *Seasons*, quoted by Pollux, vii. 2. 13; Diodorus, iv. 62; *Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.vv.* θήσειον and Θησειότριψ; Hesychius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Θησεῖον; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 264. line 21 *sq.*; Schol. on Aeschines, iii. 13, p. 318, ed. Schultz. The precinct must have been of some extent, for we hear of troops bivouacking (Thucydides, vi. 61) and of Pisistratus addressing an assembly of the people in it (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 15). The Council of the Five Hundred occasionally met in the Theseum (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 481, line 2 *sq.*), and it is said that trials were sometimes held in it (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Θησεῖον; *Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Θήσειον, p. 451). The elections by lot to certain magistracies regularly took place in the Theseum, the officers who presided at the elections being the six archons called Thesmothetae or 'lawgivers' (Aeschines, iii. 13, with the Schol. p. 318, ed. Schultz; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 62). We hear of building materials being fetched from the Theseum (*C. I. A.* ii. 834 b. col. i. lines 9 *sq.*, 30 *sq.*, 65 *sq.*, col. ii. lines 31, 55 *sq.*), and mention is made of treasures of Theseus (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 210, 273), which were probably kept in his sanctuary. Festivals were held in honour of Theseus; they included a procession, athletic contests, and a torch-race. The names of the victors in the contests were engraved on a slab of stone or bronze which was set up in the Theseum. See *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 444, 445, 446, 448, 471; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 104, 107; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, p. 147 *sq.* Cp. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 269 *sqq.* The priest of Theseus had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 41).

With regard to the position of the Theseum, Plutarch says that it was situated "in the middle of the city, beside the present gymnasium" (*Theseus*, 36). This tallies with the statement of Pausanias that the Theseum was beside the gymnasium of Ptolemy, which was not far from the market-place. We have seen some ground for supposing that the gymnasium was near the Colonnade of Attalus, either to the north or east of it. A passage in Aristotle seems to show that the Theseum was not far from the ascent to the Acropolis. The passage in question narrates how Pisistratus succeeded in disarming the Athenians and making himself master of Athens. It runs thus (*Constitution of Athens*, 15): "Having caused the citizens to assemble under arms in the Theseum, he (Pisistratus) attempted to address them. But he purposely lowered his voice a little; and when they said that they could not hear, he bade them ascend to the gateway of the Acropolis, in order that he might be more audible. While he spun out his harangue, men appointed for the purpose took the weapons and shut them up in the buildings near the Theseum, after which they went and told Pisistratus. He, on the conclusion of his speech, informed the people what had been

done about the weapons, and told them not to be surprised or discouraged but to go and mind their own affairs, while he would attend to the business of government." The reading in the manuscript is uncertain in one part of this passage; according to another reading (Ἀνακείῳ instead of Θησείῳ) Pisistratus assembled the citizens not in the Theseum but in the Anaceum. This is supported by a parallel passage in Polyaenus (i. 21. 2), who describing the same event says that the citizens assembled under arms in the Anaceum, and that when they had followed Pisistratus to the gateway of the Acropolis his agents "gathered up and brought down the weapons to the sanctuary of Agraulus." The Anaceum and the sanctuary of Agraulus were near each other on the northern slope of the Acropolis (see i. 18. 1 *sq.* with the notes). Hence if we adopt the reading Ἀνακείῳ in the passage of Aristotle, it will follow that the Theseum was situated on the northern slope of the Acropolis, not far from the Anaceum. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 46 (1891), p. 327 *sq.* Even without adopting this reading we may to some extent reconcile the accounts of Aristotle and Polyaenus by supposing that among "the buildings near the Theseum" mentioned by Aristotle was the sanctuary of Agraulus mentioned by Polyaenus. From this again it would follow that the Theseum lay on the northern slope of the Acropolis near the Anaceum and the sanctuary of Agraulus. In any case, if Aristotle is right, there was a Theseum at Athens long before Cimon brought back the supposed bones of Theseus to Athens in 469 B.C.

Thus the evidence of Aristotle, taken in connexion with that of Pausanias and of the inscriptions found in the Colonnade of Attalus, points to the conclusion that the Theseum stood somewhere between the Colonnade of Attalus and the north-western foot of the Acropolis, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the ruined chapel of Joanna.

An attempt has been made to determine the position of the Theseum in another way. Demosthenes says in one passage (xviii. 129, p. 270) that Tromes, the father of Aeschines, was a slave of a certain Elpias, who kept a school beside the Theseum; and in another passage (xix. 249, p. 419) Demosthenes says that Aeschines's father taught a school beside the sanctuary of the Physician Hero. It seems natural to suppose that in these two passages Demosthenes is referring to the same period in Tromes's life when he was an usher in the school of Elpias; and if this is so, it follows that the Theseum was near the sanctuary of the Physician Hero. This was the view taken by Apollonius in his life of Aeschines; for, evidently combining the two statements of Demosthenes, he says that the father of Aeschines "was originally a slave and taught letters with fetters on his legs beside the Theseum and the shrine of the Physician" (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 265). Now, two inscriptions relating to the Hero Physician and his sanctuary have been found at Athens in Athena Street opposite the fountain of Boreas. One of these inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. 403) contains a dedication to the Hero Physician by a certain Eucles, followed by a decree of the Council of Five Hundred ordering that a commission be appointed to manufacture a jug for the Hero Physician out of some of the petty silver offer-

ings in his shrine, and providing that the names of the persons who had dedicated the silver offerings which were to be used in making the jug should be engraved on a slab of stone and set up in the sanctuary. The inscription concludes with a list of these petty offerings, the names of their dedicators, the weight of silver used in making the jug, the expense of making it, and the sum paid for cutting the inscription on the stone. Among the petty offerings used up in making the jug are silver eyes, legs, and a hand, doubtless dedicated by persons who ascribed to the Hero Physician the cure of corresponding members of their own bodies. The other inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 404) contains a decree of the Council of Five Hundred ordering that some new vessels be made for service in the sanctuary of the Hero Physician to replace others which were old and worn out. The two inscriptions are published with notes by Prof. G. Hirschfeld in *Hermes*, 8 (1874), pp. 350-360. As the stones on which these two inscriptions are carved are large and heavy, it has been conjectured that the sanctuary in which they were originally set up cannot have been far from the spot where they were found. If so, the sanctuary of the Hero Physician must have been near the fountain of Boreas in Athena Street, to the north of the modern Hermes Street, at a considerable distance north of the so-called Colonnade (more properly Gymnasium) of Hadrian (see note on i. 18. 9). It would follow that the Theseum, being near the sanctuary of the Hero Physician, would also have to be looked for in this neighbourhood. This is confirmed by an inscription containing a dedication to Theseus which Pittakis copied at the fountain of Boreas (*C. I. A.* ii. 1180; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 2. p. 736, No. 1059). But on the other hand the evidence of Aristotle, as we have seen, is in favour of placing the Theseum much further south. The inscriptions may very well have been transported from their original sites.

The Hero Physician, it may here be remarked, has sometimes been wrongly confounded with Toxaris, whose tomb was not far from the Dipylum on the left of the road to the Academy. Toxaris was said to be a Scythian who died at Athens and was worshipped by the Athenians as a hero under the name of the Stranger Physician. A white horse was regularly sacrificed at his tomb. See Lucian, *Scytha*, 1 *sq.*; L. v. Sybel, 'Toxaris,' *Hermes*, 20 (1885), pp. 41-55. The original name of the Hero Physician, on the other hand, was said to be Aristomachus; he was buried at Marathon beside the sanctuary of Dionysus, and was revered by the natives of the district. See Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 262, line 16 *sqq.*; cp. Schol. on Demosthenes, xix. 249, p. 419.

Some of the inscriptions relating to the Theseum (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 444, 445, 446) were found at the chapel of St. Demetrius Katephores, and as they contain a provision that copies of them were to be set up in the Theseum, it might be inferred that the Theseum stood at or near the spot where the inscriptions were found. The chapel of St. Demetrius Katephores, which has been removed, stood about half-way between the Metropolitan Church and the north-eastern foot of the Acropolis, at the spot where the maps now mark the Diogeneum or gymnasium of Diogenes (cp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 1. 1), on the

strength of a number of inscriptions relating to the gymnasium which have been found there (see E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. lxxxv.) But the evidence of Pausanias is against placing the Theseum so far to the east and at such a distance from the market-place. It would seem that the stones which contain the inscriptions were carried thither to help in building the Frankish wall, which is commonly called the wall of Valerian. See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 173 *sq.*

A scholiast on Aristophanes (*Eccles.* 685 *sq.*) states that the Theseum was beside the Royal Colonnade. But this statement of the scholiast seems to be a mere unwarrantable inference of his own from the passage of Aristophanes on which he is commenting; he supposes that the Theseum was a colonnade, which it certainly was not.

The Theseum we have been discussing was not the only sanctuary of Theseus at Athens. This appears from the terms in which Thucydides refers to it; he speaks of it as "the Theseum in the city" (vi. 61), clearly implying that there was at least one other Theseum outside the city proper. That there was another Theseum between or near the Long Walls is made certain by a passage in Andocides (i. 45), where it is said that during the alarm excited by the mutilation of the Hermae the residents in the city were ordered to assemble under arms in the market-place, while the residents between the Long Walls were to gather in the Theseum, and the residents in Piraeus were to muster in the market-place of Hippodamus. It is clearly out of the question that the Theseum here mentioned by Andocides should have been the famous one which, as Plutarch says (*Theseus*, 36), stood in the heart of the city. The Theseum between or near the Long Walls may be the one which, as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1059), was farmed out by the corporation of Piraeus along with other sacred precincts. If this identification is correct, the precinct was more probably outside of, than between, the Long Walls; for in the inscription it is stipulated that the tenants of the precincts shall not grow corn on more than one-half of the sacred lands, and that no timber or earth shall be removed by them from the Theseum. This implies that the precinct of the Theseum was of some extent. Professor Milchhöfer proposes to identify it with a large quadrangular enclosure on a spur which projects northward into the plain from the hill of Munychia. The enclosure, about 58 to 60 metres long from east to west, is formed by blocks of conglomerate stone set upright in rows. There are four such rows on the west side, and two rows on each of the other sides. See Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, Heft i. p. 37 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Piraeus,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1200. Cp. Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 392, 419 note 1; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 335; *id.*, 2. pp. 148, 193. The inscription of Roman date, already repeatedly referred to, which records the restoration of sanctuaries in Athens, Piraeus, etc., makes mention of "precincts of Theseus" (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170), showing that there were at least two of them. According to Philochorus (referred to by Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35) there were four sanctuaries of Theseus in Athens or Attica; there had formerly been more, but Theseus dedicated all the rest to Hercules

from gratitude for having been released by him from the lower world (cp. § 4 note).

The name Theseum has been traditionally given to the beautiful Doric temple, the best preserved of all Greek temples, which stands about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the Acropolis at Athens. Before examining the claims of the temple to its traditional designation, it will be necessary briefly to describe it.

It stands on an eminence which projects northward into the plain from the group of low hills (Areopagus, Nymphaeum hill, etc.) that lies to the west of the Acropolis. This eminence was known in antiquity as the Market Hill (*Kolonos Agoraios*), since it bounded the market-place on the west (see above, p. 125). The temple is of the Doric order, and of the class called peripteral hexastyle, *i.e.* it is surrounded by a colonnade and has six columns at each of its narrow ends. It rests upon a three-stepped basement. The foundations and the lowest of the three steps are constructed of hard Piraeic limestone: the two upper steps and the temple itself are built of white Pentelic marble. The temple faces about eight degrees to the south of east. It measures 104 feet in length by 45 feet in breadth on the highest step of the basement. The number of columns in the colonnade is thirty-four, of which there are six at each of the ends and thirteen at each of the sides, the corner columns being reckoned twice over. The columns are 19 feet high, including the capitals, and vary in diameter from 3 feet 5 inches at the base to 2 feet 7 inches at the top. They are thus slenderer than those of the Parthenon. Each column is composed of seven drums and has twenty flutes, the depth of which diminishes towards the top. The entasis or swelling of each column in the middle is very slight. The intercolumniation or distance between the columns is $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet.

The *cella* or core of the temple consists of a central chamber or *naos* in the narrow sense, with a fore-chamber (*pronaos*) at the east end and a back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) at the west end. The fore-chamber is deeper than the back-chamber, and this, together with the richer sculptural decoration at the east end, proves conclusively that the east end was the front of the temple. Both fore-chamber and back-chamber opened on the colonnade through a pair of columns between *antae*, as the pillar-like terminations of the side-walls were called.

All round the outside of the temple, above the architrave, runs a Doric frieze of alternate triglyphs and metopes. The metopes are 68 in number. Of these only eighteen are adorned with sculptured reliefs, namely the ten at the eastern end of the temple, and the eight at the eastern ends of the north and south sides (four on the north side and four on the south side).

The subjects of the sculptures in the ten metopes of the eastern front are nine of the labours of Hercules, one of the labours being represented on two metopes. These labours are, beginning with the south: (1) Hercules and the Nemean lion; (2) Hercules and the Lernaean hydra; (3) Hercules and the Cerynaean hind; (4) Hercules and the Erymanthian boar; (5) Hercules and the horse of Diomede; (6) Hercules and Cerberus; (7) Hercules and Hippolyta, queen of the

Amazons; (8 and 9) Hercules and the triple-bodied Geryon; (10) Hercules and one of the Hesperides. These ten metopes are, however, much damaged. The eight metopes on the north and south sides are better preserved. They represent the exploits of Theseus, namely, on the south side (beginning at the east): (1) the conquest of the Minotaur; (2) the capture of the bull of Marathon; (3) the punishment of Sinis; (4) the punishment of Procrustes; on the north side (beginning at the east): (5) the conquest of Periphetes the club-man; (6) the wrestling with the Arcadian Cercyon; (7) the conquest and punishment of Sciron; (8) the capture of the Crommyan sow.

In addition to these sculptured metopes there is a sculptured frieze at each end of the *cella*. The arrangement of these friezes is peculiar. The western frieze extends simply across the width of the *cella*, from *anta* to *anta*. But the eastern frieze is prolonged in a straight line beyond the *anta* on each side so as to cross the ambulatory and meet the epistyle or beams surmounting the colonnade. The west frieze is about 25 feet long; the east frieze is about 37 feet long. The subject of the west frieze is the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths. The subject of the east frieze is a battle fought in presence of six seated deities, who are divided into two separate groups of three each. The battle depicted in this east frieze has not been identified with certainty; various conjectural explanations of it have been offered. Leake thought it was a battle of the giants, because some of the combatants are hurling rocks. But the adversaries of the giants were the gods; and in the frieze the gods are seated tranquilly looking on, without taking part in the fight. K. O. Müller explained the battle to be that between Theseus and the rebel Pallantids (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13); H. Brunn argued that it represents the battle fought by the Athenians against Eurystheus on behalf of the Heraclids who had fled from Eurystheus and taken refuge at Athens (see i. 32. 6 note).

All these sculptures are in their places; they are carved out of Parian marble. (Miss Harrison says that the friezes are of Pentelic marble. But this seems to be a mistake. See Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, p. 118.) They were all painted, and retained traces of their colours down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Leake says: "Vestiges of brazen and golden-coloured arms, of a blue sky, and of blue, green, and red drapery are still very apparent." The building itself, or at least large portions of it, was also painted; vestiges of colour are still to be seen in places, while in others only the drawing of the pattern remains. A painted foliage and maeander pattern may be seen on the interior cornice of the peristyle, and painted stars on the cassettes of the coffered ceiling. The triglyphs and mutules were blue, the *guttae* bright red. Coloured restorations of a capital of one of the *antae* and of the cassettes of the ceiling are given by Prof. G. Semper in his work, *Der Stil*,[2] 1. plates i., v., and vi.

The sculptures of the gables have disappeared; that they existed is proved by the traces of their fastenings.

The existing sculptures must have been executed contemporaneously with the building of the temple; for they are so fitted in that they must

have been in their places before the roof was put on. The walls of the temple show traces of having been coated with stucco, probably to receive paintings. As to the precise date when the temple with its sculptures was erected, opinions differ. All are agreed that it is a work of about the middle of the fifth century B.C. Its fine proportions, the presence of the optical curves, the exquisite finish of the workmanship, and the nature of the materials, all prove that the temple belongs to the age of Pericles. But whether it was built soon before or soon after or simultaneously with the Parthenon, is disputed. Formerly the general view was that the temple was earlier than the Parthenon; but in recent years opinion has veered round, and architects now incline to hold that the so-called Theseum is the later of the two temples, mainly because it is supposed to exhibit more advanced tendencies to Ionicism in architectural details. This is the opinion of Dr. Dörpfeld and Mr. F. Graef.

The conclusions as to the dates of the two temples, drawn from a comparison of their sculptures, are also discrepant. All admit that the resemblances between the west frieze of the so-called Theseum and the metopes of the Parthenon are so close that the one must have been to some extent modelled on the other. Take, for example, the figure of the Centaur who is heaving up a wine-jar to hurl it at a prostrate Lapith. This figure occurs both on the frieze of the Theseum and on one of the metopes of the Parthenon. But which was the original and which the copy? The answer seems supplied by the observation that the figures on the frieze are broken up into separate, metope-like groups, loosely connected by a figure thrown in here and there to give an artificial unity to the whole. From this the natural conclusion would seem to be that the sculptor of the frieze had before him the metopes of the Parthenon depicting the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths, and that he made up his frieze by putting together into a single battle-piece the scenes which were separately represented in the metopes, altering the figures to some extent and adding some fresh ones to link the whole together, but not so skilfully as to conceal the joinings. The opposite conclusion, it is true, has been drawn by Mr. A. S. Murray. He thinks that the partial separation of the groups on the frieze suggested to the sculptor of the Parthenon the idea of employing the same subjects for metopes. But this view, I confess, seems to me forced and unnatural.

A comparison of the sculptured metopes of the so-called 'Theseum' with the similar subjects depicted on Attic vase-paintings seems also to favour the later date of the 'Theseum.' The comparison has been instituted by Mr. Walther Müller. He finds that the metopes of the 'Theseum' have been imitated on many Attic vases, but that none of these imitations is older than 430 B.C. The conclusion is that the metopes were executed not much before that year. But from the way in which the metopes are fitted in between the triglyphs, we know that they must have been placed in position before the temple was roofed (L. Julius, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 50 (1878), p. 204). It would follow that the 'Theseum' was completed little if at all before 430 B.C. But the

Parthenon was built between 447 B.C. and 432 B.C. See note on i. 24. 5.

The names of the sculptors who adorned the temple are not known. From the style of the metopes Mr. L. Julius has argued that they were probably executed by Myron or his pupils. He bases this conclusion on the multiplicity and variety of the situations, the absence of drapery, the vigour, vivacity, and truth to nature of the nude human figures and animals, the want of intellectual expression on the faces, and the superficial, somewhat stiff, archaic treatment of the hair and beards. His view is accepted as probable by Prof. Overbeck and Mr. A. S. Murray, though the latter is of opinion that the sculptures were executed rather by a pupil of Myron than by Myron himself; for "they may have his faults and peculiarities, but they have not the style of so great a master."

The temple, though on the whole well preserved, has sustained some damage in the course of ages. Lightning has shattered a portion of the north-west corner, and earthquakes have displaced some of the drums of the columns. The interior of the temple was altered in Byzantine times to convert it into a church of St. George. The ancient roof has been replaced by a barrel-vault.

It remains to state the arguments for and against the view that this fine Doric temple is the Theseum: (I) in favour of the view that it is the Theseum there are (1) the tradition which, for some centuries at least, has designated the temple as the Theseum; (2) the evidence of the eight sculptured metopes representing the deeds of Theseus, and the west frieze representing the fight of the Centaurs and Lapiths, at which Theseus, according to the legend, was present; and (3) the traces of a coating of stucco on the inside walls of the temple; for this goes to prove that the walls were embellished with paintings, and we know from Pausanias that the walls of the Theseum were so adorned. With regard to (1), the first writer in modern times to call the temple the Theseum was the anonymous author of a Greek tract on the topography of Athens, which is preserved in the Paris library, and seems to have been written about the end of the fifteenth century. See C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 357, 743; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 30 *sqq.* Henceforth the temple continued to bear the name of the Theseum without question till about the middle of the nineteenth century, when Ludwig Ross disputed its claim to the title and proposed to identify it with the temple of Ares (Paus. i. 8. 4), a designation which had already been applied to the temple by the early Italian traveller Cyriacus of Ancona (C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 358, 727). This brings us to

(II) the arguments against the temple being the Theseum: (1) Theseus was not a god but a hero; hence his sanctuary was not a temple but a *heroön*, or hero's shrine. The distinction between deities and worshipful heroes was a sharp one in Greek religion; only a deity had a temple (*naos*); a hero had a heroic shrine (*heroön*), precinct (*temenos*), or sanctuary (*hieron*). The only two writers who speak of the Theseum as a temple are Hesychius (*s.v.* Θησεῖον) and the author

of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 451, *s.v.* Θησεῖον). But very little weight can be attached to the evidence of such late writers. The Theseum is called a sanctuary (*hieron*) and a sacred close (*sekos*) by Pausanias (i. 17. 2 and 6), a hero's shrine (*herōon*) by Photius (*Lexicon*, *s.v.* Θησεῖον) and an anonymous writer in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 264, line 21; and a precinct (*temenos*) by Harpocration and Suidas (*s.v.* Θησεῖον) as well as on an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 444). Generally, however, it was called simply the Theseum, as by Aristophanes (*Knights*, 1312), Thucydides (vi. 61), Demosthenes (xviii. 129, p. 270), Aeschines (iii. 13), Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 15 and 62), Diodorus (iv. 62), and Plutarch (*De exilio*, 17). Now, whereas Greek temples regularly fronted east, it would seem that the shrines or precincts of heroes faced west. At least we are told that sacrifices to deities were offered to the east, sacrifices to heroes to the west (Schol. on Pindar, *Isthm.* iii. 110, ed. Böckh); and this is confirmed by the precinct of the hero Pelops at Olympia, which has been found to open to the south-west (see note on v. 13. 1). But the so-called Theseum at Athens is a regular temple with its front to the east (see above). It must therefore have been dedicated to a god, not to a mere hero like Theseus. (It is true that Diodorus, iv. 62, says the Athenians honoured Theseus "with god-like honours"; but this expression is clearly loose and incorrect. Plutarch rightly describes the honours paid to Theseus as heroic, not divine. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35; *id.*, *Cimon*, 8.)

(2) The temple in question belongs by its style to the age of Pericles and seems to be later than the Parthenon, which was completed about 432 B.C. But the Theseum was constructed in the age of Cimon and seems to have been begun not later than 469 B.C. (see note on i. 17. 6). It follows that the two edifices cannot be the same.

(3) The evidence of Aristotle, Plutarch, and Pausanias as to the situation of the Theseum is against identifying it with the temple in question, and is in favour of placing it to the east of the market-place and the north of the Acropolis (see above, p. 146 *sq.*)

(4) The argument that the temple must be the Theseum because eight of the metopes and one at least of the friezes represented the exploits of Theseus is met by showing, as L. Ross did, that the subjects sculptured on the metopes and on the friezes of Greek temples had no necessary relation to the deities of the temples. Thus, for example, the Centaurs of some of the Parthenon metopes have no connexion with Athena, the goddess of the temple. The labours of Hercules were sculptured on the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (see v. 10. 9).

On the whole, the preponderance of evidence is against the view that the so-called 'Theseum' was really the sanctuary of Theseus. But if the temple in question was not the Theseum, to what god was it dedicated?

Various answers to this question have been given. L. Ross, as we have seen, thought that the temple was that of Ares (see i. 8. 4 note). Another theory, advocated by Professor C. Wachsmuth and Professor E. Curtius, identifies the temple with the "very famous sanctuary of

Hercules, Averter of Evil, in Melite" mentioned by a scholiast on Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 501; cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας; Zenobius, v. 22). The so-called 'Theseum' certainly seems to have been in the quarter Melite (see note on i. 14. 6); and the ten metopes on the eastern front illustrating the labours of Hercules would be very appropriate in a temple of Hercules. But Pausanias makes no mention of a temple of Hercules in this quarter, and it is very unlikely that he would have passed over without notice so striking and beautiful a temple as the so-called 'Theseum.' Professor Curtius's conjecture (*Stadtgeschichte*, p. 295), that Pausanias purposely omitted to mention this temple of Hercules because his religious feelings as an Ionian Greek were hurt at the deification of Hercules, can hardly be taken very seriously.

Another view, adopted by Professors U. Köhler and Loeschcke, and now by Professor Milchhöfer (*Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 753 *sq.*), is that the temple is that of Paternal Apollo (see Paus. i. 3. 4 note). But the temple of Paternal Apollo seems to have been in the market-place; and there is no evidence that the market-place extended so far westward as to include the eminence on which the 'Theseum' stands.

It is enough to mention the theory of K. Lange (*Haus und Halle*, p. 67), that the so-called 'Theseum' is the sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite (Paus. i. 14. 7), and the view of Dr. Dyer that it may have been the sanctuary of the Amazons (as to which see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27; Diodorus, iv. 28. 2; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀμαζόνειον; Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀμαζόνειον).

Lastly, it has been proposed to identify the so-called 'Theseum' with the temple of Hephaestus described by Pausanias (i. 14. 6). This view, first advocated by Mr. Pervanoglu, has been accepted by H. G. Lolling, Dr. Dörpfeld, and Miss Harrison. The only argument in favour of it is that it seems best to harmonise with Pausanias's account of the topography. An objection to this view is that in the sculptured metopes and frieze of the 'Theseum' there is no reference to Hephaestus. However, as we have seen, the sculptures of the metopes and even of the frieze of a Greek temple appear to have often had little or no relation to the god of the temple. It was otherwise with the sculptures of the gables or pediments; they seem generally to have had a direct reference to the deity of the temple; but in the case of the so-called 'Theseum' these sculptures have disappeared.

On the whole, the view which identifies the so-called 'Theseum' with the temple of Hephaestus, though it is not free from difficulties, seems less open to serious objections than any of the others. It may, therefore, be provisionally accepted.

On the Theseum and the temple which has so long gone by the name of the Theseum, see Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 3. pp. 1-10, with plates i.-xxiv.; Dodwell, 1. pp. 362-370; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 498-512; L. Ross, *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares in Athen* (Halle, 1852); K. O. Müller, 'Die erhobenen Arbeiten am Friese des Pronaos vom Theseustempel zu Athen,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 4. pp. 1-19; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*,

I. plates xx.-xxi.; Ulrichs, 'Spiegazione de' Monumenti sul Pronaos del Theseum,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 13 (1841), pp. 74-83 (reprinted in German in his *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. pp. 135-147); Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 228-233; E. Curtius, *Erläuternder Text der sieben Karten*, p. 52 *sq.*; *id.*, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 120 *sq.*, 121 *sq.*, 136, 294-296; C. Bötticher, *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 182-189; *id.*, in *Philologus*, Supplem. 3 (1867), pp. 383-389; P. Pervanoglu, 'Das Hephaesteion in Athen,' *Philologus*, 27 (1868), pp. 660-672; H. Brunn, 'Die Bildwerke des Theseion,' *Sitzungsberichte der philos. philolog. und histor. Cl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1874, 2. pp. 51-65 (summarised in *Revue archéologique*, N.S. 29 (1875), pp. 395-404); Aug. Schultz, *De Theseo* (Vratislaviae, 1874); W. Gurlitt, *Das Alter der Bildwerke und die Bauzeit des sogenannten Theseion in Athen* (Wien, 1875); *id.*, *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 284 *sq.*, 335 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I. pp. 357-365; *Monumenti Inediti*, 10 (1874-8), plates xliii., xliv., xliii., ...; L. Julius, 'Le metopi del Tempio di Teseo in Atene,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 49 (1877), pp. 92-95; *id.*, 50 (1878), pp. 193-210; G. Loeschcke, *Die Enneakrunosepisode*, p. 21 *sq.*; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aus Kydathen*, p. 135 *sq.*; W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 326; Nissen, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 40 (1885), pp. 343-346; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 526-528; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] I. pp. 457-463; Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 365-368; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] I. pp. 275-292; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 169-171; *id.*, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 753 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, I. pp. 87-90; Baedeker,[3] pp. 86-89; Walther Müller, *Die Theseusmetopen vom Theseion zu Athen in ihrem Verhältniss zur Vasenmalerei* (Göttingen, 1888); Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (London, 1888), p. 72 *sq.*, with plates xxxv., xxxvi.; P. Graef and A. Baumeister, article 'Theseion,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1774-1786; Lolling, 'Athen,' pp. 318, 319; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 112-122, 146-149; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, I. pp. 216-231.

17. 2. **paintings of the Athenians fighting the Amazons etc.** It appears that the painter of the pictures in the Theseum was Micon (see § 3). Harpocration and Suidas (*s.v.* Πολύγνωτος) mention that according to some people the paintings in the Theseum were by Polygnotus. (In these passages of Harpocration and Suidas it would seem that we must read Θησείῳ or Θησέως ἱερῷ for Θησαυρῷ, the reading of the MSS., which is, however, defended by Prof. J. Williams White in a privately printed paper, *The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens*, p. 13 *sq.*) It is possible that he may have painted the battle of the Athenians and Amazons or that of the Centaurs and Lapiths; for the only one of the three pictures which Pausanias expressly attributes to him is the picture of Theseus and Amphitrite. It is, however, perhaps more probable that they were all by Micon, and that it was only the overshadowing reputation of Polygnotus which caused these works of his contemporary Micon to be ascribed to him.

17. 2. **This war is represented also on the shield of Athena.** The reference is to Phidias's statue of Virgin Athena in the Parthenon. The battle with the Amazons was represented in relief on the outer side of her shield; on the inner side were carved the combats of the gods with the giants (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 18). It is said that into the relief the sculptor Phidias introduced portraits of himself and of Pericles. He portrayed himself as an old bald-headed man lifting up a stone in both hands; while Pericles was represented brandishing his spear against the Amazons in such a way that his raised hand partially con-

cealed the likeness, which is said to have been a very fine one. See Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31; cp. Aristotle, *De mundo*, 6. p. 399 b, 33 *sqq.*; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xii. vol. 1. p. 214 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; Cicero, *Tuscul.* i. 15. 34; Valerius Maximus, viii. 14. 6; Apuleius, *De mundo*, 32. The shield of the image of Cranaean Athena, near Elatea, was adorned with reliefs copied from those on the shield of Virgin Athena (Paus. x. 34. 8). Several copies, all except one fragmentary, of the shield of the Virgin Athena have come down to us; and though rude in style they enable us to form a general idea of the way in which the battle with the Amazons was represented on it. The best known of these copies is the fragmentary Strangford shield in the British Museum; it is of marble. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 353 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 121 *sq.*; Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 312 *sq.*; Collignon, *Phidias*, pp. 25, 32 *sq.*; Schreiber, 'Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias und ihre Nachbildungen,' *Abhandl. d. philolog. hist. Cl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 8 (1883), p. 599 *sqq.*

17. 2. **and on the pedestal of Olympian Zeus.** See v. 11. 7.

17. 3. **When Minos brought Theseus** etc. This story is told also by Hyginus (*Astronomica*, ii. 5) as follows: "It is said that when Theseus came to Minos in Crete with seven maidens and six boys, Minos, attracted by the beauty of one of the maidens whose name was Eriboea, would have offered her violence. But Theseus would not suffer it, alleging that he was the son of Neptune (Poseidon), and as such could protect a maiden's honour against a tyrant. The dispute now turning not on the girl but on Theseus's birth, to wit whether he were the son of Neptune or no, it is said that Minos took a golden ring from his finger and threw it into the sea, bidding Theseus bring it back to him, if he would really be thought to be a son of Neptune. He himself, continued Minos, could easily prove himself a son of Jupiter, and accordingly he prayed his father to give him a sign that he was indeed his sire. A clap of thunder and a flash of lightning immediately gave the sign. For a like reason Theseus, without any prayer or solemn appeal to his parent, plunged into the sea. At once a great school of dolphins, gliding along the sea, led him through the rippling waves to the Nereids. From them he received Minos's ring and from Thetis a crown, the wedding-gift of Venus, sparkling with a host of jewels. But others say that he received the crown from Neptune's wife (Amphitrite) and bestowed it on Ariadne, when he received her hand as the meed of his valour and magnanimity. This crown, after Ariadne's death, Bacchus is said to have placed among the stars."

This story, the subject of one of Micon's pictures in the Theseum, is depicted on four ancient vases which have come down to us. (1) On a vase found at Caere and now in the Louvre, the youthful Theseus is represented clad in a short tunic standing with his right hand stretched out to clasp the offered hand of Amphitrite, who draped in long flowing robes is seated on the spectator's right, holding in her left hand the crown which she is about to bestow on Theseus. In the background, between Theseus and Amphitrite, stands Athena, depicted as a graceful and beautiful woman, wearing a helmet and the aegis, with

a spear in her left hand and an owl in her right. The scene is laid at the bottom of the sea, for three dolphins are swimming behind Theseus, and he is standing supported on the head and hands of Triton, who is represented with a bearded human head and the long scaly body and tail of a fish. The names of all the figures are painted beside them. The picture is signed by Euphronius, a famous vase-painter, of whose works we possess a considerable number. The drawing is extraordinarily refined and beautiful; indeed the picture is considered one of the finest Greek vase-paintings in existence. See De Witte, 'Les exploits de Thesée, coupe peinte par Euphronius,' *Monuments Grecs*, 1 (1872-1884), No. 1, pp. 5-15, with pl. 1; W. Klein, *Euphronios*,[2] pp. 182-192; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1793, fig. 1877; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 147-149; *id.*, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. xiv. (2) On a vase found at *Girgenti* and now in the National Library at Paris, young Theseus, clad in a short tunic, is depicted standing in front of and shaking hands with Poseidon, who is seated on a richly adorned chair holding his trident in his left hand. Behind Poseidon stands Amphitrite with the crown in her hands. No names are attached to the figures, and the picture has consequently been misinterpreted by Welcker and others. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 1 (1829-1833), tav. iii.; Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 3. pp. 404-409, with taf. xxv.; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1679 *sq.* (3) On a vase found in an Etruscan cemetery at Bologna and now in the Civic Museum of that city, Theseus, represented as a naked youth, is supported in the arms of Triton, a semi-human being with a long winding fish-tail. In front of Theseus is seated Amphitrite, richly clad and wearing a crown; in her hands is the wreath which she is about to give to Theseus, who is stretching out his hands to take it. Beside Amphitrite reclines Poseidon on a couch, holding his trident in his right hand. Other figures are depicted in the background. See G. Ghirardini, *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, 3 (1890), pp. 1-40, with tav. i. This last vase-painting is decidedly later in style than the two former. (4) On a red-figured vase, found at *Truvo*, Theseus, clad in a short tunic, is depicted shaking hands with Poseidon, who is standing with the trident in his left hand. Behind Theseus stands Amphitrite with the crown (?), and behind Poseidon stand Nereus (?) and a woman. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.*, Röm. Abtheilung, 9 (1894), p. 229 *sq.*, with pl. viii. The four paintings differ so much from each other that we cannot draw any inferences from them as to Micon's picture of the same subject in the Theseum. On none of them is the ring of Minos represented; whence Professor W. Klein has conjectured that there was the same omission in Micon's picture and that this is what Pausanias refers to in the remark that Micon had not painted the whole story (*Euphronios*, p. 190 *sq.*) Professor Klein thinks that a scene on the famous Portland vase, which is commonly interpreted as the meeting of Peleus with Thetis in presence of Poseidon, really represents the meeting of Theseus with Amphitrite and Poseidon at the bottom of the sea. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1801.

17. 4. **Of the death of Theseus many inconsistent tales are told** etc. From the following dissertation on the death of Theseus

it has been sometimes supposed that there was a picture of the death of Theseus in the Theseum. But there is no sufficient ground for the supposition. It was natural that Pausanias should touch on the legends of the hero's death in describing the chapel which contained his remains.

17. 4. **he was bound fast till Hercules brought him to the upper world.** The legend ran that Pirithous helped Theseus to carry off Helen from Sparta, and that Theseus in return undertook to assist Pirithous in carrying off Proserpine from the lower world. The two friends descended into hell but were caught and kept in durance there until Hercules, who had gone down to hell to fetch up the dog Cerberus, interceded for them with Pluto and procured the release either of both Theseus and Pirithous or of Theseus alone. See Diodorus, iv. 63; Hyginus, *Fab.* 79; Apollodorus, *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. R. Wagner (Leipsic, 1891), p. 58; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, 1. p. 181 *sq.*; cp. Paus. ix. 31. 5; x. 29. 9. The rationalistic version of the legend preferred by Pausanias is followed also by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 31 and 35) and by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* iv. 5).

17. 5. **a sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona.** The site of Dodona, long debated in modern times, was determined by the excavations of Mr. Carapanos, whose work on the subject (*Dodone et ses ruines*) was published in 1878. The ruins are situated about eleven miles to the south-west of *Jannina*, in the valley of *Tcharacovista*, a spacious and well-watered plain, rich in pasture and corn-land, and dotted with clumps of oaks and thickets where in spring wild flowers bloom in profusion. On the south the valley is closed by the picturesque and imposing heights of Mount *Olytzika*, the ancient Tomarus. The scenery has none of that solemn, severe, and melancholy cast which we are apt to associate with great religious capitals, and which impresses us so deeply at Delphi. On the contrary it is fresh, smiling, luxuriant. The ruins of the ancient town occupy the extremity of a flat ridge running out into the middle of the valley from the low green hills which divide it from the valley of *Jannina*. On the southern side of this low ridge are the remains of a large theatre scooped out in the side of the hill, and immediately to the east of the theatre is the sacred precinct, situated partly in the plain and partly on the lowest slope of the hill. It is of considerable extent and is surrounded by ancient Greek walls of ashlar masonry. Within this precinct, on a plateau at the foot of the hill, are the remains of the temple of Zeus and Dione. In Christian times the temple was converted into a church. When Wordsworth visited Dodona in 1832, fourteen columns, or fragments of them, were still standing in the temple. See Carapanos, 'L'oracle de Dodone,' in *Monuments Grecs*, vol. 1. No. 6 (1877), pp. 25-42, with the plan on pl. 4; Wordsworth, *Greece* (ed. 1882), p. 328 *sqq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pp. 228-232; Lolling, 'Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie,' p. 158; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 119-123.

17. 5. **an oak sacred to the god.** The Greek word which Pausanias here employs to designate the oak of Dodona is *phēgos*. Elsewhere (vii. 21. 2; viii. 23. 5) he calls the oak of Dodona *drūs*. The oak of Dodona is called *drūs* by Homer (*Od.* xiv. 328, xix. 297), but

phēgos by the author of the poem called *Eoeae* which was attributed to Hesiod (Schol. on Sophocles, *Trachin.* 1167); and Zeus himself received the epithet of *Phegonaios*, *i.e.* 'oaken' (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Δωδώνη). It is well known that this Greek word *phēgos* 'an oak' is etymologically identical with the Latin *fagus* 'a beech' as well as with the Slavonic *buky*, the German *buch*, and the English *beech*. The fact that the same word should mean 'oak' in Greek and 'beech' in most other European languages has given rise to various speculations. It is known that the beech has supplanted the oak in Denmark (Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 9; J. Geikie, *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 406 sq.) Hence Professor Max Müller conjectured that the word in question originally designated the oak, that "Teutonic and Italic Aryans witnessed the transition of the oak period into the beech period . . . and that while the Greeks retained *phēgos* in its original sense, the Teutonic and Italian colonists transferred the name, as an appellative, to the new forests that were springing up in their wild homes" (*Lectures on the Science of Language*,[6] 2. p. 260). Others prefer to suppose that the word originally meant 'beech' and was transferred to the oak by the Greeks when they migrated into Greece, where the beech is said not to be found south of a line drawn from the Ambracian to the Malean Gulf. See O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*,[2] p. 305 sq.; Isaac Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, p. 26 *sq.* But the Greeks were certainly acquainted with the beech, which they called ὀξύα, and which in the time of Theophrastus grew commonly in Arcadia as well as Macedonia (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iii. 10); and according to one authority forests of the red beech are still found in Aetolia (Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 383).

The rustling of the leaves of the sacred oak would seem to have been regarded as the voice of the god, and these mysterious utterances were interpreted by priestesses to the inquirers who came to consult the oracle. See Homer, *Od.* xiv. 327 *sq.*, xix. 299 *sq.*; Stephanus Byzantius and Suidas, *s.v.* Δωδώνη; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 233; Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 851. On the oracle of Dodona, see Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 2. pp. 277-331; and on the sacred oak, see Bötticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen*, pp. 111-115. It is said that out of the wood of the talking oak of Dodona was carved a talking image of Athena, which was fixed into the prow of the Argo (Apollodorus, i. 9. 16). Zeus of Dodona is represented in art, especially on coins, wearing a garland of oak leaves. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 231 *sqq.*; Fr. Lenormant, in *Gazette archéologique*, 3 (1877), p. 95 *sqq.*

17. 5. Cichyrus —— the Acherusian lake —— the river Acheron —— Cocytus. The ancient name of Cichyrus was Ephyra, according to Strabo (vii. p. 324). It was in Thesprotis, inland from the sea beside the Acherusian lake; the river Acheron flowed into the Acherusian lake or marsh, and then out of it into the sea. See Thucydides, i. 46; Strabo, *l.c.*; Scylax, *Periplus*, 30 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 34); Livy, viii. 24. 3. The Acheron is the river now known as the *Suliotiko* or *Phanariotiko* which comes

down from the mountains of the once famous *Suli* and winds, a sluggish, turbid, and weedy stream, through the wide plain of *Phanari*, traversing some swamps or meres before it reaches the sea. These swamps, which extend nearly to the sea and never dry up though they shrink in summer, are the Acherusian lake. The plain, where it is not too marshy, is covered with fields of maize and rice and meadows where herds of buffaloes browse. A few plane-trees and low tamarisks fringe the margin of the winding river. Otherwise the plain is mostly treeless. On its eastern side rise, like a huge grey wall, the wild and barren mountains of *Suli*.

Before entering the plain, on its passage from these rugged highlands, the Acheron flows through a profound and gloomy gorge, one of the darkest and deepest of the glens of Greece. On either side precipices rise sheer from the water's edge to a height of hundreds of feet, their ledges and crannies tufted with dwarf oaks and shrubs. Higher up, where the sides of the glen recede from the perpendicular, the mountains rise to a height of over three thousand feet, the black pine-woods which cling to their precipitous sides adding to the sombre magnificence of the scene. A precarious footpath leads along a perilous ledge high up on the mountain side, from which the traveller gazes down into the depths of the tremendous ravine, where the deep and rapid river may be seen rushing and foaming along, often plunging in a cascade into a dark abyss, but so far below him that even the roar of the water-fall is lost in mid-air before it can reach his ear.

At the point where the river emerges from the defile into the plain, there are a few cottages with some ruins of a church and fortress on the right bank. The place is called *Glyky*. The church seems to have occupied the site of an ancient temple; some fragments of granite columns and pieces of a white marble cornice, adorned with a pattern of acanthus leaves, may be seen lying about. Here, perhaps, was the seat of that Oracle of the Dead where the envoys of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, summoned up the ghost of his murdered wife Melissa (Herodotus, v. 92), and where Orpheus vainly sought to bring back his lost Eurydice from the world of shades (Paus. ix. 30. 6).

The Cocytus is now the *Vouvo* river. It rises at the head of a long valley near *Paramythia*, a town romantically straggling among gardens shaded by plane-trees and cypresses and refreshed by numerous streams and fountains, on the declivity of a steep hill, which is crowned by a ruined castle. Behind the castle soar the cliffs and fir-clad summits of a lofty mountain. From here the Cocytus flows southward through the valley between ranges of mountains bare and rocky in their middle slopes, but belted at their summits with pine-forests. At the end of the valley the Cocytus emerges on the plain of *Phanari* and joins the Acheron below the Acherusian lake, about three miles from the mouth of the river. In the valley the bed of the Cocytus is dry in summer, but in the plain it never lacks water all the year round. Its water is reputed unwholesome; hence the people of the villages which lie on the slopes of hills near it resort to wells or fetch water from the *Souliotiko* (Acheron). This bears out Pausanias's remark that the

water of Cocytus is "a joyless stream" or (more literally) "a most unpleasant water."

The site of Cichyrus (Ephyra) has not been determined. From Thucydides's description (i. 46), combined with that of Pausanias, we infer that it stood beside the Acherusian lake, near its southern extremity, where the Acheron issues from the lake to flow into the sea. Leake thought that some remains of walls of ancient polygonal masonry existing under a church of St. John, on the right bank of the *Vuvo* (Cocytus), about three or four miles from Port *Phanari*, might be those of Cichyrus. But these ruins are beside neither the Acheron nor the Acherusian lake. Bursian proposed to identify as Cichyrus the extensive ruins of an ancient Greek city which crown the summit and descend the slopes of an isolated rocky hill near the village of *Kastri*, towards the northern end of the Acherusian mere. The fortification walls are of well-jointed polygonal masonry, flanked with square towers at irregular intervals. But the situation of these ruins hardly answers to Thucydides's description. They are generally taken, with greater probability, to be those of the ancient Pandosia (Livy, viii. 24 ; Justin, xii. 2 ; Strabo, vi. p. 256, vii. p. 324).

Port *Phanari*, into which the united streams of the Acheron and Cocytus fall, was variously known in antiquity as Elaea (Scylax, *Periplus*, 30, in *Geogr. Graec. Minores*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 34) and the Sweet Harbour (Strabo, vii. p. 324). The latter name it owed doubtless, as Strabo supposed, to the quantity of fresh water poured into it by the Acheron and Cocytus. The entrance to the harbour is narrow, being nothing more than a gap between two lofty cliffs ; but a wide and tranquil bay lies within. In consequence of the amount of fresh water emptied into the harbour by the rivers, a strong current flows constantly out of the narrow entrance, rendering access difficult for sailing boats unless the wind is fair and strong. See *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 18 (1848), p. 142. The Sweet Harbour of the ancients is now sometimes identified with Port *Agio Janni* further to the north. (Cp. note on viii. 7. 2.) But Strabo expressly says that the Sweet Harbour was the one into which the Acheron flowed, *i.e.* it was Port *Phanari*, which besides answers his description better than *Agio Janni*.

See Leake, *Northern Greece*, 1. pp. 231-242 ; *id.*, 4. pp. 50-66 ; Wordsworth, *Greece*, pp. 332-339 ; Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, 1. pp. 27-29 ; Lolling, 'Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie,' p. 156 ; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 104-111.

17. 5. **Homer —— modelled his descriptions of hell on them** etc. See Homer, *Od.* x. 512 *sqq.*

17. 5. **the sons of Tyndareus marched against Aphidna and took it.** The story was that when Theseus carried off Helen, then a young girl, from Sparta, he placed her for safe-keeping at Aphidna or Aphidnae, a stronghold in Attica, under the charge of his mother Aethra. But while he went down to hell with Pirithous to win Proserpine for his friend, Helen's brothers Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndareus, marched against Aphidna, captured it, rescued their sister and carried off Theseus's mother Aethra a prisoner to Sparta. See Herodotus, ix. 73

Hellanicus, in Schol. on Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 144 and 242; Isocrates, x. 19; Diodorus, iv. 63; Strabo, ix. p. 396; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31, 32, 34; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xi. vol. 1. p. 179, ed. Dindorf; Hyginus, *Fab.* 79; Demosthenes, xviii. 38, p. 238; Paus. i. 41. 3 *sq.*; *id.*, ii. 22. 6; *id.*, iii. 17. 2; *id.*, iii. 18. 4 *sq.* As the situation of Aphidna was said to have been pointed out to the Dioscuri by the people of Decelea or their eponymous hero Decelus (Herodotus, ix. 73), we infer that Aphidna was near Decelea. It is now identified with the ruins of an ancient Greek fortress on the isolated hill of *Kotroni*, which rises from a little verdant plain enclosed by low wooded hills, about six miles to the east of Decelea and thirteen miles from Oropus. The hill is beautifully situated, overlooking the fine undulating and wooded country through which the *Charadra* (the river of *Marathona*) flows. Its western and southern sides are clothed with fine oaks. The upper summit of the hill, about 200 yards long from north to south by 100 yards across, is surrounded by a rough wall or dyke. See G. Finlay, 'On the position of Aphidna,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 3 (1839), pp. 396-405; Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, 1. p. 336; Baedeker,[3] p. 186; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 1; A. Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 34; Lolling, 'Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie,' p. 119; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 60. According to another version of the legend, the town in which Helen was left by Theseus and which was captured by Castor and Pollux, was not Aphidna but Athens itself. This was the version adopted by Alcman (Paus. i. 41. 4), Apollodorus (iii. 10. 7, and *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 58), and apparently by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xi. vol. 1. p. 179, ed. Dindorf) and the artists who depicted scenes from the legend on a Boeotian vase ('Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pl. 5; C. Robert, 'Homerische Becher,' *Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1890, p. 46 *sqq.*) and on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. 19, 3, where, however, it has been proposed to alter the text; see the Critical Note on the passage). But doubtless the scene of the legend was originally laid at Aphidna. If it had been originally laid at Athens, its subsequent transference to an obscure country town would be unintelligible. Whereas Athens naturally tended to absorb the legends which were originally told of places in outlying parts of Attica. Cp. J. Töpffer, in *Aus der Anomia*, p. 36 *sqq.*

17. 5. **brought back Menestheus and set him on the throne.** According to Plutarch, this Menestheus was a great grandson of Erechtheus. In Theseus's absence he wheedled the mob and roused the jealousy and dislike of the old nobility against Theseus, who had put down the petty kingships and lordships throughout Attica, uniting the whole country under one monarchy, which Menestheus represented as a tyranny. In consequence of these machinations Theseus, on his return to Athens, found discontent and sedition so rife among the people that in despair he quitted the country and retired to Scyros, after first secretly sending his children for safety to Elephenor in Euboea. Accordingly Menestheus ruled Athens as king, and the sons of Theseus served as private men

with Elephenor in the Trojan war. When Menestheus fell in the Trojan war, the sons of Theseus returned to Athens and recovered the kingdom. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32-35. The story, followed by Pausanias, that Menestheus was placed on the throne by the Dioscuri after they had captured Aphidna in Theseus's absence, is told also by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* v. 4). Plutarch only says that the invasion of Attica by the Dioscuri gave a great impetus to the revolution excited by Menestheus, and that Menestheus induced the people to welcome the Dioscuri to Athens (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32 *sq.*)

17. 6. Lycomedes plotted his death. It was said that Lycomedes, king of Scyros, either from jealousy of Theseus or a wish to gratify Menestheus, lured Theseus to the top of a precipice and pushed him over (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35).

17. 6. The dedication of a sacred close to Theseus by the Athenians was subsequent to the landing of the Medes etc. It was said that at the battle of Marathon the phantom of Theseus was seen fighting on the Athenian side (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35). Hence after the Persian wars, in the archonship of Phaedo (476/5 B.C.), the Athenians were bidden by the Delphic oracle to bring back the bones of Theseus and preserve them with marks of honour at Athens. Accordingly under the leadership of Cimon they conquered the island of Scyros, and brought back the hero's bones with much pomp and public rejoicing. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36; *id.*, *Cimon*, 8; Paus. iii. 3. 7; Diodorus, iv. 62. Scyros was conquered in the archonship of Demotion (470/69 B.C.), according to Diodorus (xi. 60); and the triumphal return of Cimon with the precious relics appears to have taken place in the archonship of Apsephion (469/8 B.C.) (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8). A difficulty has been made of the lapse of six years between the command of the oracle and the conquest of Scyros. Hence Bentley proposed to alter the text in Plutarch, *Theseus*, 36, so as to make Plutarch say that the oracle was given in the archonship of Apsephion (469/8 B.C.) instead of in that of Phaedo (476/5 B.C.) But the mere fact that, with our extremely imperfect knowledge of the history of these years, we are unable to account for the delay, seems hardly a sufficient reason for tampering with the text of Plutarch. See Bentley, *Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, p. 300 *sqq.* (ed. 1883); Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2. p. 36 (who alters the dates in what seems a very arbitrary way); Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2. pp. 144 *sq.*, 148.

18. 1. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri. This sanctuary was commonly called the Anaceum (Thucydides, viii. 93; Andocides, i. 45; Demosthenes, xlv. 80, p. 1125; Polyaenus, i. 21. 2; Lucian, *Piscator*, 42; Athenaeus, vi. p. 235 b; Harpocration, *s.vv.* Ἀνάκειον and Πολύγνωτος; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 214. line 12 *sq.*; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πολυγνώτου λαγώς; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 660, line 44), because the Dioscuri bore the title of Anaces or Anactes ('lords'), especially at Athens (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 33; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 5; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 96 *s.v.* Ἄνακοι, p. 98 *s.v.* Ἀνάκειον, p. 100 *s.v.* Ἀ[illegible]; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 21. 53; *C. I. A.* i. Nos. 34, 206, 210

C. I. A. ii. No. 699, col. 2, line 30 ; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 195, 290 ; *C. I. A.* iv. p. 63, No. 34 ; Paus. ii. 36. 6 ; *id.*, x. 38. 7). The situation of the Anaceum can be approximately determined, for it was near the Aglaurium or sanctuary of Aglaurus, which is known to have stood on the northern slope of the Acropolis (see note on § 2). The vicinity of the Anaceum to the Aglaurium is attested by Pausanias, who says (§ 2) that the Aglaurium was above the Anaceum, and by Polyaenus, who says (i. 21. 2) that Pisistratus, purposing to disarm the Athenians, assembled them in the Anaceum, from which their weapons were conveyed by his satellites to the sanctuary of Agraulus (Aglaurus). (For Aristotle's account of this disarmament of the Athenians by Pisistratus, see above, p. 146 *sq.*) The Anaceum, though lower than the Aglaurium, must still have been on the slope of the Acropolis ; for Lucian (*Piscator*, 42) represents the needy philosophers clambering up to the Acropolis like bees on ladders planted at the Anaceum, eager to receive a proffered dole ; and Demosthenes (xlv. 80, p. 1125) speaks of "that rascally slave from up yonder at the Anaceum." This last allusion is explained by a statement that slaves waiting to be hired stood about at the Anaceum (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 212, line 12 *sq.*) Hence the Anaceum was probably not far from the market-place. It would seem to have been to the west of the Aglaurium, since Pausanias, moving eastward along the northern side of the Acropolis, mentions the Anaceum before the Aglaurium. On the whole, we may be fairly certain that the Anaceum stood on the north-western slope of the Acropolis. The northern slope of the Acropolis has not yet (1894) been excavated.

The precinct must have been spacious, for we read of infantry piling arms in it (Thucydides, viii. 93) and of cavalry being ordered to muster there (Andocides, i. 45). Treasure lists, preserved to us in inscriptions, make mention of silver cups and water-jugs which were kept in the Anaceum (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 660, line 44 ; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 699, col. 2, line 30). An inscription set up in the Anaceum contained directions as to the proportions in which the flesh of sacrificed oxen was to be divided (Athenaeus, vi. p. 235 b). The priest of the Dioscuri also attended to the worship of a certain "hero on the roof" (*hērōs epitegios*), about whom nothing is known (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 290). It has been conjectured that the "hero on the roof" may have been Adonis, whose worship seems to have been commonly celebrated on the roofs of houses (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 389), or that he was a sort of patron saint of houses. The priest of the Dioscuri (Anaces) and of the "hero on the roof" had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 290).

An inscription found at the village of *Sfaka* near Elatea, in Phocis mentions an Anaceum in which persons who sacrificed were allowed or obliged to erect huts, but no woman might enter it (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 8 (1884), p. 216 *sq.* ; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 229 *bis* ; for more examples of this custom of encamping in temporary huts erected in a sacred precinct, see Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 389, line 11, No. 362, line 34 *sqq.*; Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 624, 658, with the Scholia ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 6. 2 ; Athenaeus, iv. p.

138 f; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 11 (1887), p. 380; cp. Paus. x. 32. 15-17).

On the Anaceum, cp. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), pp. 339-343; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 151-163.

18. 1. their sons. Their names were Anaxis and Mnasinus (ii. 22. 5), or Anogon and Mnesileos (Apollodorus, iii. 11. 2). They were represented on horseback in the reliefs on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (iii. 18. 13).

18. 1. a painting by Polygnotus of the marriage of the Dioscuri to the daughters of Leucippus. The daughters of Leucippus were named Hilaira (or Elaira) and Phoebe. They were betrothed to Lynceus and Idas, the sons of Aphareus. But the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), being invited to the wedding, carried off the damsels from Messene; and Pollux married Phoebe, while Castor married Hilaira. See Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 112; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3, iii. 11. 2. The rape of the daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri is depicted on some vase-paintings (see note on iii. 17. 3). Miss Harrison is of opinion that it was the rape and not the marriage which Polygnotus painted in the Anaceum (*Ancient Athens*, p. 161); Mr. A. S. Murray thinks it was the marriage and not the rape (*Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 370). If Pausanias had meant the rape, he would probably have said so, as he did in iii. 18. 11 when he had occasion to notice the representation of that subject on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae. The painting of a hare in this picture seems to have been especially famous; the creature looked as if it were alive (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πολυγνώτου λαγώς; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, 2. p. 768, No. 66). According to one account Polygnotus, who was a native of Thasos, received the citizenship of Athens in recognition of the merits of his paintings in the Anaceum and Theseum (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Πολύγνωτος, where for Θησαυρῷ we should read Θησείῳ or Θησέως ἱερῷ, as has been already pointed out, p. 156).

18. 1. a painting by Micon of those who sailed with Jason to the land of the Colchians. We do not know what scene from the tale of the Argonautic expedition Micon depicted in the Anaceum. From a remark made by Pausanias elsewhere (viii. 11. 3) we infer that the two daughters of Pelias, Asteropea and Antinoe, were painted in the picture. If this was so, the scene of the picture must have been laid at Iolcus either before the sailing or after the return of the expedition. Prof. C. Robert thinks that the subject may have been the mustering of the Argonauts before their departure. He interprets in this sense a scene on a red-figured Athenian vase, and conjectures that the vase-painting may have been a copy, more or less free, of Micon's picture. See *Annali dell Instituto*, 54 (1882), p. 273 *sqq*. Prof. W. Klein thinks that the subject of the picture was the funeral games celebrated by Acastus in honour of his father Pelias (*Archaeolog. epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 12 (1888), p. 98). This subject was carved on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (iii. 18. 16) and on the chest of Cypselus (v. 17. 9-11); and in the scene on the chest of Cypselus the daughters of Pelias were portrayed (v. 17. 11). From the

pains which, according to Pausanias, the painter bestowed on Acastus, it is natural to conclude that Acastus must have been one of the leading figures, if not indeed the most prominent figure, in the picture. And this he would almost necessarily have been if the subject of the picture were the funeral games held by him in memory of his father. On the whole, Prof. Klein's view seems to be the more probable of the two, and as such it is approved by Miss Harrison (*Ancient Athens*, p. 162), and Mr. A. S. Murray (*Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 370). Cp. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech Künstler*, 2. p. 22 *sq.*

18. 2. **a precinct of Aglaurus.** Herodotus tells us (viii. 53) that the Persians ascended the Acropolis on its front side, behind the gates and the road up to it, at a point where no one was on guard, and where no one would have expected that anybody could climb up; and he further defines the place by saying that it was "at the sanctuary of Cecrops's daughter Aglaurus, though the ground is there precipitous." A doubt might be and has been raised as to which was the side of the Acropolis referred to by Herodotus as the front side. This doubt is removed by two passages of Euripides which prove conclusively that the sanctuary of Aglaurus was on the north side of the Acropolis, and that consequently when Herodotus said "the front side" he meant the north side. Euripides describes Pan as piping in his cave beside the Long Rocks where Agraulus (Aglaurus) and her sisters danced to the music of his pipes on the green sward before the temples of Athena (Euripides, *Ion*, 493 *sqq.*) Thus the poet places the sanctuary of Aglaurus among the Long Rocks and near the cave of Pan. In another passage (*Ion*, 8 *sqq.*) Euripides expressly defines the Long Rocks as the rocks on the north side of the hill of Pallas, *i.e.* of the Acropolis; and the cave of Pan is known to have been the grotto among the rocks at the north-western corner of the Acropolis (see i. 28. 4 note). Now about seventy yards to the east of the cave of Pan, and about sixty-three yards west of the Erechtheum, there is a remarkable cavern among the Long Rocks on the northern side of the Acropolis. A staircase, of which some steps are still in existence, led down into it from the Acropolis. The lower end of the staircase is opposite to, and a little above, the modern chapel of the Seraphim. Probably this cavern was within the precinct of Aglaurus, to which the staircase gave direct access from the Acropolis. It may have been by this staircase that the Persians ascended the Acropolis; but it may also have happened that the staircase, though not guarded (Herodotus tells us that no guards were posted here), was barricaded, and that the enemy clambered up the rocks, which are here accessible. It follows from this that Herodotus and probably the ancients in general regarded the north side of the Acropolis as the front. This is confirmed by other considerations, particularly the situation of the Erechtheum on the northern edge of the Acropolis, and the number of venerable structures which stood on its northern slope. Indeed, this side of the hill is said to be still commonly called the front of the Acropolis by persons, both natives and strangers, who are unaware that any question has been raised on the subject. See Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 264 *sq.*;

Bötticher, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), p. 360 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 301 *sq.*

After Pisistratus had succeeded by an artifice in disarming the Athenians in the neighbouring Anaceum, his agents conveyed the weapons into the sanctuary of Agraulus (Polyaenus, i. 21. 2, who instead of saying that they carried the weapons *down* to the sanctuary of Agraulus, should have said that they carried them *up*, since the Agraulium was on higher ground than the Anaceum). On this transaction see above, pp. 146 *sq.*, 165.

In the sanctuary of Agraulus (Aglaurus) the Athenian lads (*ephebi*) took the oath of loyalty to the state; the divine personages whom they called to witness the oath were Agraulus, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone. See Pollux, viii. 105; Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xliii. 48; Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 76; Demosthenes, xix. 303, p. 438; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 15; and on representations of the ceremony on vase-paintings, see A. Conze, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 40 (1868), pp. 264-267, with tav. d' agg. H, I. An inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 1369) mentions a priestess of Aglaurus; and from another inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 372) we infer that Demeter the Nursing-mother (*kourotrophos*) had an altar within the precinct of Aglaurus which was attended to by a priest or priestess who had a special seat in the theatre of Dionysus.

On the sanctuary of Aglaurus, see Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 262-267; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 219-221; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 72-74; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 172; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 320; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 163 *sqq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 49, 101.

18. 2. **Athena put Erichthonius in a chest** etc. Erichthonius was said to have been born from the ground, Hephaestus being his father. On his birth Athena placed him in a chest, and gave him in charge to the three daughters of Cecrops, as Pausanias here relates, with orders not to open the chest till she came back. She then repaired to Pellene to fetch a mountain with which she proposed to buttress up the Acropolis of Athens. Two of the sisters, however, moved by curiosity opened the chest and saw Erichthonius with two serpents coiled about him. A crow flew to Athena and told her that Erichthonius was exposed to view. At hearing this news Athena dropt the mountain which she was carrying; it has remained ever since on the spot where it fell, and is the high, peaked, rocky hill of Lycabettus which dominates Athens on the north. And for the ill tidings he had brought her, Athena forbade the crow ever to light on the Acropolis of Athens. Such is the story as told by Amelesagoras, quoted by Antigonus Carystius, *Hist. Mirab.* 12. The story is also told more or less fully, with variations of detail, by Euripides, *Ion*, 20 *sqq.*, 267-274; Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6; Ovid, *Met.* ii. 552 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; *id.*, *Astronomica*, ii. 13; Fulgentius, ii. 14; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 17. In some versions of the tale all the three sisters are said to have disobeyed Athena's command in opening the chest (so Euripides and Hyginus); in other versions only two of the sisters were disobedient, namely Aglaurus, or Agraulus as the name is sometimes given, and

Herse (according to Pausanias and Apollodorus), or Aglaurus and Pandrosus (according to Amelesagoras, *l.c.* and Athenagoras, *Supplic. pro Christ.* 1); while according to Ovid only one of the sisters (namely Aglaurus) had the curiosity to pry into the box. In some versions of the story what the maidens saw on opening the chest was the infant Erichthonius in human form, with one or two serpents coiled about him (so Euripides, Apollodorus, Amelesagoras, Ovid, Lactantius, Fulgentius, *ll.cc.*, Augustine, *De civ. dei*, xviii. 12); according to others the upper part of Erichthonius was human, but the lower part was serpentine (Schol. on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 d; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 371 *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 360; Servius and Philargyrius on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; cp. *id.*, *Astronom.* ii. 13); according to others Erichthonius was a serpent, pure and simple (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 9; cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* vii. 24). This last would seem to have been the version followed by Pausanias, for though in the present passage he makes no mention of a serpent or serpents, yet in describing the statue of Virgin Athena in the Parthenon he remarks that the serpent beside her was probably Erichthonius (i. 24. 7). He may well have been right. In the oldest form of the legend Erichthonius or Erechtheus (for the two were originally identical, cp. Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 371 *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς) was probably nothing but the sacred serpent of Athena which lived in the Erechtheum, was considered the guardian of the Acropolis, and was fed with honey-cakes once a month. During the Persian invasion a report, circulated according to Plutarch by the wily Themistocles, that the honey-cake set out as usual for the sacred serpent had been left untasted, was one of the strongest motives which induced the Athenians to abandon Athens to the enemy; they thought that the serpent, and with it the goddess, had forsaken the city. See Herodotus, viii. 41; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 758 *sq.*, with the Scholium; Hesychius, *s.vv.* δράκαυλος and οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν; Suidas, *s.v.* Δράκαυλος; *Etymol. Magn.* p. 287 *s.v.* δράκαυλος; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* i. 357, p. 1422, line 7 *sq.* If we may trust Philostratus (*Imag.* ii. 17. 6) the sacred serpent continued to live on the Acropolis down to his time (third century A.D.) According to one story (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* vii. 24) Athena herself was the serpent's mother. The traditions that Erichthonius was half a man and half a serpent, or merely a man guarded by a serpent, represent the usual successive stages of popular belief through which an animal god passes in the course of sloughing off his animal form and donning that of a man.

On a vase found at Camirus in Rhodes, and now in the British Museum, is depicted the scene of the finding of Erichthonius in the chest. The chest stands on a pile of rocks, probably representing the Acropolis. The lid, ornamented with a wreath of olive, lies on the rocks; and from the open chest appears the boy Erichthonius. The head and tail of the serpent curl above the chest. On one side Athena, with her helmet in one hand and a lance in the other, gazes with

surprise at the child and the serpent ; on the other side the two naughty sisters are fleeing in consternation. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 51 (1879), tav. d' agg. F, with the remarks of R. Engelmann, pp. 62-66, and of H. Heydemann, pp. 112-119 ; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1307 ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. xxxii. Representations of the birth of Erichthonius occur on vase-paintings and reliefs. The goddess Earth, the upper part only of her body appearing above the ground, is depicted holding up the infant Erichthonius to Athena who receives him in her arms. Sometimes Cecrops appears in the background, the lower part of his body being that of a serpent. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 1. plates x. and xii. ; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xlvi. No. 211 a, *id.* 2. pl. xxxiv. Nos. 400, 401 ; E. Curtius, 'Die Geburt des Erichthonios,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 30 (1873), pp. 51-57, with pl. 63 ; A. Flasch, 'Tazza Cornetana rappresentante la nascita di Erichthonios,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 49 (1877), pp. 418-446 ; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1305 ; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 492 ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. xxviii. *sq.* In the case of some of these representations, however, it is doubtful whether the scene depicted is the birth of Erichthonius or the birth of Dionysus. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, pp. 60-82 ; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 190 *sqq.* The story of the birth of Erichthonius has been variously interpreted by W. Mannhardt (*Die Korndämonen*, p. 33) and by Mr. Aug. Mommsen (*Heortologie*, p. 5 *sqq.*), as a mythical way of describing the growth of the corn, and by Miss Harrison (*Ancient Athens*, p. xxvi. *sqq.*) as a fiction devised to explain the ceremony performed by the two maidens called the Arrephori (Paus. i. 27. 3). A story closely resembling it is told in Java. See *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 14de Jaargang (1852), Tweede Deel, p. 396.

18. 2. **It was at this point that the Medes ascended** etc. On the approach of the Persian host under Xerxes the Delphic oracle announced to the Athenians that when all else was lost a wooden wall would save them. Themistocles explained the 'wooden wall' to be their ships and encouraged the Athenians to abandon Athens and meet the Persians at sea. His advice was taken, and the great naval victory of Salamis justified it and fulfilled the prophecy. But a handful of the Athenians, interpreting the oracle literally, stayed behind and entrenched themselves on the Acropolis behind a wooden barricade, which they erected on the western face of the hill. The Persians attacked the barricade from the Areopagus but were repulsed. At last a detachment of them succeeded in ascending the unguarded northern side of the Acropolis, at the sanctuary of Aglaurus. They opened the gates to their friends, and soon all the Athenians who did not seek death by leaping from the rock were put to the sword. See Herodotus, vii. 141-143, viii. 51-53.

18. 3. **the Prytaneum.** The Prytaneum of a Greek city was its town-hall or *Hôtel de Ville*. But it was only a capital city that had a Prytaneum. Hence when Theseus, king of Athens, united Attica under a single monarchy, each petty town, hitherto independent, had to abolish its Prytaneum and henceforth the Pry-

taneum of Athens was the Prytaneum of Attica (Thucydides, ii. 15; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24). The essential feature of the Prytaneum was its hearth, which was regarded and spoken of as "the hearth of the city" or "the common hearth" (Pollux, i. 7, ix. 40; Aristotle, *Pol.* vi. 8, p. 1322 b, 28; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vi. 8. 1; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 467, line 6, No. 468, line 5, No. 469, line 5, No. 470, line 6, No. 471, line 6 *sq.*, No. 605). A perpetual fire burned in the Prytaneum, either on an open hearth or in the form of a lamp (see note on viii. 53. 9). From this perpetual fire Athenian colonists carried fire with them to their new homes (Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3. p. 48, ed. Dindorf; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 694, *s.v.* πρυτανεῖα; cp. Herodotus, i. 146). An image of the goddess Hestia ('hearth'), the counterpart of the Roman Vesta, stood in the Prytaneum at Athens, as Pausanias here tells us. Whether such an image was a regular adjunct of a Greek Prytaneum, we do not know. But we learn from Athenaeus (iv. p. 149 d) that at Naucratis in Egypt the birthday of Hestia of the Prytaneum (Hestia Prytanis) was celebrated by a feast in the Prytaneum. Hestia was also worshipped on the Acropolis at Athens, as we learn from an inscription. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), p. 321 *sq.* Before Solon's time the chief archon resided in the Prytaneum (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 3). Foreign ambassadors were entertained at the public expense in the Prytaneum, and the same privilege was granted, either on special occasions or for life, to citizens who had rendered great services to the state in peace or war (see the inscription quoted in *Hermes*, 22 (1887), p. 561; Pollux, ix. 40; Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 124 *sq.*; *id.*, *Knights*, 709; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 167; Demosthenes, vii. 20, p. 81; *id.*, xix. 31, p. 350, and 234, p. 414; *id.*, xxiii. 130, p. 663; *id.*, l. 13, p. 1210; Aeschines, ii. 80; Dinarchus, i. 43 and 101). When Socrates was tried for his life and was asked what but death he had deserved at the hands of his country, he replied, with perfect justice, that he deserved to be maintained at the public expense in the Prytaneum (Plato, *Apology*, p. 36; Cicero, *De Oratore*, i. 54. 232). Sometimes the privilege was further conferred in perpetuity on the eldest male descendants of very distinguished men, as on the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton (Isaeus, v. 47; Dinarchus, i. 101), on the physician Hippocrates and his descendants (Soranus, *Life of Hippocrates*, 2, in *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 451), on Demosthenes and his posterity ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 847 d, 850), on a certain Phaedrus and his descendants (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 331, line 82; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 162), and on a man of Delphi named Cleomantes and his descendants for ever (Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 87). Decrees of the Athenian people containing invitations to dine in the Prytaneum are often recorded in inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 3, 38, 52 c, 55, 86, 115, 605). The stewards of the games in the Panathenaic festival had their meals provided for them in the Prytaneum during the continuance of the festival (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 62). The regular rations served out in the Prytaneum would seem to have been of a very frugal sort; Solon ordained that they should consist of a barley-loaf on

common days and a wheaten loaf on festivals (Athenaeus, iv. p. 137 e). On this custom of providing meals at the public expense in the Prytaneum, see R. Schöll, 'Die Speisung im Prytaneion zu Athen,' *Hermes*, 6 (1872), pp. 14-54.

On certain occasions Castor and Pollux were feasted in the Prytaneum; the banquet spread for them consisted of cheese, barley-cakes, and leeks (Athenaeus, iv. p. 137 e). The lads (*epheboi*) offered sacrifices on the public hearth in the Prytaneum (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 467, 468, 469, 470, 471).

Besides the statues mentioned by Pausanias in the Prytaneum there was one of Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes: it represented him with a sword girt on his thigh, and stood first on the right as you entered the apartment which contained the public hearth ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 847 c d e). Near the Prytaneum stood a statue of the goddess of Good Luck; it was so beautiful that a young man is said to have fallen violently in love with it (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 39).

With regard to the situation of the Prytaneum, we learn from Pausanias that it was near the Agraulium, which, as we have seen (p. 167), stood on the northern slope of the Acropolis. As Pausanias is going from west to east and mentions the Prytaneum after the Agraulium, the Prytaneum was probably east of the Agraulium. It was on high ground, for after describing it Pausanias speaks (§ 4) of going thence to the lower parts of the city. On the northern slope of the Acropolis, between the chapels of St. Saviour (*Sotir*) and St. Simeon, at the back of the chapel of St. Nicholas, K. Bötticher found the rock cut and smoothed in two places, evidently to receive the foundations of two buildings. Each cutting was 70 to 80 feet long and ran in a direction from north-west to south-east. It is possible that, as Bötticher supposed, one of these two buildings was the Prytaneum. See K. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), p. 359 *sq.* Professor E. Curtius holds that the Prytaneum of Athens was originally on the Acropolis, but was afterwards transferred to the south side of the city, and later still to the north side of the Acropolis, where Pausanias found it (E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, 2. p. 55 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 51, 60, 244 *sq.*, 302). This theory is accepted by Professor R. Schöll (*Hermes*, 6 (1872), p. 18 *sqq.*), Mr. G. Hagemann (*De Graecorum prytaneis*, p. 22 *sqq.*), and Mr. Marindin (article 'Prytaneum' in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*,[3] 2. p. 514). But it is a mere theory, absolutely destitute of evidence. There is nothing whatever to prove that the Prytaneum ever occupied any other site than the one where Pausanias found it, on the northern slope of the Acropolis. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 462 *sqq.*

Near the Prytaneum was the Bucoleum, in which the magistrate called the king resided before the time of Solon (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 3; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 449, line 19 *sqq.*; Suidas, *s.v.* ἄρχων), and in which the sacred marriage of the king's wife to Dionysus continued to take place down at least to the fourth century B.C. (Aristotle, *l.c.*) It has been conjectured that the sacred ploughing called "the yoking of the ox" (*bouzugies*) took place at the Bucolium

Plutarch, *Conjug. Praecept.* 42). Beside the Bucolium was the Basileum or Palace where the officials called the Kings of the Tribes held their sittings (Pollux, viii. 111). Lastly, at the back of the Prytaneum was a place called "the field of Famine"; it was said to have been dedicated to Famine at a time when Athens was suffering from hunger (Zenobius, iv. 93; Diogenianus, vi. 13; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 278, line 4 *sqq.*; cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* Λιμοῦ πεδίον).

On the Prytaneum, see Dyer, *Athens*, p. 263 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 221 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 172; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 320; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 165-168. On Greek Prytaneums in general, see G. Hagemann, *De Graecorum prytaneis* (Vratislaviae, 1881); J. G. Frazer, in *Journal of Philology*, 14 (1885), p. 145 *sqq.* As to the court of justice held at the Prytaneum, see i. 28. 10 note.

18. 3. the laws of Solon are inscribed. The copies of the laws of Solon preserved in the Prytaneum were engraved on quadrangular wooden tablets called *axŏnes* which were fitted together and turned on pivots, so that they could be shifted round at the reader's convenience. Each tablet was engraved on both sides. See Polemo, in Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἄξονι; *Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Κύρβεις, p. 547. It is said that these tablets were first set up on the Acropolis but were afterwards transferred to the Prytaneum, where they could be more easily inspected (Pollux, viii. 128). In the time of Plutarch only scanty fragments of these old tablets remained in the Prytaneum (Plutarch, *Solon*, 25). It is to these fragments, doubtless, that Pausanias here refers. He does not say that the tablets were entire in his time, as Professor von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff insinuates or rather asserts (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 208). Cp. Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 28 (1882), p. 42. We have seen that copies of Solon's laws, engraved on tablets called *kurbeis*, stood in the Royal Colonnade (note on i. 3. 1). The question whether the *kurbeis* resembled the *axŏnes* in shape and material has been much debated, and a final decision of the question seems, with the evidence at our disposal, scarcely possible. See Polemo, ed. Preller, pp. 87-91; V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, pp. 413-415; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 535 *sq.*, note; K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 87 *sqq.*; G. Busolt, *Griech. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer*,[2] § 131; Sandys, on Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, p. 23 *sq.*

In a Russian court of justice at Dorpat the traveller Adolf Erman observed, on the table at which the chief functionaries sat, certain "triangular prisms, about a foot high and five inches wide, turning on a vertical axis, and inscribed on their oblong, upright surfaces with maxims of law. . . . These inscribed tablets are here named Mirrors of Justice: they are always kept carefully covered, except when the court is sitting. In former times, while the code of the Sclavonians was short and simple, it was all inscribed on the Mirrors, but at present these contain in general only old legal maxims relating to the duties of the judge" (Ad. Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, 1. p. 28 *sq.*) Erman compared these tablets with the *axŏnes* which contained Solon's laws.

18. 3. the pancratiast Autolycus. Cp. ix. 32. 8 note. The

statue was by Lycius, a son and pupil of Myron (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 79; cp. note on v. 22. 3).

18. 3. **the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles.** In the theatre at Athens there were statues of Miltiades and Themistocles, and near them a statue of a Persian prisoner (Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3, p. 535 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf). Again, in the temple of Artemis Aristobule at Athens there was a statuette of Themistocles down to the time of Plutarch, who inferred from the likeness that the heroic soul of Themistocles must have been mirrored in his face (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 22). The practice, here referred to by Pausanias, of altering the inscriptions on the pedestals of old Greek statues so as to pass off the statues for portraits of later personages, especially Romans, appears to have been common under the Roman dominion. Cp. Paus., i. 2. 4; ii. 9. 8; ii. 17. 3; viii. 9. 9. We hear of a statue of Alcibiades which was inscribed with the name of Ahenobarbus (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxvii. vol. 2. p. 304, ed. Dindorf), and of statues of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens which were inscribed with the name of Mark Antony (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 60). On the Acropolis at Athens, beside the statue of Health, there was a portrait statue of the mother of Isocrates, but the inscription was afterwards altered ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 839 d). Cicero, writing to Atticus (vi. 1. 26), says that he loved Athens and should like to be commemorated there, but that he hates the practice of altering the inscriptions on statues. The same practice is denounced by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxxi. vol. 1, p. 346 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf). Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 679 note 1; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 363.

18. 4. **Going thence to the lower parts of the city we come to a sanctuary of Serapis.** Leaving the Prytaneum on the northern slope of the Acropolis, Pausanias now proceeds eastward as far as the stadium (i. 18. 4-i. 19. 6). He then returns to the Prytaneum and, starting from it a second time, skirts the eastern and southern faces of the Acropolis till he reaches the entrance to the Acropolis on the western side of the hill (i. 20. 1-i. 22. 4).

Hence from the order of Pausanias's description we should infer that the sanctuary of Serapis was situated somewhere to the north-east of the Acropolis. The inference is to some extent borne out by the discovery, in this region, of monuments relating to the worship of Serapis. Thus in laying the foundations of the new Metropolitan Church, which stands to the north-east of the Acropolis, an inscription was found recording the dedication of the statue of a girl who had acted as basket-bearer in the worship of Serapis (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 923). Again, another inscription, said to have been found in a church at the northern foot of the Acropolis, contains a dedication to Serapis and Isis (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1612).

Other Athenian inscriptions attest the worship of Serapis without throwing light on the exact site of his sanctuary. Thus, an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 140) records a dedication by a priest of Isis and Serapis, but the place where the inscription was originally found seems to be unknown. The same is true of another inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 617)

which proves that there was a regularly organised society for the worship of Serapis at Athens with treasurer, secretary, etc. On the other hand, a small altar dedicated to Serapis was found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius on the south side of the Acropolis (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 145 a). In the Attic inscription of Roman date, which records the restoration of many sanctuaries, and which has been often referred to above, the name of Serapis occurs in a mutilated passage (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 170).

18. 4. **Of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis the most famous is at Alexandria.** The Serapeum or sanctuary of Serapis at Alexandria was a vast structure situated at the headland of Rhacotis, near the gardens and tombs of the necropolis, but divided from them by a canal (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 84; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 48, p. 42, ed. Potter; Strabo, xvii. p. 795). Here Serapis was worshipped with an almost frantic vehemence of devotion (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 13). Achilles Tatius (v. 2) has described a torch-light festival of Serapis at Alexandria at which, though it was evening and the sun had set, the multitudinous glare of flambeaus lit up the city with the brightness of the sun. The various legends as to the foundation of this great sanctuary of Serapis are told by Tacitus (*Hist.* iv. 83 *sq.*), Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*, 28), and Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iv. 48, p. 42 *sq.*, ed. Potter). According to Tacitus, the story told by the Egyptian priests was that Ptolemy I., king of Egypt, in consequence of a vision vouchsafed to him in a dream, caused the image of the god to be fetched from a temple near Sinope, where the deity had been worshipped from of old as Jupiter Dis (Pluto). With this the story told by Plutarch (*l.c.*) substantially coincides. According to Clement of Alexandria (*l.c.*) it was not Ptolemy I. but Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) who fetched the image of Serapis from Sinope. Others said that the image was brought from Seleucia in Syria (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 84; Clement of Alex. *l.c.*); others that it came from Memphis (Tacitus, *l.c.*). The sanctuary of Serapis at Alexandria suffered in a fire (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 53, p. 47, ed. Potter). There are said to have been forty-two sanctuaries of Serapis in Egypt (Aristides, *Or.* viii. vol. 1. p. 96, ed. Dindorf), all of them situated outside the walls of cities (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 7. 15). As to the true character of Serapis, see the next note.

18. 4. **the oldest is at Memphis** etc. What the Greeks called the Serapeum or sanctuary of Serapis at Memphis was nothing more than the cemetery of the famous sacred bulls, which from the earliest times had been venerated as the chief deity of the city. The sacred bull for the time being was called Hapi by the Egyptians, Apis by the Greeks. Now according to an Egyptian doctrine every dead man and every dead sacred animal becomes an Osiris. Hence the dead bull Apis became an Osiris-Apis or, more correctly, Osor-Hapi, which the Greeks corrupted into Serapis or Sarapis. (The Greeks commonly wrote the name Sarapis, the Romans Serapis.) See Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*,[4] p. 30 *sqq.*; Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegyptier*, pp. 96, 99 *sqq.*; Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, p. 174; Lafaye, *Histoire du*

culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte, p. 16 sq. Some of the ancients were aware that Serapis was nothing but the dead Apis and they rightly identified the latter part (-apis) of the word with the name of the sacred bull of Memphis; but they wrongly derived the first part of the word (Sar- or Ser-) from the Greek [illegible], 'a coffin.' See Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 106, p. 383, ed. Potter; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 29; Varro, in Augustine, *De civ. dei*, xviii. 5.

The Serapeum or burying-place of the sacred bulls at Memphis was situated in a district where the sand, blown by the winds, gathered in such heaps that, when Strabo visited the place about the beginning of our era, some of the Sphinxes were already half buried in it, while of others only the heads protruded above the shifting waste (Strabo, xvii. p. 807). The cemetery was discovered by Mariette in 1851. It consists of a long gallery hewn in the living rock with a series of chambers or mortuary chapels opening off it on either side. Each of these chambers contains an enormous sarcophagus, mostly hewn out of a single block of granite or basalt, and weighing on an average about 69 tons. In these sarcophaguses the remains of the sacred bulls were found. In one chamber, which had remained absolutely untouched since antiquity, the footprints of the last Egyptian who had trodden it, some 3000 years before, were clearly discernible. Each mortuary chapel, after receiving the dead body of the bull, was walled up; but in the gallery outside, or built into the wall which closed the chapel, were found many slabs inscribed with the names and prayers of pilgrims who had come thither to pay the last honours to the dead god. See Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*,[4] p. 31 *sq.*; Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Aegyptier*, p. 100 *sq.*; Rawlinson, on Herodotus, iii. 29. A view of one of these mortuary chapels of Apis is given in Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, I. p. 313, fig. 198. The burial of one of these bulls was a ceremonious and costly affair (Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 35; Diodorus, i. 84). Bronze gates, called the gates of Lamentation and Oblivion, were thrown open to admit the corpse, and grated harsh thunder as they revolved on their hinges (Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 29; cp. Diodorus, i. 96. 9). The last Apis of which we have record was in the reign of the emperor Julian (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 14. 6) On Apis see Wiedemann, on Herodotus, ii. 153. On the representations of Serapis in Greek art, see Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2. pp. 305-321; A. Michaelis, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 6 (1885), pp. 287-318.

18. 4. **a place where —— Pirithous and Theseus covenanted** etc. The covenant was that they should carry off Helen from Sparta, that they should then draw lots for her, and that he to whom she fell should aid the other in winning a wife. See Diodorus, iv. 62; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31; Apollodorus, *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 58; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, 1. p. 181 *sq.* According to Diodorus and Plutarch the covenant was not made until after Helen had been carried off by the two friends. Cp. i. 17. 4 note. There was a place in Athens near the Theseum called Horcomosium or "place of swearing an oath"; it was said to have been so named

because on that spot Theseus had sworn peace with the Amazons (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25), but it may have been identical with the place where Theseus and Pirithous were said to have made their covenant. The latter spot is referred to by Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 1593 *sq.*; see note on i. 28. 7).

18. 5. **a temple of Ilithyia.** The site of this temple is not known. From the order in which Pausanias mentions it we should infer that it lay to the north-east of the Acropolis, somewhere between the Prytaneum and the Olympieum. This is to some extent confirmed by the discovery, near the modern Metropolitan church, of the base of the statue of a certain woman Chrysippe, which, as we learn from the inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1586), had been dedicated by the woman's father to Ilithyia. Inscribed bases of other statues dedicated to Ilithyia have been found at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 925, 926, 836 a). The last of these (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 836 a) was found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius, on the south side of the Acropolis. Besides this temple in the city, Ilithyia had a sanctuary in the suburb of Agrae, to the south-east of Athens, as we learn from an inscription on one of the seats in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 319). An inscription on a small column of Hymettian marble, which was found on the eastern side of the Illissus, near the spring Callirrhoe, contains a dedication to Ilithyia by a certain woman named Philumene, wife of Amphimachus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1590); the votive offering to which this inscription refers was probably set up in the sanctuary of Ilithyia in Agrae. Isaeus (v. 39) speaks of a woman sitting publicly in the sanctuary of Ilithyia; which of her sanctuaries the orator refers to we do not know, but probably the reference is to the one in the city.

18. 5. **to have come from the Hyperboreans to help Latona in her pangs.** See the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, 97-119.

18. 5. **the Delians —— sacrifice to her, and sing a hymn of Olen in her honour.** Cp. viii. 21. 3; ix. 27. 2; x. 5. 7 *sq.*; Herodotus, iv. 35.

18. 5. **The Cretans believe that Ilithyia was born at Amnisus.** Homer mentions a grotto of Ilithyia at Amnisus (*Od.* xix. 188); Strabo (x. p. 476) speaks of her sanctuary there.

18. 5. **The Athenians are the only people whose wooden images of Ilithyia are draped to the tips of the feet.** When Pausanias wrote this he had probably not visited Aegium in Achaia, where he found a wooden statue of Ilithyia draped to the feet in a fine robe (vii. 23. 5). Certain it is that his description of Achaia was written after his description of Attica. See vii. 20. 6 note. Cp. Schubart, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 9 (1851), p. 294.

18. 5. **the oldest was brought by Erysichthon from Delos.** Plutarch, quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* iii. 8), says that Erysichthon carried the first wooden image to Apollo at Delos in the course of his sacred embassy. Erysichthon was also said to have founded the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 2. p. 28, ed. Schöne). Phanodemus mentioned the visit of Erysichthon to Delos (Athenaeus, ix. p. 392 d); and Pausanias says (i. 31. 2) that

Erysichthon died at sea on his way back from Delos, after the sacred embassy.

18. 6. the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. The Olympieum or sanctuary of Olympian Zeus is the spacious artificial platform situated to the south-east of the Acropolis, on the right bank of the Ilissus, close to the Callirrhoe or Enneacrunus spring. Of the temple of Olympian Zeus which occupied the centre of the platform, fifteen gigantic Corinthian columns still stand and form one of the most conspicuous features in views of Athens. The identification of these splendid ruins, by far the most imposing in scale of all the remains of ancient Athens, is beyond doubt. Their situation answers to the statement of Thucydides (ii. 15) that the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus was to the south of the Acropolis, and to the statement of Hierocles (*De febri equi*, in *Medicinae Veterinariae libri duo* (Basileae, 1537), p. 4), that the temple of Zeus was near the Enneacrunus. Further, the ruined temple agrees with Vitruvius's description (iii. 2. 8; vii. Praef. §§ 15 and 17), having been of the Corinthian order, surrounded by a double colonnade (dipteral), and with eight columns at each end (octostyle). Lastly, Pausanias tells us that the sacred enclosure was full of statues of Hadrian: and among the ruins in question have been found a number of bases which, from the inscriptions on them, are known to have supported statues of Hadrian (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 479, 480, 481, 482, 484, 486, 487, 491, 494).

The original sanctuary of Olympian Zeus seems to have been one of the oldest in Athens, for Thucydides mentions it (ii. 15) as a proof that the ancient city extended chiefly to the south of the Acropolis; and Pausanias (i. 18. 8) ascribes the foundation of the original sanctuary to Deucalion. Remains of this oldest sanctuary have been brought to light in recent years, as we shall see presently, by Mr. Penrose. But the first to set about the construction of a temple on a grand scale was Pisistratus, probably about the year 530 B.C. He employed four architects, Antistates, Callaeschros, Antimachides, and Pormos (Vitruvius, vii. Praef. 15). According to Aristotle (*Politics*, v. 11. 8 *sq.*) the building of this great temple was a device of the tyrant to keep the people busy and divert their minds from revolutionary projects. In this respect Aristotle compares the temple to the pyramids of Egypt and the architectural works undertaken by the tyrants of Corinth and Samos. The death of Pisistratus interrupted the work, and it long remained unfinished. At length, about 174 B.C., Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, undertook to complete it, or rather to build it afresh on a more magnificent scale than ever, at his own expense. He employed a Roman architect named Cossutius, who planned the temple as a Corinthian *dipteros* with eight columns at each of the narrow ends. Cossutius also designed the epistyle, and all the ornaments. The building, though it again remained unfinished, must have been far advanced; for Vitruvius praises the skill and science of the architect and the noble style of his work, observing that its magnificence was acknowledged not only by the multitude but by connoisseurs. See Vitruvius, iii. 2. 8, vii. Praef. 15 and 17; Velleius Paterculus, i. 10. The temple is also cited by Livy (xli. 20. 8) and Athenaeus (v. p. 194 a) as a proof of the

splendid munificence of King Antiochus Epiphanes; Livy says it was the only temple on earth of a magnitude suitable to the greatness of the god. The pseudo-Dicaearchus (i. 1, in *Geogr. Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 98) speaks of the temple as half finished but planned on an astonishing scale. But the date of this writer is somewhat uncertain (cp. note on ix. 7. 6), and it is possible that he is referring to the temple begun by Pisistratus. The temple remained unfinished for more than two centuries after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, for Strabo speaks of it (ix. p. 396) as half finished, and Plutarch (*Solon*, 32) compares it to Plato's unfinished dialogue *Critias*. Lucian represents Zeus as asking whether the Athenians ever meant to finish his temple (*Icaromenippus*, 24). Cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* Ὀλύμπιον. Sulla carried off some of the columns to build the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol at Rome (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 45); this he doubtless did after his sack of Athens in 86 B.C. The columns so carried off were probably, as Mr. Penrose says, those of the cella, not those of the outer colonnade, and may have attracted the cupidity of the conqueror by the richness of their marbles or the size of their monolith shafts. The columns of the peristyle or outer colonnade, on the other hand, being not monoliths but composed of many drums, would probably escape spoliation from the difficulty of taking them down and setting them up again without great injury to the perfection of their joints (Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, ed. 1888, p. 76). In the reign of Augustus the kings and states in alliance with or subjection to Rome formed a scheme of completing the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens at their joint expense and dedicating it to the Genius of Augustus (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 60); but it does not appear that even a beginning was made of putting the plan in execution. The temple was finally completed at the expense of the emperor Hadrian (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* i. 25. 6; Dio Cassius, lxix. 16; Schol. on Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 24), who dedicated it in person during one of his visits to Athens (Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 13). Hadrian seems to have visited Athens twice, first in the autumn of 125 A.D., and second from the spring of 129 A.D. to the spring of 130 A.D. The dedication of the temple of Olympian Zeus appears to have taken place during his second visit. See J. Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 42 *sqq.*; cp. W. Dittenberger, 'Kaiser Hadrians erste Anwesenheit in Athen,' *Hermes*, 7 (1873), pp. 213-229. But on the strength of two inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius near Epidaurus Mr. P. Cavvadias argues that the dedication of the Olympieum at Athens by Hadrian took place in 131 A.D. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1892, pp. 113-117. By command of the emperor a fine speech was delivered at the opening ceremony by the rhetorician Polemo (Philostratus, *l.c.*) Hadrian dedicated in the temple a serpent which had been brought from India (Dio Cassius, lxix. 16).

At what time the temple fell into ruins is not known. When Cyriacus of Ancona visited Athens about the middle of the fifteenth century there were twenty-one columns standing with their architraves (Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 727). In the seventeenth century the columns were reduced to seventeen; and about 1760 one of the

surviving columns was pulled down by the Turkish governor and converted into lime for the construction of a new mosque (Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 76; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* I. p. 759, note 2; Bevier, p. 189 of the paper cited at the end of this note). Sixteen columns continued to stand till 1852, when one was thrown down by a hurricane.

The platform on which the remains of the temple stand is constructed of massive masonry, and is strengthened with buttresses on the south side. It measures 676 feet long by 426 feet broad; so that the total circumference (2204 feet) of the sacred precinct is very nearly equal to the four Greek furlongs (582 × 4 = 2328 feet), at which Pausanias estimated it. On the north side of the platform, in a line with

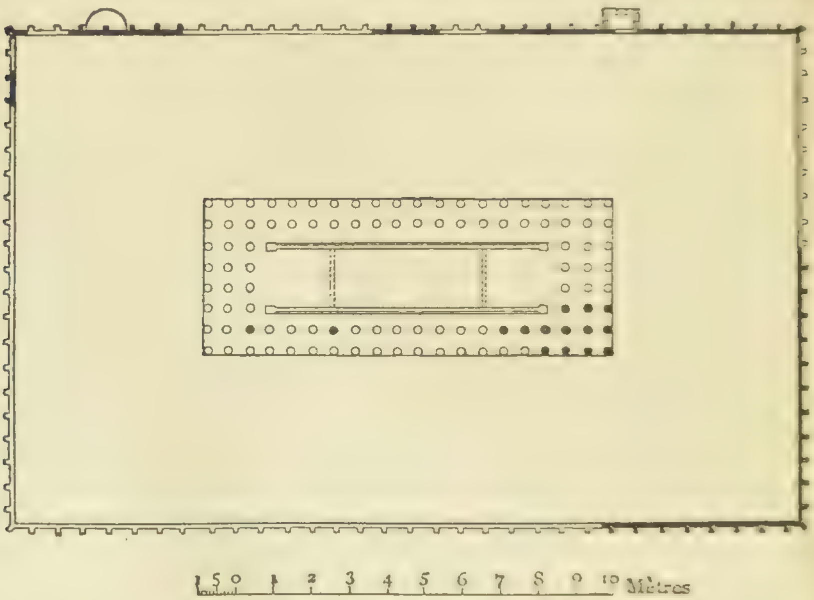


FIG. 7.—PLAN OF OLYMPIEUM.

Portions printed black still extant; portions printed in outline conjecturally restored.

the eastern end of the temple, are the remains of a portico or gateway, which, from the style of the architecture, appears to belong to the age of Hadrian; it was never finished. The temple was one of the largest Greek temples in the world. On the upper step it measured 354 feet in length by 135 feet in breadth. It had long been supposed that the temple was decastyle, *i.e.* had rows of ten columns at each of the narrow ends; but excavations conducted by Mr. Penrose in 1883 and subsequent years proved that it was octostyle, *i.e.* had rows of eight columns at the two narrow ends, as Vitruvius (iii. 2. 8) had stated and Dr. Dörpfeld had maintained. The peristyle or outer colonnade of the temple comprised more than 100 Corinthian columns, arranged in double rows of twenty each on the northern and southern sides and in triple rows of eight each at the east and west ends. The columns were 56 feet 7 inches high and 5 feet 7 inches in diameter at the base; they

have twenty-four flutings. The total height of the front is estimated to have been 91 feet. The existing sixteen columns are of Pentelic marble arranged in two groups. Thirteen are standing, with their architraves, at the south-eastern angle; the remaining three, of which one is prostrate, are of the interior row of the southern side, not far from the south-western angle and separated from the other thirteen by a gap of about 100 feet. From an examination of the style of the existing columns Mr. Penrose concludes that they belong to the part of the temple built by Antiochus Epiphanes, not to the part built by Hadrian, the carving of the capitals being superior to that of the capitals of the other buildings in Athens which were unquestionably built by Hadrian, namely the gate near the Olympieum and the Colonnade or Gymnasium of Hadrian (see below).

The excavations conducted by Mr. Penrose brought to light some remains of wall and pavement more ancient than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as a number of drums of large columns, unfluted and of common stone. One of these drums is not less than 7 feet 6 inches in diameter. Probably these are the remains of the temple begun by Pisistratus. It is remarkable that the orientation of Pisistratus's temple, as discovered by Mr. Penrose, differed from that of the later temple, which is orientated almost exactly east and west. Mr. Penrose estimates that the cella of Pisistratus's temple was 116 feet long and 50 wide.

Besides these remains of Pisistratus's temple Mr. Penrose discovered a rough wall of still earlier date, built of hard limestone. This, the most ancient of all the remains discovered within the precinct of the Olympieum, is considered by Mr. Penrose to have formed part of the very early foundation which tradition ascribed to Deucalion. Dr. Dörpfeld, however, is reported to deny the possibility of this emphatically (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), p. 61).

Near the ruins of the temple was found an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 561): *Δέκμος Κοσσούτιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος* "Decimus Cossutius, a Roman, son of Publius." This Cossutius was no doubt the Roman architect employed by Antiochus Epiphanes to build the temple. The inscription may be from the base of a statue erected in his honour.

See Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 3 (London, 1794), pp. 11-17; Dodwell, *Travels in Greece*, 1. p. 387 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 513-516; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 272-279; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 177 *sq.*; L. Bevier, 'The Olympieion at Athens,' *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1 (1882-1883), pp. 183-212; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 98 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 49 *sq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 321 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 188 *sqq.*; F. C. Penrose, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 8 (1887), p. 272 *sq.*; *id.*, *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (ed. 1888), pp. 74-87, with plates xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix.; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 195 *sq.*; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 7 (1887), p. 702.

18. 6. **The image is worth seeing** etc. On coins of Athens of Roman date Zeus is represented sitting, naked to the waist, with an image of Victory in his outstretched right hand and a sceptre in his left. This was the attitude of Phidias's great statue of Zeus at Olympia (see v. 11. 1 note). Hence it seems probable that the statue of Olympian Zeus

at Athens was copied from the famous one at Olympia, and was in turn copied on Athenian coins. See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 396; Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 63 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Com. on Paus.* pp. 137, 138, with pl. BB iv.; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 193.



FIG. 8.—SEATED ZEUS (ATHENIAN COIN).

The priest of Olympian Zeus and the cleaner of his image had seats reserved for them in the theatre at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 243, 291). As to the office of cleaner of images, see v. 14. 5 note.

18. 6. bronze statues which the Athenians call the 'Colonies.' These were probably female statues personifying the various colonies of Athens. Such personifications of cities and lands were common in later Greek art. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 489 *sqq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2. p. 2074 *sqq.*; cp. the personifications of Peoples referred to in note on i. 1. 3, "statues of Zeus and the People." One of the earliest and best known statues of cities was the statue of the Fortune of Antioch by Eutychides. See vi. 2. 7 note.

18. 6. every city set up a statue of the Emperor Hadrian. The inscribed pedestals of a number of these statues have been found in or near the Olympieum. They include the pedestals of the statues set up by Laodicea on the Sea, a city of Syria (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 479), Miletus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 480), Pale in Cephallene (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 481), Pompeiopolis (Soli) in Cilicia (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 482), Sebastopolis in Pontus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 483), Sestus in the Thracian Chersonese (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 484), Ephesus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 485), and Ceramus in Caria (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 486).

18. 7. a temple of Cronus and Rhea. Another writer mentions the precinct of Cronus as situated beside the Olympieum and extending as far as the sanctuary of the Mother Goddess in the suburb called Agrae (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 273 line 20 *sq.*, where for ἀγορᾷ we must read Ἄγρᾳ with Professor C. Wachsmuth. *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 227). A cake with twelve knobs on it was sacrificed to Cronus at Athens on the 14th day of the month Elaphebolion (March-April), as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 77).

18. 7. a precinct of Olympian Earth. This is probably the sanctuary of Earth mentioned by Thucydides (ii. 15) among the ancient sanctuaries of Athens on the south side of the Acropolis. It was beside the tomb of the Amazon Antiope (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27), which, as we have seen (note on i. 2. 1), was near the Itonian gate. Hence the precinct of Olympian Earth seems to have lain somewhere to the south-west of the temple of Olympian Zeus.

18. 7. after the deluge which happened in Deucalion's time the water ran away down this cleft. Similarly at Hierapolis on the Euphrates a cleft was shown under the temple of Hera (Astarte), and a legend was told that after the great flood the water had run away down this hole. In memory of this deliverance from the great deluge water was brought from the sea twice a year to Hierapolis and poured out in

the temple of Astarte. After flooding the floor of the temple it escaped by the cleft underground. The bringing of the water seems to have been a great national ceremony. We are told that not only the priests, but all Syria and Arabia and people from beyond the Euphrates made the pilgrimage to the sea and brought back the water. See Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 12 *sq*. On this Syrian custom my friend Professor W. Robertson Smith furnished me with the following note: "The 'sea' in this rite is probably the Euphrates (according to a familiar Semitic idiom); see Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, i. 20. The closest parallel to the ritual of Hierapolis is the annual water-pouring in the temple of Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, on which see Lightfoot on John vii. 381; Reland, *Ant. Heb.* p. 448. The 'lapis fundationis' at the temple was believed to cover the mouth of the great deep (*Jerusalem Targum* on *Exodus*, xxviii. 30), which makes the parallel more exact." The story of the great flood in which all mankind perished except Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha, who were saved in an ark (Apollodorus, i. 7. 2; Lucian, *l.c.*; Ovid, *Met.* i. 260 *sqq.*), belongs to a class of legends which are found in many parts of the world. The oldest version of the legend is the Babylonian one, from which the Hebrews derived the account given in Genesis. The legends of this class have been collected and examined by Mr. R. Andree (*Die Flutsagen*, Braunschweig, 1891). He finds that they occur in western and southern Asia, Australia, New Guinea, the islands of the Pacific (Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia), and America, both North and South. On the other hand genuine flood-legends seem to be almost or wholly wanting in Africa, central and northern Asia, China, and Japan. The origin of such legends is to be sought partly in the recollection of real but local floods, partly in inferences drawn from the discovery of shells and fossil fish on the tops of hills and other spots remote from the sea. Cp. E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*,[3] p. 325 *sqq.*

18. 7. **Every year they throw into it wheaten meal kneaded with honey.** This was probably done at the festival of the Water-carrying (Hydrophoria), which was held in memory of the people who had perished in the great flood (*Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Ὑδροφορία, p. 774; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ὑδροφορία). The festival seems to have been celebrated on the 13th day of Anthesterion, which fell about the first of March. See Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 1076, and *Knights*, 218; K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, § 58. 20 and 22; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 346 *sq.*

18. 8. **a statue of Isocrates.** The statue was of bronze and was set up by Isocrates's adopted son Aphareus. It bore the inscription: "Aphareus, revering the gods and his parents' virtue, dedicated to Zeus this statue of his father Isocrates." See [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 839 b.

18. 8. **the tidings of the battle of Chaeronea grieved him so that he died a voluntary death.** The common tradition in antiquity was that Isocrates died very shortly after the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.), having been so affected by the news of the Greek defeat that he refused all nourishment, and after lingering a few days expired at the age

of ninety-eight or thereabout. See Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *De Isocrate Judicium*, 1; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 256; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 838 b; Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* i. 17; [Lucian,] *Macrobii*, 23. This tradition is contradicted by an apparently genuine letter of Isocrates (No. 3) written to King Philip after the battle of Chaeronea, in which the silly old man, far from expressing any grief at his country's overthrow, congratulates himself on having lived to see his youthful dreams in process of fulfilment by Philip, whom he fondly regards as the good physician who had healed the long internal dissensions of Greece, and the brave champion who was about to lead a national crusade against Persia. The tone and purport of this foolish letter are quite in harmony with all that we know of the writer and his political creed, whereas the story of his grief and despair at the tidings of Chaeronea is inconsistent with the whole tenour of his life. Probably, therefore, the story is false, or at least distorts the facts. See F. Blass, 'Isocrates dritter Brief und die gewöhnliche Erzählung von seinem Tode,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 20 (1865), pp. 109-116; R. C. Jebb, *The Attic Orators*, 2. p. 31 *sqq.*

18. 8. **in proof that Deucalion dwelt at Athens they point to a grave.** According to the Parian Marble (line 6 *sq.*) Deucalion on the occasion of the great flood fled from Lycorea in Phocis to the court of Cranaus at Athens, where he founded the sanctuary of Showery Zeus (see i. 32. 2 note) and offered thank-offerings for his preservation. Strabo mentions (ix. p. 425) that the tomb of Deucalion was at Athens.

18. 9. **a sanctuary common to all the gods.** In this sanctuary there was a record of all the benefits Hadrian had conferred on Greece. See i. 5. 5. We hear of Pantheons in other parts of Greece (ii. 2. 8 note).

18. 9. **most splendid of all are one hundred columns** etc. To the north of the Acropolis and east of the ancient market-place are some considerable remains of a vast structure of Roman date. The general plan of the building is that of a spacious quadrangular court surrounded by cloisters or colonnades. It is 400 feet long from east to west by 270 feet wide from north to south. Portions of the eastern, northern, and western walls are standing. The façade was to the west, and the northern part of it is in fair preservation. It consisted originally of a wall built of large square blocks of Pentelic marble and adorned on the outer (western) side with eighteen Corinthian columns. The four central columns, of which only one is now standing, were fluted and stood farther out from the wall than the other columns. They formed a portal to the building, with an ascent of six steps. The seven columns of the façade to the north of this portal, together with the marble wall at the back of them, are still standing. The interval between the columns and the wall is less than 2 feet, and the interval between each pair of columns is about 3 feet. Each column is carved out of a single block of Carystian (or, according to Mr. Nicolaides, of Phrygian) marble, and is 28¼ feet high by 3 feet thick. The florid Corinthian capitals are of Pentelic marble. The shafts are unfluted. Each column stands on a base of its own, and is surmounted by a horizontal entablature.

A cloister or colonnade ran round the whole interior of the spacious quadrangle. On the north, west, and south sides this colonnade was about 27 feet wide, that being the distance of the columns from the exterior wall of the structure. But on the east side a row of five chambers, of which the middle one was the largest, opened off the colonnade. The total number of columns in this interior cloister or colonnade was one hundred. None of them is standing, but the marks of the bases on the eastern side of the quadrangle enable us to calculate their number. The inner sides of the walls were encrusted with plates of marble, as appears from the fragments of marble scattered about, from a few pieces still adhering to the walls, and from the holes and bronze fastenings still to be seen in the walls. According to Mr. Nicolaïdes the marble is Phrygian. In the middle of this cloistered court there must have been some ancient building, for towards the eastern side of it there remains a portion of a marble wall of good Roman period, which, from its style and situation, appears to have been built with reference to the cloistered court in the middle of which it stands. But the ground-plan of this central building has been effaced by the construction of two churches, one after the other, on the site. Of these churches themselves only ruins are left.

From the style of this cloistered court antiquaries are of opinion that it belongs to the age of Hadrian. Hence it has been plausibly conjectured that the edifice was either the library or the gymnasium of Hadrian, of which Pausanias here makes mention. Its hundred columns would answer to Pausanias's description of either building. But, if we may judge from the ancient gymnasiums of which the ground-plans have been discovered at Olympia, the edifice in question hardly possesses enough of chambers to justify us in regarding it as a gymnasium. More probably, perhaps, it was the library. The building in the centre of the court may have been the "building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster" in which the books were stored; and the cloister with its hundred columns which ran round the court may be the colonnade of Phrygian marble described by Pausanias. True, he says the walls of the colonnade as well as the columns were of marble; and we know that on at least two sides of the court (the east and north) the walls were merely of common stone faced with marble. But to take a wall faced with marble for a wall of solid marble would be a natural and excusable blunder.

Amongst the many fine buildings with which Hadrian adorned Athens, the library is singled out by Jerome as a wonderful work (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 2. p. 167, ed. Schöne). The rhetorician Aristides speaks of the libraries at Athens as the best in the world (*Or.* xiii. vol. 1. p. 306, ed. Dindorf).

See Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 252-255; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1885, pp. 13-24, with pl. 1; Milchhofer, 'Athen,' p. 169; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 319 note 3; Baedeker,[3] p. 83 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 96 *sq.*; G. Nicolaïdes, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, pp. 57-66; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 195-199.

A few words may here be given to some ancient structures at Athens

which have survived to the present day, but which Pausanias has omitted to notice. Two of them are in the neighbourhood of the large quadrangular court just described; the third is close to the Olympieum.

1. To the south of the large cloistered court just described, and nearly in a line with its western front, is the so-called Gate of the Market or Gate of Foundress Athena (Athena Archegetis). It faces west and consists of four slender Doric columns, 26 feet high and 4 feet thick, supporting a massive architrave and great part of a plain pediment or gable. The architrave is adorned with triglyphs and metopes. An inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 65) carved on the architrave sets forth that the structure was erected by the people out of gifts made to them by Julius Caesar and the emperor Augustus, and that it was dedicated to Foundress Athena. Above the pediment or gable there was formerly a pedestal which, according to the inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 445), supported a statue of Lucius Caesar, the adopted son of Augustus. About 6 feet to the east of this portal was the wall containing the gateway proper. One of the *antae* of this gateway still stands opposite the column at the south corner, with which it is connected by the architrave. Facing this *anta*, a little to the north of it, is a jamb of the door, in a line with the northern of the two central columns. On the inner face of this jamb is fastened, in its original position, a long inscription containing a decree of the emperor Hadrian as to the sale of oil (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 38).

The purpose which this structure subserved was formerly a matter of dispute. L. Ross (*Das Theseion*, p. 41) and P. W. Forchhammer (*Topographie von Athen*, p. 57) maintained that it formed part of a small temple of Foundress Athena. But excavations made by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1890 and 1891 have disproved this view and settled the question. To the east of the gateway, between it and the Tower of the Winds (see below), the remains have been discovered of a market-place of Roman date, to which undoubtedly the gateway in question formed the western entrance. The market-place consisted of an open square paved with marble flags and surrounded by an Ionic colonnade. Only the south-eastern corner of it has as yet (1894) been excavated. Here, along the eastern back-wall of the colonnade, a row of square chambers opening by doors into the colonnade, has been discovered. These chambers were probably storehouses or shops. Near the south-eastern corner of the market-place a gateway leading into it from the east has also been brought to light. The outer (eastern) front of this gateway was adorned with four columns, its inner front with two columns of smaller diameter; all these columns are, like the columns of the colonnade, unfluted and of the Ionic order. The floor of the gateway is paved with massive flags. This eastern gateway does not stand in the axis of the western gateway (the one which supports the dedication to Foundress Athena); it is to the south of a line drawn through that axis. Probably there was another eastern gateway in a corresponding position to the north of a line drawn through the axis of the western gateway. Thus the market-place probably had three entrances at least; one on the west and two on the east. Whether

there were gates on the north and south sides we do not know. Excavations may inform us hereafter. That this open square surrounded by a colonnade or cloister was a market-place is proved by a variety of evidence. Two standard measures of capacity, dedicated by clerks of the market, were found in the course of the excavations, and similar objects were found in the same place many years ago. Further, four cup-like hollows of different sizes, cut very carefully in the floor of the colonnade between two of the columns, are also clearly measures of capacity. Moreover, on one of the columns, at a height of about 3 feet 3 inches from the ground, a fine horizontal line is carved for a length of .365 metre; and on the opposite column at the same height there is a similar line of exactly the same length. These lines are probably standard measures of the length which the Greeks called *pugon* (πυγών); it was measured from the elbow to the first joints of the fingers. Lastly, three inscriptions of Roman date, two of them cut on columns and one of them on the pavement, gave the names of the merchants or hucksters who exposed their wares at the spots indicated by the inscriptions. An inscription containing a dedication to Foundress Athena and the imperial family (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 66), which was found near the Tower of the Winds, may have been originally fixed over one of the eastern gateways of this market-place.

See Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 211 *sqq.*; C. Bötticher, *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 223-226; Dyer, *Athens*, p. 243 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 173; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 94 *sq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 321; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 199 *sqq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 255 *sqq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1890, pp. 11-19; *id.*, for 1891, pp. 7-11; Baedeker,[3] p. 85.

2. To the east of the portal of Foundress Athena, at the southern end of the modern Aeolus Street, is one of the best-preserved buildings of ancient Athens. This is the Horologium of Andronicus, popularly called the Tower of the Winds. It is an octagonal tower built of marble, 26 feet in diameter and 42 feet high, including the three-stepped basement on which it stands. On the north-east and north-west faces were porticoes, each supported by a pair of Corinthian columns, the capitals of which may be seen lying on the ground close by. The eight sides of the tower are turned towards the different points of the compass, and each face is adorned with a sculptured relief representing the wind which blows from that half-quarter. The Winds are all represented as winged figures floating in the air in a nearly horizontal position. Each Wind bears some appropriate emblem and its name is carved on the cornice above it. On each face of the tower, under the figure of the particular Wind, is a sun-dial. The roof is in the shape of a low octagonal pyramid, and is formed of slabs of marble held together by a round keystone. Vitruvius accurately described the tower (i. 6. 4), and from him we learn that it was originally surmounted by a bronze Triton so constructed that it revolved with the wind and pointed with a rod to the image of the particular wind which happened to be blowing. Inside the tower was a water-clock. The circular channels in which the water

ran are still plainly visible on the floor; but the exact nature of the mechanism by which the clock was worked is not known. The water for the clock was brought from a cistern in a semi-circular turret-like structure which still exists to the south of the tower; and the cistern was itself fed from the Clepsydra spring on the Acropolis (see i. 28. 4 note) by means of a covered channel or aqueduct, of which some portions are still in existence. Thus the entire structure served to indicate the half-quarter of the sky from which the wind blew, and the time of day by the sun when it shone, and by water in all weathers and at all hours of the day or night. The tower was built by a certain Andronicus of Cyrrhus, a city in Syria (Vitruvius, *l.c.*) It must have been built before 37 B.C., since it is mentioned by Varro in a work composed in that year (*De re rustica*, iii. 5. 17. The date of the composition of Varro's treatise *De re rustica* is fixed by the author's own statement in the preface, i. 1. 1, that he was then in his eightieth year. He was born in 116 B.C. Cp. *Scriptores rerum rusticarum*, ed. Schneider, vol. i. 2. p. 229; Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*,[4] § 168, p. 282).

See Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 190-192; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 255-257; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 173; Baedeker,[3] p. 84; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 95 *sq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 321; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 200-203.

3. A few paces north of the north-west corner of the Olympieum or platform on which stood the temple of Olympian Zeus is the so-called Arch of Hadrian. This is an isolated gateway facing north-west and south-east. It is 59 feet high and 44 feet wide, with an archway 20 feet broad. It is built of Pentelic marble; the order is Corinthian. The two piers of the arch, each about 15 feet square, were adorned with a Corinthian column and pilaster on each side of the arch, the whole structure presenting an exactly similar appearance on both fronts. Only a few fragmentary bases of the columns remain. Above the archway is an *attica* or second story, consisting of four Corinthian columns with a pediment over the two middle ones. The window-like openings between these columns were formerly filled with thin slabs of marble. On the north-western front, above the centre of the arch, is an inscription: "This is Athens, the ancient city of Theseus" (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 401). On the south-eastern front is the inscription: "This is the city of Hadrian, and not of Theseus" (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 402). The gateway probably stood in the line of the ancient city-wall, at the end of a street leading south-east into the suburb which received the name of Hadrianopolis or "the city of Hadrian" (Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 20: cp. Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ὀλυμπίειον, where for Δήλῳ we should probably read Ἀθήναις). The inscriptions on Hadrian's Arch at Athens are incorrectly reported by the scholiast on Aristides (vol. 3. p. 201 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf). We may compare the inscriptions said to have been engraved on opposite sides of an ancient column which once stood on the Isthmus of Corinth. On one side was the inscription: "This is Peloponnese, not Ionia." On the other side was the inscription: "This is not Peloponnese but Ionia." See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25; Strabo, ix. p. 392; Schol. on Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 685 (ed. Bekker).

On Hadrian's Arch, see Leake, *Athens*, I. p. 199 *sqq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 270 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 178; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 286, fig. 287; Baedeker,[3] p. 48 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, I. p. 97 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 193 *sq.*

19. 1. an image of Pythian Apollo. Although Pausanias only mentions an image of Pythian Apollo, we know that there was a Pythium or sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo in this quarter of Athens. Thucydides mentions (ii. 15) the Pythium among the ancient sanctuaries of Athens on the south side of the Acropolis. The Greek lexicographers tell us that the sanctuary was founded by Pisistratus (Suidas, *s.v.* Πύθιον; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πύθιον; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐν Πυθίῳ χέσαι); but they were perhaps thinking of the altar of Apollo which, as we learn from Thucydides (vi. 54), was erected in the Pythium by Pisistratus, son of Hippias and grandson of the tyrant Pisistratus. He dedicated the altar in memory of his tenure of the office of archon and engraved on it an inscription which Thucydides (*l.c.*) has preserved for us. It ran thus: "Pisistratus son of Hippias placed this memorial of his archonship in the precinct of Pythian Apollo." This inscription, which Thucydides says was still to be seen in his time in the sanctuary, was discovered on May 15th, 1877, on the right bank of the Ilissus, below the spring Callirrhoe, two hundred paces west of the modern bridge which now leads across the stream to the Greek cemetery. The block of marble on which the inscription is cut is broken in two, and one word and a few letters have been lost; otherwise the inscription exactly agrees with Thucydides's copy of it. Under the inscription is a moulding of the sort called *cymatium*, which doubtless ran round the altar. The archonship of Pisistratus, and hence the dedication of the altar, must have fallen between Ol. 63. 2 (527 B.C.), the date of the death of the tyrant Pisistratus, and Ol. 67. 3 (510 B.C.), the date of the expulsion of the Pisistratidae (cp. Thucydides, *l.c.*) See *C. I. A.* iv. p. 41, No. 373 e.

The Pythium was probably situated where the inscription was found, namely on the right bank of the Ilissus, below the spring Callirrhoe, and to the south-west of the Olympieum. This inference is confirmed by the discovery in this neighbourhood of other inscriptions which once stood in the same sanctuary. For we know that persons who won the prize with a chorus at the festival of the Thargelia used to set up their prize-tripods in the Pythium (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πύθιον; Suidas, *s.v.* Πύθιον; Isaeus, v. 41); and here, on the right bank of the Ilissus, to the west of the Olympieum, three inscribed bases of these prize-tripods have been found (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1236, 1237, 1251; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 411, 412, 413). In the same place was found part of another pedestal inscribed with a dedication to Apollo; from a foot-print on the surface of the stone it appears that the pedestal supported a bronze statue (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1154). Plato speaks of a famous and beautiful offering which Aristocrates son of Scellias dedicated in the Pythium (Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 472 a, where for Πυθοῖ we should read Πυθίῳ). What seems to have been the pedestal which supported this offering has been found at Athens, though not on the site of the

Pythium. It is a column of Pentelic marble and is inscribed with a dedication by Aristocrates son of Scelias (*sic*) for a victory won by him at a festival, apparently with a chorus (the inscription is mutilated). See *C. I. A.* i. No. 422. Another inscribed base of a tripod was found near the site of the Pythium, but on the opposite (left) bank of the Ilissus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1176). At the Panathenaic festival a ship with the robe of Athena floating at the masthead was drawn on rollers to the Pythium (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 7). The priest of the Pythian Apollo had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 247). On the city-wall between the Pythium and the Olympieum there was a sacrificial hearth of Lightning Zeus, where certain priestly officials called Pythaists observed a particular quarter of the sky for three days and nights in each of three successive months. They kept looking to a place called Harma on Mt. Parnes, to the north-west of Athens; and whenever they observed a flash of lightning in that quarter of the sky, they despatched a sacrifice to Delphi (Strabo, ix. p. 404; cp. Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 212 line 16 *sq.*; Euripides, *Ion*, 285).

See E. Curtius, 'Das Pythion in Athen,' *Hermes*, 12 (1877), pp. 492-499 (reprinted in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 451-458); Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 179; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 203-206. As to Dr. Dörpfeld's proposal to identify the Pythium with the sanctuary of Apollo in the cave on the north-west face of the Acropolis, see note on i. 29. 1.

19. 1. another sanctuary of Apollo, where he is surnamed Delphinian. The site of the Delphinium or sanctuary of Delphinian Apollo is not known. It is conjectured to have been somewhere to the east of the Olympieum. The sanctuary is said to have been founded by Aegeus, who dedicated it to Delphinian Apollo and Delphinian Artemis (Pollux, viii. 119). According to tradition, Aegeus himself dwelt here; a fenced-in spot was shown in the sanctuary where, at a banquet given by him to Theseus, a cup of poison was spilt which Medea had mixed for Theseus; and an image of Hermes to the east of the sanctuary was called "the Hermes at Aegeus's gates" (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 12). Before sailing for Crete with the other destined victims of the Minotaur, Theseus went to the Delphinium and implored the help of Apollo by depositing in the sanctuary, on behalf of himself and his comrades in the perilous enterprise, a branch of the sacred olive wreathed with wool. Then he went down to the seashore and embarked. Hence on the anniversary of the day (the sixth of Munychion, the month which corresponded to the latter half of April and the first half of May) girls used to go in procession to the Delphinium to offer supplications down to Plutarch's time (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 18). After he had subdued the Marathonian bull, Theseus exhibited the beast by driving it through the streets of Athens, and then sacrificed it to Delphinian Apollo (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14). Two inscriptions containing dedications to Delphinian Apollo have been found at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 138, 939). On the Delphinian Apollo, see Preller, in *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Cl.,

6 (1854), pp. 140-152 (reprinted in Preller's *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 244-256). Prof. E. Maass holds that the sanctuary of Delphinian Apollo was on the market-place, being identical with the temple of Paternal Apollo mentioned by Pausanias in i. 3. 4. See E. Maass, *De Lenaeo et Delphinio Commentatio* (Greisswald, 1891), p. xv. *sqq.* As to the court of justice at the Delphinium, see i. 28. 10 note.

19. 1. **his hair neatly plaited.** It was an old Attic custom for young men to wear their hair coiled in long plaits at the back of the head. This fashion of wearing the hair is well represented on a fine archaic marble head of a young man now in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, p. 82 *sqq.*, with pl. 2; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 207, with fig. 49; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 363 *sq.*, fig. 184. Unmarried girls also wore their hair plaited (Paus., viii. 20. 3; x. 25. 10). On the ancient Attic modes of wearing the hair, see Th. Schreiber, 'Der altattische Krobylos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 246-273; *id.*, 9 (1884), pp. 232-254.

19. 2. **Of the place called the Gardens and of the temple of Aphrodite** etc. The district called the Gardens is conjectured to have been the low ground on the right bank of the Ilissus, to the east of the Olympieum. This suburb, compared to the generally bare and arid aspect of the country round Athens, is still green and luxuriant. Here are public gardens where, on summer evenings after the heat of the day is over, the modern Athenians love to take their ease, sipping coffee and lemonade, and listening to the more or less sweet strains of foreign minstrels. The district of the Gardens lay outside the city-walls (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 16). We hear of the sacrifice of a heifer to Heavenly Aphrodite in the Gardens (Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* vii. 1). Near her temple was an enclosure to which the maidens called Arrephori brought certain mystic objects from the Acropolis (Paus., i. 27. 3). Cp. Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 274 *sqq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 283 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 180; Baedeker,[3] p. 50; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 209 *sqq.*

19. 2. **The form of this image is square —— Heavenly Aphrodite.** Leake suggested that this square image of Heavenly Aphrodite was derived from the square pillar or pyramidal stone, which represented the oriental Aphrodite or Astarte in some of her shrines, as we learn from Maximus Tyrius (*Dissert.* viii. 8) and the coins of Tyre, Sidon, and Paphos (Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 133, note 2). Cp. note on i. 44. 2. As to Heavenly Aphrodite, see above, i. 14. 7 note. Her worship, as Pausanias there tells us, was introduced into Athens by Aegeus. Now, considering that Aegeus was said to have dwelt in the Delphinium (see note on § 1), which appears to have been near the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite in the Gardens, it seems likely that the sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite traditionally said to have been founded by Aegeus was this one in the Gardens near his own house, rather than the one in the city as Pausanias apparently supposed (i. 14. 7). Cp. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 411.

19. 2. **Heavenly Aphrodite is the eldest of the Fates.** In some

verses of Epimenides quoted by Tzetzes (Schol. on *Lycophron*, 406), and less fully by a scholiast on Sophocles (*Oedipus Coloneus*, 42), Aphrodite and the Fates are represented as the daughters of Zeus by Euonyme. Cp. C. L. Visconti, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 41 (1869), p. 213 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 412, note 3; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 358, note 1.

19. 2. The image of Aphrodite —— is a work of Alcamenes. Lucian speaks of this as the most beautiful of all the works of Alcamenes. He refers particularly to the cheeks and the front of the face, the graceful turn of the wrists, and the delicate tapering of the fingers (Lucian, *Imagines*, 4 and 6). Pliny also speaks of the statue as a famous work, adding that Phidias himself was said to have given the finishing touches to it (*N. H.* xxxvi. 16). In recent years it has been conjectured that this statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alcamenes was the original of a particular type of Aphrodite of which many specimens have come down to us. The best known is a statue of Parian marble in the Louvre, supposed to have been found at Fréjus in 1650. It is commonly known as the Venus Genetrix, and represents the goddess lightly draped, holding an apple in her left hand and gracefully lifting her robe above her right shoulder with her right hand. The original must certainly have been a famous statue since so many copies of it have survived; but that it was the celebrated Aphrodite of Alcamenes can hardly be demonstrated. See Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 320; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 376 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1208; S. Reinach, 'La Vénus drapée au Musée du Louvre,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 12 (1887), pp. 250-262. A list of the existing reproductions of this type of Aphrodite is given by Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 86 *sq.*, and a fuller list by Mr. S. Reinach, *l.c.* The identification of this type of Aphrodite with the Aphrodite of Alcamenes was first proposed by Mr. S. Reinach (*Manuel de Philologie Classique*, 2. p. 94) and Professor Furtwängler (article 'Aphrodite' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 412 *sq.*; cp. his *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 117), and has been accepted by Mr. P. Wolters (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 383) and Professor C. Robert (Preller's *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 383). Mr. S. Reinach has since retracted his opinion and accepted the view of Professor Curtius that the so-called Venus Genetrix is a replica of the draped statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles, which the people of Cos bought in preference to the more famous nude statue by the same sculptor which the Cnidians afterwards purchased (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 20). Mr. De Witte also agreed with Professor Curtius. See *Gazette Archéologique*, 10 (1885), p. 91 *sq.* Mr. Fr. Winter regards the Venus Genetrix as a work of the middle of the fifth century B.C. or earlier, possibly by Callimachus or Calamis, but certainly not by Alcamenes (50*tes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 117-121). Dr. Waldstein regards the same statue as a copy of a work of the first century B.C. (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1887), p. 10 *sqq.*) Professor Furtwängler's theory is rejected also by Mr. E. Reisch (in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, pp. 18-20). As to Alcamenes, see v. 10. 8 note.

19. 3. **a sanctuary of Hercules which is called Cynosarges.** This is said to have been one of the two most revered sanctuaries of Hercules in Attica, the other being the one at Marathon (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἡράκλεια). It was outside the city-walls (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 1; Livy, xxxi. 24; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xiii. 408, p. 1747), a little way from the gate (Diogenes Laertius, vi. 1. 13). The gate in question must have been the Diomean gate (Alciphron, iii. 3; *id.*, iii. 51, where for Διομήδους we should read Διομηΐδος; cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* Δημίαισι πύλαις), since Cynosarges was in the township (*deme*) of Diomea (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 651; Athenaeus, xiv. p. 614 d). Cynosarges was also near the township of Alopece (Herodotus, v. 63), which was a mile and a third or so outside the walls (Aeschines, i. 99). Alopece is believed to have occupied the site of the modern village of *Ampelokipi* ('vineyards'), which stands in a fruitful district, watered by ancient cisterns and channels, at the north-eastern foot of Mount Lycabettus, a mile and a quarter to the north-east of the modern Royal Palace at Athens (*Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, 2. p. 20 *sq.*) Hence Cynosarges lay somewhere to the north-east of Athens, in the direction of the modern *Ampelokipi*. Now we are told that the tombs of Isocrates and his family were situated near Cynosarges, on a hill to the left ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 838 b). This hill may have been Lycabettus, which is on the left as you go from Athens to *Ampelokipi*. On these grounds topographers now generally agree in placing Cynosarges on or near the site now occupied by the shady gardens of the Monastery of the Angels (*tôn Asômatôn*, literally "of the incorporeal ones"), at the south-eastern foot of Lycabettus, near the American and English Schools of Archaeology. This position agrees very well with the narrative of Herodotus, who tells us (vi. 115 *sq.*) that after the battle of Marathon the Athenians, finding that the Persian fleet was sailing for Phalerum with the intention of surprising Athens in the absence of its defenders, marched in all haste to the city and encamped in the sanctuary of Hercules at Cynosarges before the Persian fleet arrived in the bay. On rounding the headland of Phalerum the Persians saw that they were anticipated, and without attempting to effect a landing put their ships about and made sail for Asia. The Monastery of the Angels stands high and commands a free view of the sea, from which it is also visible. Hence the Greek encampment on this spot must have been seen by the baffled Persians from their ships in the bay.

Cynosarges included a gymnasium as well as a sanctuary of Hercules, and was surrounded by a grove (Livy, xxxi. 24. 17; Harpocration and Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xiii. 408, p. 1747). The use of the gymnasium of Cynosarges was reserved for bastards and such youths as did not enjoy the full citizenship of Athens through one of their parents not being a burgher (Demosthenes, xxiii. 213, p. 691; Suidas, *s.vv.* εἰ Κυνόσαργες, εἰς Κυνόσαργες, and Κυνόσαργες; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες). As the mother of Themistocles was a foreign woman, he was obliged to exercise in Cynosarges; but he contrived to efface the invidious dis-

tinction by persuading some well-born youths to take their exercise with him there (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 1). At the monthly sacrifices offered in the sanctuary of Hercules at Cynosarges the priest was assisted by certain persons called 'parasites,' who had to be chosen from the bastards and their children, and probably had their meals provided for them at the public expense; the law on this subject was engraved on a slab which stood in the sanctuary (Athenaeus, vi. p. 234 d e). In the fourth century B.C. a club of wits called 'the Sixty' used to meet at Cynosarges, and their jests seem to have had a great vogue. To be a member of the club was something to be proud of. Amongst the members it was "The Sixty said this," and "The Sixty said that," and "I'm just come from the Sixty." King Philip, who loved a jest, sent the club a talent with a request that they would let him have a written copy of all their jokes (Athenaeus, xiv. p. 614 d e). But the Cynosarges was the scene of graver discourses than those of the Sixty. For about the same time Antisthenes, the Cynic, lectured there, and according to some people the Cynic sect was named after Cynosarges (Diogenes Laertius, vi. 1. 13). It is said that by the laws of Solon death was the penalty for stealing anything from Cynosarges or the other gymnasiums of Athens (Demosthenes, xxiv. 114, p. 736). In 200 B.C. Philip V., king of Macedonia, failing in an attempt to surprise Athens, encamped at Cynosarges, which, together with all the sanctuaries and pleasant places round about the city, he afterwards gave to the flames (Livy, xxxi. 24; Diodorus, xxviii. 7).

In Alopece, near the sanctuary of Hercules in Cynosarges, was the grave of Anchimolius, a Lacedaemonian, who had led an expedition against Athens for the purpose of driving out the Pisistratidae, but had been defeated and slain by the Thessalian cavalry in the service of the tyrants (Herodotus, v. 63). It has been already mentioned that the tombs of Isocrates and his family (father, mother, aunt, brother, adopted son, etc.) were situated on a hill to the left of Cynosarges. Isocrates's own tomb was surmounted by a column 30 cubits high, which bore a Siren 7 cubits tall, emblematic of the orator's mellifluous rhetoric. Near it stood a tablet adorned with portraits of the poets and of Isocrates's teachers; among the latter was Gorgias looking at an astronomical sphere with Isocrates standing beside him ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 838 b c).

See Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 276-278; C. W. Goettling, 'Das Gymnasium Kynosarges in Athen,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl., 6 (1854), pp. 14-27 (reprinted in Goettling's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. pp. 156-174); C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 231 *sq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 285-288; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 180; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 307, note 4; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 216-219.

19. 3. **the story of the white bitch** etc. The story ran that as Diomus was sacrificing to Hercules or to Hestia or on the hearth (the accounts vary), a white dog snatched up the victim and ran away with it. Diomus was bidden by the oracle to find the place where the dog had deposited the victim and there to build an altar of Hercules. Hence this new sanctuary of Hercules was called Cynosarges, which

was interpreted to mean either 'white dog' or 'swift dog' (from *kuōn* 'dog' and *argos* 'white' or 'swift'). See Suidas, *s.vv.* εἰς Κυνόσαργες, ἐς Κυνόσαργες, and Κυνόσαργες; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες; Hesychius, *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες; Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 114, p. 736. Professor C. Wachsmuth suggests (*Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 461) that the sanctuary may have been called after the sacred dogs which may have been kept in it at one time, as they were kept in other sanctuaries in Greece and Sicily (see note on ii. 27. 3, 'Tablets'). The dog was especially associated with the oriental Hercules. See W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 291 *sq.* A scene on a Greek vase in the British Museum has been interpreted by Mr. Cecil Smith as Diomus "in the act of setting forth to accompany the dog" and taking leave of his father and mother. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-3), p. 115 *sqq.*

19. 3. **altars of Hercules and Hebe.** Two seats were reserved in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens for the priests or priestesses of Hebe (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 370, 374).

19. 3. **an altar —— of Iolaus.** On the worship of Iolaus, see note on x. 17. 5.

19. 3. **The Lyceum.** The sanctuary of Apollo which was called the Lyceum took its name from the epithet Lycean or Lycian (Λύκειος) here applied to the god (Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 7; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 277 line 10 *sq.*), not from an imaginary Lycus, as Pausanias says it did. The same epithet was applied to Apollo at Sicyon and Argos, and the stories told to explain the epithet at these places prove that the ancients understood it in the sense of 'wolfish,' deriving it from *lukos* 'a wolf,' not from *luke* 'light of dawn,' as Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 17. 36 *sqq.*) held, and as some moderns, including Welcker and K. O. Müller, have also maintained. See Paus., ii. 9. 7; ii. 19. 3 *sq.* Wolves were dear to Apollo (Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 12) and they frequently appear in the myths told of him. For example, his mother Latona was in the form of a wolf when she gave him birth (Aristotle, *Hist. An.* vi. 35; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 124; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* iv. 4 and x. 26; Antigonus, *Histor. Mirab.* 56 (61), p. 77 of Westermann's *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*), and Apollo himself assumed the shape of a wolf on more than one occasion (Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 377). See K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 305 *sqq.*; F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 1. p. 476 *sqq.*; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 252 *sqq.*; Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 2. p. 199 *sqq.* Legend said that at Athens he was called Wolfish either because when he served Admetus it had been his duty to kill the wolves which preyed on the herds; or because once, when Athens was infested by wolves, Apollo commanded the people to sacrifice on the site of the Lyceum, and the smell of the sacrifice proved fatal to the wolves, for which reason the Athenians founded a sanctuary to Apollo on the spot (Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 114, p. 736). According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 124) the wolf was held in honour at Athens, for whoever killed a wolf had to bury it by subscription (ἀγείρει αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ταφήν).

The Lyceum would seem to have been of great antiquity, if we may judge from its mention in the war of Theseus against the Amazons (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27).

The image of Apollo in the Lyceum represented the god leaning on a column in an attitude of weariness, as if resting after long toil, his left hand grasping the bow, his right arm bent over his head (Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 7). On coins of Athens the god is so depicted: hence it is a probable conjecture that the artist who cut the dies copied the statue in the Lyceum. See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 285 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Com. on Paus.* p. 145, with pl. CC xviii. xix. A number of statues of Apollo have come down to us which may be replicas, more or less free, of the one in the Lyceum. They represent the god as resting very much in the pose described by Lucian. For example there is a famous statue of Apollo at Florence which portrays the god leaning in a negligent or wearied attitude against the stump of a tree; his left arm rests on the stump, his right arm is bent loosely over his head. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 99, 100, fig. 105; Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. p. 208 *sqq.* The priest of Lycean ('wolfish') Apollo had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 392). Water was brought to the sanctuary by thirty girls called Lyceiades (Hesychius, *s.v.* Λυκηιάδες κόραι). We hear of a votive offering set up in the sanctuary (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 341).

One of the most famous gymnasiums of Athens was at the Lyceum (Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 1-9; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Λύκειον, etc.) As to the date of the foundation of the gymnasium, ancient authorities differed. According to Theopompus it was founded in the sixth century B.C. by Pisistratus; according to Philochorus, it was founded in the fifth century B.C., under Pericles's administration (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Λύκειον); while according to a third account it was built in the fourth century B.C. by the statesman and orator Lycurgus (Pausanias, i. 29. 6; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 841 c, 852 c). This last account, adopted by Pausanias, is confirmed by an inscription contemporary with Lycurgus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 240, where the restoration τὸ γυμνάσιο[ν τ[ὸ κατὰ τὸ Λύκειον κατεσκεύ]ασεν is made almost certain by a comparison with [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 852 c). Lycurgus may have improved or even rebuilt the gymnasium, but he cannot have founded it, if, as seems to have been the case, it was a favourite haunt of Socrates (Plato, *Euthyphro*, p. 2 a; *id.*, *Euthydemus*, p. 271 a; *id.*, *Lysis*, p. 203 a). Certainly Lycurgus appears to have planted the enclosure with trees and built a wrestling-school ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 841 c, 843 f). Among the trees in the Lyceum Theophrastus specially mentions a young plane-tree growing beside a water-channel with roots 33 cubits long (*Hist. Plant.* i. 7. 1 ed. Wimmer). A considerable stretch of open and level ground must have been included within the precincts of the Lyceum, since it served as a parade-ground on which the citizens were drilled and reviews held (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 355 *sq.*, with the scholium; Suidas, *s.v.* Λύκειον; Hesychius, *s.v.* Λύκηον; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 277, line 10 *sqq.*) Cavalry as

well as infantry exercised here. Xenophon has described some of the manœuvres performed here by the ten troops of horse which made up the cavalry establishment of Athens (*Hipparchicus*, iii. 6). Before the legislation of Solon the polemarch or commander-in-chief had his office at the Lyceum (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 3 ; Suidas, *s.v.* ἄρχων; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐπὶ Λύκειον ; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 449, line 17 *sqq.*) We hear of a superintendent of the Lyceum (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 89). In front of the wrestling-school which he had built Lycurgus set up an inscription containing an account of all the public works which he had carried out in the course of his administration ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 f).

But what gives the Lyceum its chief interest is that here, pacing the shady walks of the gymnasium, Aristotle expounded to his disciples that philosophy which was destined to influence so profoundly the course of European thought for two thousand years. The tradition is that in the morning he discussed the deeper problems of nature and man with pupils who had already given proof of parts and learning ; while in the evening he discoursed on literary and political topics with any young men who chose to attend him in his walks. Hence the former discussions were called 'the morning walk,' and the latter 'the evening walk'; and philosophers of the Aristotelian school were called Peripatetics from this habit of walking about (*peripatos*) as they discoursed. See Diogenes Laertius, v. 1. 2 ; Cicero, *Academics*, i. 4. 17 ; Aulus Gellius, xx. 5 ; Schol. on Aristotle, p. 11 b, 23 *sqq.* (Berlin ed.) The Lyceum appears to have been the scene of other feasts than those of reason, since we hear of a cook being whipped for spoiling one of the dishes which he served up at a banquet here (Athenaeus, iv. p. 137 f). The Lyceum was burnt by King Philip V. of Macedonia in 200 B.C. at the same time that he destroyed Cynosarges and ravaged the suburbs of Athens (Livy, xxxi. 24, see above, p. 194). Sulla cut down the trees of the Lyceum to make siege-engines when he was besieging Athens in 87-86 B.C. (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 12).

With regard to the situation of the Lyceum, it is known to have been to the east of Athens and outside the walls. Plato represents Socrates as walking straight from the Academy to the Lyceum, his course lying outside of and just at the foot of the city-wall (*Lysis*, p. 203 a). Strabo speaks of the Ilissus flowing "from the parts above Agra and the Lyceum" (ix. p. 400), and elsewhere (ix. p. 397) he says that the springs of the Eridanus were outside of the gate of Diochares at Athens, near the Lyceum. Hence as the springs of the Eridanus appear to have been on the southern slope of Mt. Lycabettus (see note on § 5), the Lyceum was probably in this neighbourhood, between Lycabettus and the Ilissus. But the exact site has not been determined. Mr. P. Kastromenos supposes that the Lyceum was on the left bank of the Ilissus. A street led from it into the city, by which, in the civil war of 404-403 B.C., the democratic party in Piraeus attempted to bring up siege-engines against the walls of Athens. But the engineer of the oligarchic party in the city defeated their intention by barricading the street with great blocks of stone (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 27).

On the Lyceum see Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 278-280; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 288-291; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 182; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 27 *sqq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 324; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 219 *sqq.*

19. 3. **Lycus also gave his name to the Termilae** etc. This derivation of the name Lycia from an Athenian Lycus son of Pandion rests on the authority of Herodotus (i. 173, vii. 92). Cp. Strabo, xii. p. 573, xiv. p. 667. According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Τρεμίλη) the old name of Lycia was Tremile, and that of the inhabitants Tremileis. He quotes some verses of Panyasis which derive the name from a certain Tremilus; and he mentions that Hecataeus called the people Tremilae. These statements as to the old name of Lycia and the Lycians are confirmed by Lycian inscriptions, amongst others by the long one on the so-called obelisk of Harpagus which is now in London. Though these inscriptions have not yet been read, the name Tramelē occurs on them repeatedly and is doubtless the native name of the people. See Stein on Herodotus, i. 173; O. Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*, p. 22; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 5. p. 346.

19. 4. **A story is told of this Nisus that he had purple hair on his head** etc. Cp. Apollodorus, iii. 15. 8; Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 612 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 650 (who speaks of the hair as golden); Hyginus, *Fab.* 198; Propertius, iv. 19. 21 *sq.* A similar tale was told of Pterelaus and his golden hair, which his daughter plucked out so that he died (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 5 and 7). These tales belong to a widely diffused class of stories in which the life of a person is represented as bound up with some external object, the destruction of which causes his death. The oldest known example of this incident occurs in the Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers," which was written down in the reign of Rameses II., about 1300 B.C. (Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1882), p. 5 *sqq.*) See *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 296 *sqq.*

19. 5. **The Athenian rivers are the Ilissus and —— Eridanus.** The Ilissus is the stream which, rising in Mt. Hymettus to the east of Athens, flows on the southern side of the city, and after passing between the Museum Hill and a rocky height, which rises on the opposite (southern) bank of the stream, disappears in the plain. The gravelly bed of the river is nearly always dry, but sometimes after heavy rains a stream runs in it for several days, swelling on rare occasions into an impetuous torrent. It is only on those rare occasions that the water of the Ilissus reaches the marshes which skirt the bay of Phalerum. The banks of the river consist of low rocks or bare arid soil, diversified by the stiff, dim-coloured asphodel, and here and there by patches of oleander-bushes with their dark-green leaves and crimson blossoms, or by bunches of a sort of thistle with yellow flowers. But they are shaded by no plane-trees like that under whose spreading shade Socrates discoursed philosophy with Phaedrus on a summer day, while the fountain babbled at their side and the shrill hum of the cicalas filled the air (Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 230 b c).

The Ilissus has two main sources. One of these is at the northern

extremity of Mt. Hymettus, near the deserted monastery of St. John Theologus. The other is at *Kaesariani*, a monastery situated in a green sequestered dell embosomed among ancient olive-trees, at the foot of the bare stony slopes of Hymettus. The grass is here of a vivid green and is speckled with the cyclamen, the starry hyacinth, and the purple crocus. In this luxuriant glade, which Ovid has described in some often quoted lines (*Ars Amat.* iii. 687-694), the chief spring is on the east side of the monastery; its water pours into a basin out of an ancient marble ram's head and is famous at Athens, whither it is brought daily to be sold. In antiquity the spot was known as "the Cripple's Wallet" (*Kullou pēra*); there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite here; and the water of the spring was believed to possess the property of making barren women pregnant and of facilitating childbirth (Suidas, *s.vv.* Κυλλός and Κυλλοῦ πήραν; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Κύλλου πήραν; Hesychius, *s.v.* Κυλλοῦ πήρα; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, 1. p. 427). The same virtues are still ascribed to the water by the women of Athens. See L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 220-222.

The two streams which take their rise at *St. John Theologus* and *Kaesariani* respectively, meet about a mile and a half to the east of Athens, and the united river or rather river-bed is the Ilissus. Of the two branches the north-eastern, which rises at *St. John Theologus*, is the longer and is generally regarded as the upper course of the Ilissus; while the eastern branch, which rises at *Kaesariani*, is commonly taken to be the Eridanus. Dodwell, however, supposed, and Professor C. Wachsmuth has recently maintained, that the eastern branch is the Ilissus, and the north-eastern the Eridanus. See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 378 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, 1. pp. 468 *sqq.*, 484 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 282 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. pp. 8-10; *Karten von Attika*, *Erläuternder Text*, 2. pp. 18 *sq.*, 24; C. Wachsmuth, 'Eridanos und Ilissos,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 40 (1885), pp. 469-473.

But still more recently Dr. Dörpfeld has brought forward strong grounds for identifying the Eridanus with neither of these streams, but with a stream which, rising apparently to the east of Athens at the foot of Mt. Lycabettus, flows underground along the foot of the valley or depression on the north side of the Acropolis and comes to the surface at the church of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada) at the north-west end of Athens. Along the bottom of the same valley, which separates the Acropolis on the south from Mt. Lycabettus on the north, an ancient drain or sewer of large size has been traced at various points, and Dr. Dörpfeld holds that this drain, following as it does the lowest parts of the valley, is the old bed of the stream mentioned above. The mouth of this great sewer was found in the course of the excavations at the Dipylum. From the remains of arches it appears that in Roman times the sewer was covered, but that in the best Greek period it was mostly open, being only bridged over at points where the streets crossed it. In the city-wall there must have been a special exit for the stream which flowed along this artificial channel or sewer; and Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that this exit is no other than the opening, flanked with square towers, which is commonly called the Sacred Gate

and is to be seen in the line of the ancient city-wall, about sixty yards to the south-west of the Dipylum. See above, p. 43 *sq.*; von Alten, 'Die Thoranlagen bei der Hagia Triada zu Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 28 *sqq.*; and as to the sewer see E. Ziller, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 117-119. West of the Dipylum the bed of the stream can be traced as far as the modern road to Piraeus; but beyond that it disappears. At this point a small hill rises, crowned with the remains of a windmill. Round this hill the stream must have flowed either on the north or the south side. If it flowed on the north side, it probably joined the Cephisus: if it flowed on the south side, it must have joined the Ilissus to the south-west. Dr. Dörpfeld considers that the latter is the more probable.

Thus it appears that in antiquity a stream was formed by one or more springs at the foot of Mt. Lycabettus, flowed through the city on the northern side of the Acropolis, passed through the city-wall a little to the south of the Dipylum, and after bending round the north-western spurs of the Pynx hill, joined the Ilissus. This stream, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, was the Eridanus. The passages of classical authors on which he relies to prove it are these:

(1) In his fanciful picture of Athens as it was before the Flood, Plato says that the Acropolis extended as far as the Eridanus and the Ilissus and embraced the Pnyx hill, being bounded on the side opposite the Pnyx by Mt. Lycabettus (*Critias*, p. 112 a). It is natural to suppose that here Plato referred to the two streams which flowed along the northern and southern sides of the Acropolis, though at some distance from them. And if so, the stream to the north must have been the Eridanus, since the stream to the south is certainly the Ilissus. But if we suppose the Eridanus to have been one of the two streams which unite to form the Ilissus at a point about a mile and a half to the east of Athens, the passage of Plato is hardly intelligible.

(2) An ancient poet who had spoken of the Athenian maidens drawing "the clear sparkling water of the Eridanus," was taken to task for so doing by Callimachus in his treatise on rivers, who affirmed on the contrary that the water of the Eridanus was such that even cattle would not drink of it. Strabo, who quotes this criticism of Callimachus (ix. p. 397), admits the dirtiness of the stream, but says that the springs of the river, situated outside the gate of Diochares near the Lyceum, were still pure and drinkable, and consequently that the stream itself might have been clear in the olden time to which the poet referred. From this passage of Strabo we learn (i) that in his time and for some centuries before it the water of the Eridanus was so filthy as to be quite undrinkable; and (ii) that the springs of the Eridanus were outside one of the gates of Athens, near the Lyceum. Both these facts seem irreconcileable with the view that the Eridanus was one of the two streams which meet about a mile and a half to the east of Athens. For why should one of these streams, far from the city, be so dirty that even the cattle would turn away from it in disgust? And how could the sources of either of these streams be described as outside one of the gates of Athens, near the Lyceum, when the nearest of the two sources is at

the foot of Mt. Hymettus, four miles from Athens? Whereas if the Eridanus is the stream which, rising at the foot of Mt. Lycabettus, flowed through the heart of the city, all is clear. In the days of Athens's greatness this stream, doubtless defiled with sewage, would be wholly undrinkable. But a poet might very well picture to himself a far-off time when Athens was still a little town perched on the rocky heights of the Acropolis, and the Athenian girls came down with their pitchers to draw water from the clear sparkling stream which bickered over the pebbles in the valley. And the springs of this stream are situated just where Strabo places the springs of the Eridanus, namely, outside the walls on the eastern side of the city.

(3) Pausanias in the present passage says that Athens (literally the Athenians) has two rivers, the Ilissus and Eridanus. He obviously intends to enumerate the rivers which flowed through Athens. But there are two and only two such streams, one on the north, the other on the south of the Acropolis. The latter was the Ilissus; the former must, therefore, have been the Eridanus.

These arguments of Dr. Dörpfeld appear to me conclusive. See W. Dörpfeld, 'Der Eridanos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 211-220; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 222-224.

19. 5. **the Celtic Eridanus.** See note on v. 12. 7.

19. 5. **at the Ilissus —— Orithyia was playing when the North Wind** etc. The spot where the North Wind was said to have carried off Orithyia was on the bank of the Ilissus, at the point where the road crossed over to the suburb of Agrae; here there was an altar to the North Wind (Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 b c). Cp. Dionysius Periegetes, 424 *sq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, i. 213 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 15. 2; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 630 *sq.* Cicero's friend Atticus had a house near the spot (Cicero, *De legibus*, i. 1. 5). According to another version of the story Orithyia was carried off from the Areopagus (Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 d). As the North Wind had married an Attic wife, the Athenians regarded him as a relation by marriage; and accordingly when they lay at anchor off Chalcis in Euboea, hourly expecting to engage the Persian fleet, they prayed to the North Wind and his wife to help them by wrecking the enemy's ships. A violent storm which cast away not less than four hundred of the Persian vessels seemed an answer to their prayers; and so when they returned home they founded a sanctuary of the North Wind beside the Ilissus (Herodotus, vii. 189; cp. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 61). To this story Pausanias here alludes, though he does not mention the sanctuary, which was probably a small enclosure containing the altar spoken of by Plato. The grateful Athenians seem to have held festivals in honour of the North Wind and offered him banquets (Hesychius, *s.v.* Βορεασμοί). As to the Greek worship of the winds, see ii. 12. 1 note. The rape of Orithyia by the North Wind was represented on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. 19. 1), and it is depicted on many existing red-figured vases. See Welcker, 'Boreas und Oreithyia,' *Antike Denkmäler*, 3. pp. 144-191; G. Perrot, 'L'enlévement d'Orithyie par Borée,' *Monuments Grecs*, vol. 1. No. 3 (1874), pp. 29-52; Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad*

Thraces pertinentibus, p. 7 *sqq.*; Rapp, article 'Boreas' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. p. 804 *sqq.*

19. 5. an altar of the Ilissian Muses. The worship of the Muses at the Ilissus is attested also by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἰλισσός), who refers to Apollodorus as his authority. The Muses of the Ilissus are mentioned by Himerius (*Or.* xxii. 9). When Wheler and Spon were in Athens in 1676 the foundations of a small round temple were visible on the right bank of the Ilissus, a little way below the church of the Crucified St. Peter (Hagios Petros Stavromenos), which stands on the opposite (left) bank, above the stadium. It has been sometimes supposed that these ruins, which have since disappeared, were the remains of a temple of the Ilissian Muses. But this is a mere unsupported conjecture. We do not even know that there was such a temple. See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 377 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, I. p. 278 *sq.*; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I. p. 235; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 183. Professor C. Wachsmuth thinks that the worship of the Muses in the valley of the Ilissus is an indication of a Thracian settlement in this quarter of Athens (*Die Stadt Athen*, I. p. 399 *sqq.*)

19. 6. The spot, too, is shown where the Peloponnesians slew the Athenian king Codrus. The legend ran that the Peloponnesians, having resolved to conquer Attica, were told by the Delphic god that they would capture Athens provided they did not kill Codrus the king. This prediction having come to the ears of Codrus, he determined to save his country by sacrificing himself. So when the enemy had approached the city, he disguised himself as a poor man, and stealing out of one of the gates gathered a bundle of sticks not far from the walls. Here he was accosted by two of the enemy: he killed one of them and was himself slain by the other. So Athens was saved. See Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 84-87. An inscription of Roman date which purports to be the epitaph on Codrus's grave was found to the south-east of the Acropolis, near the monument of Lysicrates (see below, p. 207 *sq.*) It is an epigram in four verses engraved on a base of reddish stone; and states that the body of Codrus was embalmed by the Athenians and buried at the foot of the Acropolis (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 943; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1083).

From another inscription (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 66, No. 53 a) found at the southern outskirts of Athens, to the left of the steam tramway which runs to Phalerum, we learn that there was a sanctuary of Codrus at Athens. The inscription is cut on a block of Pentelic marble and records a decree of the people passed in the archonship of Antiphon (418 B.C.) The decree provides for the enclosing of the sanctuary of Codrus, Neleus, and Basile, and for the letting out of the sacred precinct. The lease was to run for twenty years: the lessee was to enclose the sanctuary of Codrus, Neleus and Basile at his own expense and to cultivate the sacred precinct of Neleus and Basile by planting not less than two hundred young olive-trees, but more if he pleased: and he was to have control over "the trench and all the rain water that flows between the sanctuary of Dionysus and the gate by which the Initiated drive out to the sea, and between the State House and the gate which

leads to the bath of Isthmonicus." A copy of the decree was to be engraved on stone and set up "in the sanctuary of Neleus beside the scaffold" (παρὰ τὰ ἴκρια). The sanctuary of Dionysus mentioned in the inscription is no doubt the one near the theatre (Paus. i. 20. 3); and it may be taken for granted that the gate by which the Initiated passed out to the sea was in the city-wall on the south side of Athens, probably not very far from the Itonian gate. Hence the sanctuary of Codrus, Neleus, and Basile was probably situated between the sanctuary of Dionysus and the southern wall of the city, on or near the ground now occupied by the Military Hospital. Neleus was the son of Codrus and led the Ionian emigrants to Asia (vii. 2. 1-6). Who Basile ('queen') was, is uncertain. Professor E. Curtius supposes that she was a personification of regal power. In the island of Thera there is a small temple, in perfect preservation, dedicated to "the goddess Queen" (note on iii. 1. 8). The sanctuary of Basile at Athens is referred to by Plato, who mentions "the wrestling school of Taureas" opposite to it (*Charmides*, p. 153 a, where we should read Βασιλῆς with two MSS. instead of βασιλικῆς). See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pp. 161-166; E. Curtius, 'Das Neleïon oder Heiligthum der Basile in Athen,' *Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen. zu Berlin*, 1885, pp. 437-441 (reprinted in Curtius's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 459-464); J. R. Wheeler, 'An Attic decree, the sanctuary of Kodros,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1887), pp. 38-49; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 228 *sq.* Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 232 *sqq.*

19. 6. **Across the Ilissus is a district called Agrae and a temple of Huntress Artemis.** This district on the left (south) bank of the Ilissus was known indifferently as Agrae or Agra (Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* ii. 852, p. 361; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἄγρα). Its situation beside the Ilissus is well attested (Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 b c; Strabo, ix. p. 400; Clidemus, in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 326, line 30 *sqq.*; Suidas, *s.v.* ἄγρα; Eustathius, *l.c.*) That it was on the left bank of the river appears from Plato (*l.c.*) as well as from Pausanias. According to Clitodemus or Clidemus, the oldest writer on the history of Attica (Paus. x. 15. 5 note), the original name of the district was Helicon, and on the highest point of the ground there was an altar of Heliconian Poseidon (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 326 *sq.*) Every year, on the 6th day of the month Boedromion, the anniversary of the battle of Marathon, 500 goats were sacrificed to Huntress (*Agrotera*) Artemis. The origin of the sacrifice was this. Before the battle of Marathon the Athenians vowed to sacrifice to Artemis as many goats as they should kill enemies. But after the battle, finding that they had not goats enough to perform their vow, they resolved instead to sacrifice 500 every year. See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii. 2. 11 *sqq.*; Plutarch, *De malignitate Herodoti*, 26; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 25 (who puts the number of goats sacrificed at 300); Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 660. (As to the date of the battle of Marathon, see also Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 7; *id.*, *Camillus*, 19). The sacrifice was offered by the polemarch or com-

mander-in-chief (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58; Pollux, viii. 91). Aristophanes represents the sausage-seller as proposing to the Council that they should sacrifice 1000 goats to Huntress Artemis on the morrow (*Knights*, 660 *sq.*) On an inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 210, line 16 *sqq.*) we read of a tithe of slaves belonging to Huntress Artemis; and on another inscription her name occurs in a list of sacred monies (*C. I. A.* i. No. 273 f, line 11). The lads (*ephēboi*) went in procession in honour of Huntress Artemis (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 467-471; cp. Plutarch, *De malignitate Herodoti*, 26). They also raced to Agrae (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 1147, col. iii. line 48 *sq.*) Huntress Artemis is represented on coins of Athens with a hind or a dog at her feet, but without the bow which, as we learn from Pausanias, her statue carried (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 214 *sq.*) It was probably to Huntress Artemis in her character of Deer-hitter (*Elaphebolos*) that deer, and cakes called 'deer,' were sacrificed in the month Elaphebolion (see note on x. 32. 16).

The lesser mysteries of Demeter were performed at Agrae in the month Anthesterion (February - March) (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 26; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* ii. 852, p. 361; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἄγρα; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 326, line 24 *sqq.*) Of the nature of these lesser mysteries little is known. We hear of a purification at them (Polyaenus, v. 17), and also of a sacrifice (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 315). The worshippers appear to have lived in tents or huts during the celebration of the rites (Himerius, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 369 a, ed. Bekker), as they did at so many religious festivals (see above, p. 165 *sq.*) Hercules is said to have been initiated at Agrae (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἄγρα, where we must read *μεμυῆσθαι* instead of the *μεμνῆσθαι* which appears in Westermann's edition). These mysteries were doubtless celebrated in a sanctuary of Demeter, though the positive evidence for the existence of such a sanctuary is very small (cp. Suidas, *s.v.* ἄγρα; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἄγραι). We have it on the authority of Clitodemus that there was a Metroum or sanctuary of the Mother at Agrae (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 327, line 2 *sq.*), but this would more naturally mean a sanctuary of Rhea than a sanctuary of Demeter. The worship of the Mother in Agrae is attested by inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 201, line 7, supplemented by *C. I. A.* ii. No. 273 f, line 23). Those who suppose that the Eleusinium mentioned by Pausanias in i. 14. 3 was in the neighbourhood of Callirrhoe, naturally assume that the lesser mysteries were performed in it (see note on i. 14. 1 'Enneacrunus').

Neither the site of the sanctuary of Huntress Artemis nor that of Demeter in Agrae has been determined. It has been sometimes supposed, as by Wheler (*Journey*, p. 378) and Leake (*Athens*, 1. p. 278), that the church of the Crucified St. Peter (Hagios Petros Stavromenos) on the left bank of the Ilissus, about 200 yards above the stadium, occupies the site of the temple of Huntress Artemis. Here are or were formerly some ancient remains, including a Doric capital, fragments of granite columns, bases of columns, a Roman mosaic, etc. See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 83 *sq.*; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 238, note 2. Professor Milchhöfer thinks it more likely that the temple was near the site of the chapel of St. Elias, which lies

among the hills to the south-east of the church of the Crucified St. Peter. To the north-east of the chapel of St. Elias, on the opposite side of the road, there are some ancient blocks and the drum of a column of Pentelic marble. See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 183 *sq.*; *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, ii. p. 25.

The point at which Pausanias crossed the Ilissus is probably the place indicated by Plato where he says (*Phaedrus*, p. 229 b c) that the North Wind carried off Orithyia "where we cross over to the suburb (or sanctuary) of Agra; and there is an altar of the North Wind, I believe, on the spot." There was an ancient bridge over the Ilissus, opposite to the stadium; Wheler in 1676 described it as "an antient bridge of three arches, built cross the Ilissus, of large hewn stone, laid firm together without mortar; and is about forty feet long" (*Journey*, p. 375). It was destroyed in 1780 for the sake of the stones. From the style of the remains of it which existed down to 1873, modern authorities are of opinion that it was probably built by Herodes Atticus (second century A.D.), who reconstructed the stadium of Pentelic marble. The new bridge which now spans the bed of the stream at this point was built in 1873. See Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, 1. p. 408; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 292 *sq.*; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 235 *sqq.*, 696 note 3; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 185; Baedeker,[3] p. 51; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 100.

As to the suburb of Agrae and its sanctuaries, see Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 291 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 183 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 224 *sqq.* As to Huntress Artemis, see Index, and Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 311 *sq.*; Roscher, *Lexikon*, 1. p. 581 *sq.* As to the celebration of the mysteries in Agrae, see Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 373-378.

19. 6. **a stadium of white marble.** The remains of the Panathenaic stadium are a conspicuous object on the left (south) bank of the Ilissus, about a third of a mile to the east of the Olympieum. It was constructed in the valley between two low hills which extend in two parallel lines to the bank of the river. The direction of the valley is from south-east to north-west. At its south-eastern extremity the valley was closed by an artificial enbankment, still existing, which joined the two hills and formed the semi-circular termination of the stadium. The stadium appears to have been first constructed in the fourth century B.C. by the statesman and orator Lycurgus. The ground had previously been the private property of a certain Dinias, who gave it up to the state. Lycurgus levelled the valley, built a low wall all round the race-course, and completed the stadium ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 841 d, 852 c; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 240). This seems to have been done in or shortly before 330 B.C.; for in an inscription dated Ol. 112. 3 (330-329 B.C.) a certain Eudemus is publicly thanked for having lent 1000 yoke of oxen to the state for the construction of the stadium (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 176). In the third century B.C. the stadium appears to have been repaired or improved by a certain Heraclitus, if we may judge from a mutilated inscription of that epoch (*Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, p. 58). Another inscription, of Roman date, to which reference has already

been frequently made, appears to record the repair of the starting-point in the stadium (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 169 *sq.*) In the second century of our era the wealthy and munificent Herodes Atticus, having received a crown at the Panathenaic festival, promised the people that when they next met to celebrate the festival, the stadium should be wholly fitted up with white marble. He kept his word, and within four years the work was finished. Philostratus, who records the fact (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 7), describes the stadium as "beyond all other marvels and such that no theatre could vie with it."

The race-course was cleared of rubbish in 1869-1870 at the expense of King George. Its total length is 204 metres (about 670 feet) and its breadth 33.36 metres (about 109 feet). Down the middle of the race-course ran a low wall with a post (*meta*) at each end and one in the middle. The post at the semi-circular end of the course was distant 16.68 metres from the low wall or parapet which ran round the course. This post was found and is now in the National Museum of Athens. It is a squared pillar of stone surmounted by a head of Hermes and a head of Apollo (or Dionysus) back to back. The starting-point has not been discovered. Of the marble parapet which ran round the outer edge of the race-course, dividing it from the spectators, some slabs and foundations have been found at the semi-circular end of the stadium. Behind this parapet there was a passage or corridor 9¼ feet wide, which gave access to the lower tiers of seats. The number of tiers of seats cannot be exactly determined, but there seem to have been about sixty of them, which, it is calculated, would contain over 50,000 spectators. Staircases led from the corridor to the upper rows of seats: of these staircases there were eleven on each side of the stadium and seven at the semi-circular end. None of the marble seats with which Herodes Atticus adorned the stadium are to be seen. They had already disappeared when Spon and Wheler visited Athens in 1676. Remains of lime-kilns in the stadium indicate that the marble blocks have been converted into lime. Above the highest row of seats at the semi-circular end of the stadium there are traces of a Doric colonnade, about 105 feet long and 33 feet wide.

On the south-eastern side of the stadium, where the semi-circular part begins, a tunnel about 12 feet wide by 10 feet high leads from the level of the race-course through the side of the hill. It has been conjectured that this tunnel was made in Roman times and served to admit wild beasts and gladiators to the race-course, which under the empire seems to have served as an arena. At least we are told that Hadrian exhibited the slaughter of a thousand wild beasts in the stadium at Athens (Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 19). At the other end of the stadium, towards the river, there seems to have been a portico; traces of it may still be seen. On the summits of both the hills which bound the stadium, the one on the north-east the other on the south-west, there are artificial terraces and some large ancient blocks of stone. On one of these summits, perhaps on the western and higher one, may have stood the temple of Fortune which Herodes built "on the other side of the stadium"; the image of Fortune in the temple was of ivory (Philo-

stratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 8). It has been conjectured that the building on the other summit was the tomb of Herodes Atticus, who was buried in the stadium (Philostratus, *op. cit.* ii. 1. 37). The Fortune to whom Herodes Atticus dedicated the temple may have been the Fortune of the City, of whom his wife Appia Regilla was a priestess (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 288; cp. C. Wachsmuth, in *id.* 9 (1884), p. 95). The hill which forms the boundary of the stadium on the south-west is by some topographers supposed to be Ardettus, which is described as a place at the Ilissus, above or near the Panathenaic stadium (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀρδηττός; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀρδήττους; Pollux, viii. 122). It was at Ardettus that the Athenian jurymen swore that they would give their verdicts in accordance with law and equity; the deities by whom they swore were Paternal Apollo, Demeter, and King Zeus (Pollux, Harpocration and Hesychius, *ll.cc.*; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀρδήττης; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 443, line 24 *sqq.*) Other topographers incline to identify as Ardettus the hill to the north-east of the stadium, at the western foot of which lies the chapel of the Crucified St. Peter (Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 238; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 184).

See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 375; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 80 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, 1. p. 408 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 192-195; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 236 *sq.*; Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 12 *sq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 296 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 51 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 100 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 231 *sq.* As to Herodes Atticus, see Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 377 *sqq.*

20. 1. **There is a street called Tripods leading from the Prytaneum.** After describing the eastern suburbs of Athens, Pausanias now returns to the Prytaneum, and follows the street of Tripods which led thence to the theatre of Dionysus, skirting the eastern foot of the Acropolis. The line of the street on the eastern side of the Acropolis is determined by the well-known choregic monument of Lysicrates, one of the 'temples' described by Pausanias as lining the street and supporting the bronze tripods which gave the street its name. This graceful monument stands on level ground 130 or 140 yards from the eastern cliff of the Acropolis; and as the inscription on it faces south-east we infer that the street ran on this side of it. The form of the monument is that of a small circular temple of the Corinthian order, resting on a quadrangular basement 13 feet high. This basement is built of Piraeic limestone, with a cornice of Eleusinian marble. The circular part of the monument is 21½ feet high by 9 feet in diameter. It is of Pentelic marble and consists of six fluted Corinthian columns supporting an architrave and frieze. The spaces between the columns are filled up with curved marble panels, so that there was no opening into the interior of the tiny temple, and it was quite dark inside. The frieze, about 10 inches high only, is adorned with low reliefs, now much damaged, representing the punishment which Dionysus inflicted on the pirates by turning them into dolphins (see the Homeric hymn *Dionysus, or the Pirates;* Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 650 *sqq.*; Nonnius, xlv. 102-165;

Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 18). The roof is cut out of a single block of marble, and is delicately chiselled to resemble a thatch of laurel leaves. From the centre of it rises a finely-carved floral ornament which originally supported the tripod. From the inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1242 : Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 415) carved on the architrave we learn that the monument was erected for a scenic victory won by Lysicrates son of Lysithides with a chorus in the archonship of Euaenetus (335-334 B.C.) It is now popularly known as the lantern of Diogenes ; formerly it was called the lantern of Demosthenes, and an absurd tradition prevailed that Demosthenes had shut himself up in it to pursue his studies undisturbed. The monument is the oldest existing example of the Corinthian order of architecture, with the exception of the inner part of the *Tholos* or Rotunda in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus.

The line of the street of Tripods was further determined by the discovery, in 1854, of the quadrangular base of another choregic monument to the north of the Lysicrates monument. This second base is at the north-west corner of the junction of the modern Tripod Street with the modern Thespis Street. Further, in the course of the excavations at the theatre of Dionysus in 1862, there was discovered the base of what seems to have been another choregic monument at the entrance to the eastern *parodos*, or passage into the orchestra between the seats of the theatre and the stage. The base is of white marble veined with blue, and is flanked by two pilasters of Pentelic marble. In the same passage was found a fragment of a small architrave and cornice of Pentelic marble with the end of an inscription. The beginning of the inscription was found in 1877 close to the same place, built into a mediaeval tomb. The two pieces put together make up a choregic inscription recording scenic victories won in the archonship of Anaxicrates (307-306 B.C.) (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1289 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 417 ; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 237). In point of style and workmanship this inscribed architrave closely resembles the pilaster-flanked base ; but as their dimensions are somewhat different, it would seem that they belonged to two separate choregic monuments, which probably stood at the end of the street of Tripods, close to the theatre. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1877, p. 18 ; E. Pottier, 'Fragments de monuments choragiques à l'est du Théâtre de Bacchus,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 3 (1879), pp. 221-229. We hear that the tyrant Demetrius Phalereus walked after breakfast "beside the tripods," which probably means in the street of the Tripods ; and hence the place became a fashionable lounge for idlers who wished to attract his attention (Athenaeus, xii. p. 542 f).

See Wheler, *Journey in Greece*, pp. 397-399 ; Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 1. ch. 4, pp. 27-36, with plates i.-xxvi. ; Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, 1. p. 289 *sqq.* ; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 284-287 ; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 12 (1854), p. 437 *sq.* ; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 299-305 ; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 240-242 ; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 188 *sq.* ; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 838-840 ; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 326 ; Baedeker,[3] p. 52 *sq.* ; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 68 *sq.* ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 241-253. As to the sculptured frieze on the monument of Lysicrates, see also Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xxxvii. ; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 120-124 ; Murray, *History*

of Greek Sculpture, 2. pp. 330-334; Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 485-489; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1328; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 248-257; H. F. De Cou, 'The frieze of the choragic monument of Lysikrates at Athens,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 42-55.

The street of Tripods was not the only place in Athens where prize tripods were set up by the men who had won them in scenic competitions. They were dedicated also in the sanctuaries of Dionysus and of the Pythian Apollo (Isaeus, v. 41; see note on i. 19. 1 'Pythian Apollo'). Nicias and his brothers set up their prize tripods in the sanctuary of Dionysus (Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 472 a; Plutarch, *Nicias*, 3); and down to Plutarch's time there were tripods in the same sanctuary inscribed with the name of Aristides, but whether this Aristides was the celebrated personage of that name or somebody else, was disputed (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 1). A large number of inscriptions from the bases of choregic monuments have been found in Athens. See *C. I. A.* i. Nos. 336 *sq.*; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1234, 1235 *sqq.*; U. Köhler, 'Documente zur Geschichte des athenischen Theaters,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 104 *sqq.*, 229 *sqq.*

20. 1. **These tripods —— enclose most memorable works of art.** The statues were placed under the tripods, so that the three long legs of the tripod enclosed the statue, and the kettle or cauldron served as a roof to it. For other instances of statues thus placed under tripods, see Paus. iii. 18. 8; cp. iv. 14. 2. An inscription found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1298; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 924) mentions that a certain Praxiteles set up statues of Victory under two tripods, probably for scenic victories which he had won with choruses trained at his expense. On this custom of placing statues under tripods see O. Benndorf, in *Zeitschrift für die österreich. Gymnasien*, 26 (1875), p. 734 *sqq.*; E. Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, pp. 110-115; cp. O. Kern, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), p. 54 *sqq.*

20. 1. **here is the Satyr of which Praxiteles is said to have been very proud** etc. Athenaeus mentions (xiii. p. 591 b) that Praxiteles allowed Phryne to choose either the statue of Love or the statue of the Satyr in the street of Tripods (τὸν ἐπὶ Τριπόδων Σάτυρον), and that she chose the Love. But he does not relate the ruse to which, according to Pausanias, Phryne had recourse in order to discover which of his statues Praxiteles valued most. Pliny mentions (*N. H.* xxxiv. 69) a famous bronze statue of a Satyr by Praxiteles which was commonly known as *Periboëtos* or 'celebrated'; it formed one figure of a group, the other figures being Dionysus and Drunkenness. It has sometimes been supposed that this 'celebrated' Satyr was identical with the one here mentioned by Pausanias. But this seems impossible, since the 'celebrated' Satyr was part of a group, whereas the Satyr here mentioned by Pausanias was a single figure, as appears clearly from the anecdote about Phryne.

We have no information as to the pose and characteristic beauties of the statue of the Satyr on which Praxiteles set so much store. But a

great many copies have come down to us of the statue of a Satyr which is admitted on all hands to be thoroughly Praxitelean in style. It represents a youthful and comely Satyr leaning in an easy, negligent attitude against the stump of a tree, and gazing idly before him with a placid and somewhat dreamy look. His right arm rests on the stump of the tree, his left on his hip. In his right hand he holds his flute. The skin of a panther is flung over his right shoulder and crosses the upper part of his body like a scarf. The weight of the body rests on the left foot; the right foot is drawn back. The ears are pointed, but otherwise there is nothing in the graceful figure with its soft, flowing lines, to recall the brutish nature commonly ascribed to the Satyrs. Of hardly any ancient statue have so many copies survived as of this. Almost every important collection of sculpture possesses one or more of them. The original must, therefore, have been one of the most popular statues of antiquity. Of the existing copies by far the finest is a torso which was found in one of the imperial palaces on the Palatine at Rome and is now preserved in the Louvre. The material is very fine Parian marble and the workmanship is most exquisite. Indeed the late H. Brunn, one of the best judges of Greek sculpture, held that the torso is an original work of Praxiteles, and superior even to the famous Hermes with the infant Dionysus of the same sculptor. For, according to Brunn, the Hermes is a youthful and immature work of the great sculptor; but the torso of the Satyr must have been executed by him when he was in the prime of his powers, and represents the very summit of his achievement in art. Whether this is so or not, it is highly probable that the original statue was a work of Praxiteles: and it is possible that it was the statue which stood in the street of Tripods, as we learn from Pausanias and Athenaeus. There was, indeed, another statue of a Satyr by Praxiteles at Megara (Paus. i. 43. 5); but it does not seem to have enjoyed the same celebrity as the one in Tripod street at Athens, and copies of it are less likely to have been multiplied.

See K. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*, § 127. 2; H. Brunn, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, May, 1882, pp. 200-205; *id.*, *Beschreibung d. Glyptothek*, Nos. 105, 106; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgusse*, No. 1216; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2 pp. 40, 58 *sqq.*; Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 447 *sqq.*; Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 265 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1398 *sqq.*; *Beschreibung d. antiken Skulpturen* (Berlin), Nos. 258, 259; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 559-561.

In § 2 of this chapter Pausanias mentions the statue of a boy Satyr holding out a cup, which stood in a temple of Dionysus. Some distinguished archaeologists, including K. B. Stark, L. Stephani, the late H. Brunn, and Professor Otto Benndorf, have held that this statue of the boy Satyr holding out a cup was no other than the one on which Praxiteles prided himself so much: that in fact in §§ 1 and 2 of this chapter Pausanias is speaking of one statue only of a Satyr, not of two. A fatal objection to this view appears to be that, after mentioning Praxiteles's favourite Satyr and telling the anecdote about it, Pausanias goes on to

say that *in the neighbouring temple* of Dionysus there is a statue of a boy Satyr, etc. This surely implies that the boy Satyr was in a temple different from, though near to, the shrine which contained Praxiteles's favourite Satyr. It seems, therefore, that Pausanias is describing two separate statues of Satyrs. In regard to the second statue (the boy Satyr holding out the cup) there is nothing to show that it was by Praxiteles. Nor does it appear to have formed a group with the statues of Love and Dionysus by the sculptor Thymilus, which stood in the same temple. Some scholars, indeed, have not only assumed that these three statues formed a group, but have actually identified this supposed group with the bronze group of Dionysus, Drunkenness, and a Satyr described by Pliny as a work of Praxiteles (*N. H.* xxxiv. 69, see above). They suppose that Pliny or his authority mistook the figure of Love for a personification of Drunkenness. But a figure of Love, doubtless represented as a naked boy, could hardly be mistaken for Drunkenness (*Methe*), who would have been represented as a draped woman. Moreover, the whole group described by Pliny was by Praxiteles; whereas in the supposed group described by Pausanias two of the three figures were by a sculptor Thymilus (otherwise unknown), and in regard to the third figure we do not know whether it was by Praxiteles or not. L. Stephani maintained that the statue of the boy Satyr holding out a cup (which, as we have seen, he identified with Praxiteles's favourite Satyr) is reproduced in a number of statues which have come down to us. These statues represent a graceful young Satyr pouring wine out of a can which he holds in his raised right hand into a drinking-horn which he holds in his left. One copy of this wine-pouring Satyr was found at Castel Gandolfo, on the margin of the Alban lake, and is now at Dresden. The original of these statues certainly appears to have been a famous work of the Praxitelean school, if not of Praxiteles himself. But we are not justified in identifying it with the statue described by Pausanias in § 2. For, in the first place, the attitudes of the two statues are different; and, in the second place, as already remarked, we do not know that the statue described by Pausanias was by Praxiteles. Professor Furtwängler, however, apparently inclines to adopt Stephani's view, identifying the wine-pouring Satyr with Praxiteles's statue, and holding that it formed a group with Thymilus's figures of Love and Dionysus. He considers that the wine-pouring Satyr is an early work of Praxiteles, probably executed about 370-360 B.C., and that it betrays the influence of Polyclitus.

See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xxxix. No. 459; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1217; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 338 *sq.*; L. Urlichs, in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik*, 70 (1854), p. 185; Overbeck, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1 (1855), pp. 679-681; C. Bursian, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 4 (1858), p. 105 *sq.*; K. Friederichs, *Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe*, pp. 12-20; L. Stephani, 'Parerga Archaeologica,' xxviii. in *Mélanges Gréco-Romaines*, 3 (1869-1874), pp. 363-398; K. Lugebil, in *Philologus*, 33 (1874), pp. 67-97; O. Benndorf, in *Zeitschrift für die österreich. Gymnasien*, 26 (1875), p. 731 *sqq.*; P. Wolters, in *Archaologische Zeitung*, 43 (1885), p. 81 *sqq.*; E. Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, p. 111 *sq.*; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 533 *sqq.* As to Praxiteles's statue of Love, see ix. 27. 3 note.

20. 3. the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is beside the theatre. The situation of the theatre at the south-eastern foot of the Acropolis is well known. The sanctuary of Dionysus here described by Pausanias lay immediately to the south of the theatre, at the back of the stage buildings, for here have been found the remains of the two temples mentioned by our author. The existence of a sanctuary of Dionysus beside the theatre is noticed also by Vitruvius (v. 9); and we are told by Marinus (*Life of Proclus*, 29) that the philosopher Proclus had a house between the sanctuary of Dionysus at the theatre and the sanctuary of Aesculapius, which, as we know, was situated at the southern base of the Acropolis, immediately to the west of the theatre. An ornamental gateway or portal led into the precinct. For Diocleides, who gave evidence as to the sacrilegious mutilation of the Hermae which created such consternation in Athens on the eve of the sailing of the Sicilian expedition, described how, rising one morning before day-break to go to Laurium, he came to the portal of Dionysus and there by the light of a full moon saw a crowd of men coming down from the Music Hall into the orchestra. Full of fear and awe he entered the precinct and, crouching down in the shadow between a pillar and a bronze equestrian statue, beheld how the men, about three hundred in number, divided themselves into bands of fives, tens, and twenties, and danced in the moonlight, which fell so full on their faces that he recognised most of them. Next day he heard that the Hermae had been mutilated, and he made sure that the men he had seen dancing by moonlight in the orchestra were the criminals. See Andocides, i. 38 *sq.*

Until lately it has been customary to identify this sanctuary of Dionysus at the theatre with (1) the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes, and (2) the Lenaeum (sanctuary of Lenaean Dionysus), which have been regarded as identical with each other.

(1) The sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes is mentioned by Thucydides (ii. 15) along with the sanctuaries of Olympian Zeus, the Pythian Apollo, and Earth, as proof that ancient Athens, so far as it exceeded the limits of the Acropolis, lay chiefly to the south of it. Thucydides adds that the more ancient festival of Dionysus was celebrated at this sanctuary in the Marshes on the 12th day of the month of Anthesterion (February-March). Thus from Thucydides we learn that the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes lay to the south of the Acropolis. Further, we know that it was within the city-walls; for Isaeus tells us (viii. 35) that a certain Ciron owned a farm at Phlya and two houses in the city, of which one, rented at 2000 drachms, was beside the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes. The pseudo-Demosthenes (lix. 76, p. 1371) speaks of this sanctuary as the oldest and holiest sanctuary of the god in Athens; it was opened, he tells us, only once a year, namely on the 12th of Anthesterion, the day when the ancient Dionysiac festival was held. On this day, known as the Feast of Pitchers (*Choes*), people brought to the priestess in the sanctuary at the Marshes the garlands which they had worn; after which they offered sacrifices in the sanctuary (Athenaeus, x. p. 437 b-d). They also brought the new wine in jars

and offered some of it to the wine-god at his sanctuary in the Marshes; then they quaffed it themselves (Athenaeus, xi. p. 465 a). But this presentation of the new wine could hardly have taken place in Anthesterion (February-March); the natural time for it would be in autumn. It is not said that the presentation took place inside of, but only at or beside (πρός), the sanctuary. There was an altar in the sanctuary, and beside the altar stood a stone pillar or slab, on which was engraved a law ordaining that the Queen, the wife of the republican magistrate called the King, must be a burgess and a virgin when she married her husband ([Demosthenes,] lix. p. 1370). Beside this altar the Queen administered an oath of chastity and ceremonial purity to the fourteen women who assisted her in her priestly functions ([Demosthenes,] lix. pp. 1369-1372; Hesychius and Harpocration, *s.v.* γεραραί). Aristophanes refers to the croaking of the frogs at this sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes at the feast of the Holy Pots (*Frogs*, 215 *sqq.*) Cp. Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 216, 218, 219; Stephanus Byzantius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Λίμναι; Harpocration, *s.v.* ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσιον. As to the festival on the 12th of Anthesterion, see Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 356 *sqq.*

(2) The Lenaeum is described as a large enclosure containing a sanctuary of Dionysus in which dramatic exhibitions were given before the theatre was built (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ληναῖον; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 361, *s.v.* Ἐπιληναίῳ; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 278, line 8 *sq.*) The comedies of Pherecrates seem to have been acted here (Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 427 d). The situation of the Lenaeum is not known. Hesychius says (*s.v.* ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών) that it was in the city; but the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 202 and 504) says that it was in the fields. This statement of the scholiast appears to be merely an inference drawn by him from the two lines of Aristophanes on which he is commenting; but the lines seem certainly to justify the inference that the festival of Lenaean Dionysus was held in the country. This indeed we should expect to be the case, since the epithet Lenaean designates Dionysus as the god of the wine-press (*lēnos*), and wine-presses are usually to be found beside the vineyards, not in cities (cp. Apollodorus, cited by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Λήναιος). Further, the distinction between "the Dionysiac festival in the city" and "the Dionysiac festival at Lenaeum" (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 741; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 374) points to the latter being a rural festival. On the other hand, there is a piece of evidence which seems to confirm Hesychius's statement that the Lenaeum was in the city. In a well-known passage (xviii. 129, p. 270) Demosthenes taunts his rival Aeschines with the meanness of his birth. The mother of Aeschines, says Demosthenes, was a common prostitute who plied her trade in a brothel beside the sanctuary of the hero Calamites; and from another source (Hesychius, *s.v.* καλαμίτης ἥρως) we learn that the sanctuary of this otherwise unknown hero was beside the Lenaeum. If, then, the neighbourhood of the Lenaeum was a haunt of prostitutes, it is more likely to have been in the town than the country.

The questions still remain (1) Was the Lenaeum identical with the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes ? and (2) Were these sanctuaries, or, supposing them to be different, was one of them, identical with the sanctuary of Dionysus at the theatre ?

(1) The first question has been generally answered in the affirmative. But the only positive evidence for identifying the Lenaeum with the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes appears to be a statement of Hesychius (*s.v.* Λίμναι) that the Marshes (*Limnai*) was a place in Athens dedicated to Dionysus where the Lenaean festival was held. A difficulty in the way of identifying them is that the sanctuary in the Marshes is said to have been opened only on the festival of the 12th of Anthesterion (see above) ; whereas the Lenaean festival appears to have been celebrated in the Lenaeum in the month Gamelion (Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 332 *sqq.*) The distinction of the two sanctuaries is maintained by Mr. G. Oehmichen (*Sitzungsberichte d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, Philosoph. philolog. Cl. 1889, vol. 2, p. 122 *sqq.*)

(2) There are some grounds for identifying the sanctuary at the theatre with the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes. The situation of the latter sanctuary to the south of the Acropolis and within the city-walls (see above) answers perfectly to the situation of the sanctuary at the theatre. Again, the sanctuary at the theatre is stated by Pausanias to have been the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus ; and the same statement is made of the sanctuary in the Marshes by the pseudo-Demosthenes (lix. 76, p. 731) explicitly and by Thucydides (ii. 15) implicitly. Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, indeed, thinks that Pausanias merely copied from, and mistook, Thucydides, applying to the sanctuary at the theatre a statement which Thucydides made about the sanctuary in the Marshes, which, according to Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, was in a different part of Athens (*Hermes*, 21 (1886), p. 621). But the contents of the sanctuary at the theatre bear out Pausanias. For here was the temple of Dionysus of Eleutherae, whose worship was the first introduced into Athens (see i. 2. 5 ; i. 38. 8). The difficulties in the way of identifying the sanctuary at the theatre with the sanctuary in the Marshes are that the situation of the sanctuary at the theatre is high and arid, not at all marshy ; and that the sanctuary in the Marshes was opened only on the 12th of Anthesterion, whereas the sanctuary at the theatre must have been opened in the month Elaphebolion on the occasion of "the Dionysiac festival in the city" (A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, p. 10 *sq.*)

The only ground for identifying the sanctuary at the theatre with the Lenaeum would seem to be that the latter is said to have been the scene of dramatic exhibitions before the theatre was built, and it is not unnatural to suppose that the theatre was built on the site where the dramatic exhibitions had previously been held. On the other hand the difficulty in the way of identifying the sanctuary at the theatre with the Lenaeum is that we should then have to suppose that "the Dionysiac festival in the city" and "the Dionysiac festival at Lenaeum" were celebrated at the same place, contrary to the apparent signification of the names.

On the whole it would seem that the question of the difference or identity of the sanctuaries of Dionysus at the theatre, in the Marshes, and at the Lenaeum must remain for the present in suspense. Dr. Dörpfeld formerly held that the sanctuary in the Marshes was in the north-western quarter of Athens between the market-place and the Dipylum (*Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 10 (1890), p. 461); and this view has been supported at great length by Mr. J. Pickard (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 56-82), but his arguments are not convincing. Prof. E. Maass argues that the Lenaeum, which he identifies with the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes, was in the market-place (*De Lenaeo et Delphinio Commentatio*, p. v. *sqq.*) Dr. Dörpfeld now (1894) believes that he has discovered the Lenaeum (which he identifies with the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes) at the western foot of the Acropolis, to the south of the Areopagus. In the course of excavations conducted here he has found an enclosure about 40 metres long by 20 metres wide, surrounded by ancient polygonal walls. Inside the enclosure were found numerous fragments of large black-figured and red-figured vases, the lower part of an altar or table of stone, and a Greek wine-press. Hence he believes that the enclosure was the Lenaeum. The remains of a Roman building, which from an inscription appears to have been the place of assembly of a Dionysiac society, were found immediately over the supposed Lenaeum, which was buried under them. Dr. Dörpfeld supposes that in Roman times the worship of Lenaean Dionysus fell into neglect, and was replaced by the Dionysiac society which built its meeting-house or club-room immediately over the ancient sanctuary. See Dr. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 147-150.

Cp. Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 287-289; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 305 *sq.*; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 243; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 189; von Wilamowitz-Mollendorff, in *Hermes*, 21 (1886), p. 615 *sqq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 327; W. Judeich, 'Lenaion,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 47 (1892), pp. 53-60.

20. 3. two temples and two images of Dionysus etc. Remains of two small temples, doubtless the temples here mentioned by Pausanias, have been found immediately to the south of the stage-buildings of the Dionysiac theatre. The older of the two temples abuts on the south wall of the stage building at its western end. All that remains of this temple is a portion of the north wall and two small pieces of wall at right angles to it. It is orientated east and west. It must have been very small. From the style of the masonry and of the clamps it appears that the temple is older than the Persian wars. This was probably the temple in which the image of Eleutherian Dionysus stood. The image seems to have been the ancient wooden one which, according to tradition, was brought to Athens from Eleutherae (i. 38. 8) by Pegasus (i. 2. 5). Every year on stated days the image was conveyed to a small temple near the Academy (i. 29. 2). The temple was once burnt down (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 53, p. 47, ed. Potter). The chief seat in the neighbouring theatre (a richly-carved arm-chair of marble in the middle of the front row) was set apart for the

priest of Eleutherian Dionysus, as we learn from the inscription on it (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 240).

A few feet due south of this temple, and about 46 feet south of the western end of the stage-building, are the remains of the other temple. It is larger in size and later in style than the one just described, and its orientation is somewhat different. Its length is about 75 feet and its width 33 feet. The foundations, which alone remain, are built of breccia stone. The temple consisted of a *cella* with a fore-temple or ante-chamber. In the *cella* are the foundations of a large base, which probably supported the golden and ivory image of Dionysus, the work of Alcamenes. Dr. Dörpfeld has pointed out that none of the buildings of the age of Pericles has foundations of breccia. It seems probable, therefore, that this temple of Dionysus was built not earlier than 420 B.C.

See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 189; *Guide-Joanne*, I. p. 71 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 254-256; E. Reisch, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 1 *sqq.*

From the dimensions of the base (about 5 metres, or 16 feet 5 inches square) compared with those of the temple, Mr. E. Reisch concludes that the image of Dionysus by Alcamenes in the larger temple was a seated figure of colossal size, 18 to 20 feet high, inclusive of the base. That the statue was a seated figure is confirmed by the evidence of Athenian coins, on which a seated Dionysus has been identified with great probability as a copy of Alcamenes's statue. On these coins (Fig. 9) the god is portrayed seated in a high-backed chair with the wine-cup in his outstretched right hand and the sceptre or thyrsus in his raised left hand. The lower part of his body is wrapped in a mantle, which is brought over his left shoulder, leaving his arms and breast bare. He wears a beard and his long tresses are crowned with a wreath of ivy. The likeness of the figure to Phidias's statue of Zeus at Olympia (v. 11. 1 note) is conspicuous both in the general attitude and in the arrangement of the drapery. That the image represented on these coins was a cult-statue is proved by the fact that a table with an incense-pan stands before it on two of the coins. As the temple in which the image stood was apparently not built before 420 B.C., Mr. Reisch infers that the image was probably made somewhere between 420 and 415 B.C. His view is accepted by Prof. Furtwängler. See E. Reisch, 'Der Dionysos des Alkamenes,' *Eranos Vindobonensis*, pp. 1-23; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 741; Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 261-264; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, Attica, p. 104, Nos. 757, 758, with pl. xviii. 4; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 142, with pl. CC. i-iv.

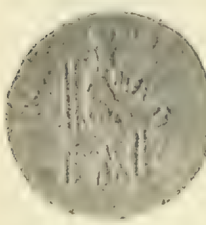


FIG. 9.—DIONYSUS (ATHENIAN COIN)

20. 3. **Dionysus bringing Hephaestus up to heaven.** The return to heaven of the tipsy Hephaestus, led in triumph on foot or on mule-back by Bacchus and his jolly crew, is depicted on a great many red-figured Attic vases, the painters of which (as Preller conjectured) may have been influenced by the picture in the temple of Dionysus

which Pausanias here describes. For example, on a red-figured vase in Munich we see Hephaestus with his hammer on his left shoulder and his tongs in his right hand, his tottering steps (for he is clearly drunk) supported by an ivy-crowned, bald-headed satyr. In front of him marches Dionysus in a spangled robe, holding a goblet in his right hand and a thyrsus in his left. He is looking back to see how his tipsy friend is coming along. The glad procession is headed by a Bacchanal beating a tambourine and accompanied by a satyr. On the famous François vase Hephaestus is depicted riding a mule, which Dionysus is leading by the bridle into the presence of Zeus and Hera. Behind Hephaestus, who looks tolerably sober, stalk two Silenuses with horses' legs, and the rear is brought up by two women with castanets. At the back of Zeus crouches abashed the culprit Ares, whom Athena contemplates with majestic disdain. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 643-645 and fig. 1883 ; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. pp. 2054-2056, with the fig. on p. 2040 ; Muller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xviii. 196 ; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 177 ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 256-258 ; *id.*, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. iii. Two different stories are told in Homer of the fall of Hephaestus from heaven. According to one version Hephaestus interposed to protect Hera against the ill-usage of her husband Zeus, who requited him for his pains by flinging him

> "Sheer o'er the crystal battlements ; from morn
> To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
> A summer's day ; and with the setting sun
> Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,
> On Lemnos th' Aegean isle,"

as Milton paraphrases Homer's lines (*Il.* i. 590 *sqq.*) Cp. *Iliad*, xviii. 18 *sqq.* for the cause of the quarrel of Hephaestus and Zeus ; Apollodorus, i. 3. 5 ; Valerius Flaccus, ii. 82-91 ; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 6. The other version, here followed by Pausanias, was that as soon as Hephaestus was born his mother Hera, in disgust at his lameness, cast him from heaven into the sea, where Thetis and Eurynome received him (Homer, *Il.* xviii. 394 *sqq.* ; *Homeric hymn to Apollo*, 317 *sqq.* ; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 372).

20. 3. **sent her as a gift a golden chair with invisible bonds** etc. The following story was told by Pindar and Epicharmus (Suidas and Photius, *s.v.* Ἥρας δεσμούς). It is alluded to by Plato (*Republic*, ii. p. 378 d). Cp. *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 372 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166 ; Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 62. We may compare the arm-chair in which the cunning smith in the folk-tale imprisons Death or the Devil. See note on ii. 5. 1 'Sisyphus.'

20. 3. **Pentheus and Lycurgus suffering retribution.** Cp. ii. 2. 7 ; ix. 2. 4 ; ix. 5. 4. The murder of Pentheus by the Maenads is represented on vase-paintings and sculptured reliefs. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xxxvii. Nos. 436, 437 ; K. Dilthey, 'Tod des Pentheus,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 31 (1874), pp. 78-94 ; J. E. Sandys, Introduction to *The Bacchae of Euripides*,[3] p. cvii. *sqq.* ; P. Hartwig, 'Der Tod des Pentheus,' *Jahrbuch d. k. d. archäolog. Instituts*, 7 (1892), pp.

153-164. As to the punishment of Lycurgus, king of the Edonians in Thrace, for his impiety to Dionysus, various stories were told. According to Homer (*Il.* vi. 130 *sqq.*) he was blinded by Zeus and died soon afterwards. According to others, Dionysus himself blinded and crucified Lycurgus (Diodorus, iii. 65) or exposed him to panthers (Hyginus, *Fab.* 132). Apollodorus relates (iii. 5. 1) that the land was cursed with barrenness and the people were told by an oracle that the earth would only bear fruit if they put Lycurgus to death; so they took him to the mountains and tied him to horses, which rent him in pieces. This legend reminds us of the many cases in which kings have been held answerable for the fertility of the soil and have been punished when the crops failed (*The Golden Bough*, I. p. 44 *sqq.*) According to Sophocles (*Antigone*, 955 *sqq.*) the impious king was immured by the offended god in a rocky prison. Another story was that he slew himself (Hyginus *Fab.* 242), or that, in aiming a blow at a vine, he cut off one or both of his legs (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 14; Hyginus, *Fab.* 132). This last story reflects a common superstition that he who attempts to cut down a sacred tree will wound himself in doing so (W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, p. 36 *sq.*)

20. 3. **Ariadne asleep, and Theseus putting to sea** etc. This subject is depicted on vase-paintings. See A. Furtwängler, 'Arianne dormente e Bacco sopra cratere Etrusco,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 50 (1878), pp. 80-102. Professor R. Kekulé thinks that the painter of one of these vases may have borrowed the idea of his picture from the painting which Pausanias here describes. See R. Kekulé, 'Coppa Cornetana col mito di Arianna,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 52 (1880), pp. 150-158. Cp. Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 126. A similar picture is described in more detail by Philostratus. Dionysus clad in a purple robe, his head wreathed with roses, is stealing softly on the sleeping Ariadne, while his jovial train hold their breath for fear of waking the dreaming fair. In the background is seen the ship with Theseus in it; he is not looking back at his forsaken love, but is gazing seaward. See Philostratus, *Imag.* 14 (15). The parting of Theseus from Ariadne is the subject of one of the Pompeian paintings. Under a wooded cliff, beyond which the walls and towers of a city are visible, Ariadne lies asleep on the shore. On a plank, laid from the shore to the gunwale of the ship, stands Theseus, looking back wistfully at Ariadne; but a comrade seizes him by the hand and seems to be hurrying him on board. Boys are shaking out and hoisting the sails. Other paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum exhibit Dionysus surprising Ariadne asleep, but on none of them do Theseus and the ship appear. See Otto Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, p. 280 *sqq.*; W. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 252 *sqq.*

With regard to the date of these paintings in the temple of Dionysus nothing positive is known. From the nature of the subjects of the paintings Mr. Helbig infers that they could not well have been painted before the time of Zeuxis and Parrhasius; and he thinks it unlikely that monumental wall-paintings of such importance would have been

executed at Athens later than towards the end of the fourth century B.C. (*Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 257).

20. 4. **a structure said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes.** This was the Odeum or Music Hall of Pericles, which was said to have been built in imitation of the tent of Xerxes (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13). It was a round building with a conical roof constructed of the masts and yard-arms of the Persian ships ; in the interior were many stone columns and many seats (Plutarch, *l.c.* ; Vitruvius, v. 9 ; Theophrastus, *Characters*, 3). The comic poet Cratinus compared the high conical head of Pericles to the Music Hall (Plutarch, *l.c.*) The pseudo-Dicaearchus speaks of it as the most beautiful Music Hall in the world (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 254) ; and Strabo (ix. p. 396) mentions it among the famous places of Athens. It was built under the administration of Pericles in order to be the scene of the musical contests at the Panathenaic festival (Plutarch, *l.c.* ; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ᾠδεῖον ; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 317 *sq.*) Vitruvius (v. 9) says wrongly that it was built by Themistocles. Again, in a fragment of a speech by Hyperides (Frag. 121, ed. Blass) quoted by Longinus (*Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 9. p. 545) it is said that the Music Hall was built by the statesman Lycurgus, but this also is an error, though it is possible Lycurgus may have repaired it (cp. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 602 note 1, who in the passage of Hyperides proposes to read στάδιον for ᾠδεῖον). During the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. the Music Hall was burnt down by order of Aristion, who with a handful of men had taken refuge in the Acropolis and feared that Sulla might make use of the timber of the Music Hall in besieging him (Appian, *Mithridates*, 38 ; Pausanias wrongly says that it was burnt by Sulla). It was rebuilt not many years afterwards by Ariobarzanes II. Philopator, king of Cappadocia, who reigned about 65-52 B.C. (Vitruvius, v. 9 ; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 541).

In the Music Hall the musical competitions were held at the Panathenaic festival, as already mentioned. Here, too, the tragedies which were to be exhibited at the Great Dionysiac Festival used to be rehearsed a few days before the festival, the actors at these rehearsals appearing without masks (Schol. on Aeschines, iii. 67 ; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1109). Suits relating to alimentation were tried in the Music Hall ([Demosthenes,] lix. 52, p. 1362 *sq.* ; Pollux, viii. 33 ; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 317 *sq.* ; cp. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1109 ; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ᾠδεῖον). In a time of scarcity corn was doled out to the people in the Music Hall at a low rate (Demosthenes, xxxiv. 37, p. 918 ; cp. Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 317 *sq.*, Suidas and Photius, *ll.cc.*) Under the Thirty Tyrants the citizens capable of bearing arms were on one occasion assembled in the Music Hall to be browbeaten by Critias and overawed by the Lacedaemonian garrison in arms (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 9 *sq.*) During the same evil days, when the oligarchs in Athens were expecting to be attacked by the democrats who had taken up position at Piraeus, the cavalry bivouacked under arms in the Music Hall (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4. 24). The Music Hall was one of the favourite lounges of the

philosophers (Sotion, quoted by Athenaeus, viii. p. 336 b; Diogenes Laertius, viii. 7. 184; Plutarch, *De exilio*, 14).

With regard to the situation of the Music Hall of Pericles we are told by Pausanias that it was near the theatre. This is confirmed by Andocides (i. 38) who describes how Dioclides saw, or alleged that he saw, a crowd of men descending by moonlight from the Music Hall into the theatre. Vitruvius says (v. 9) that you came to the Music Hall when you quitted the theatre on the left hand side. As the theatre faces south, and as the directions 'right' and 'left,' when applied to theatres, seem always to refer to the point of view of the spectator, not of the actor, it follows that the Music Hall stood immediately to the east of the theatre. This indeed is the only side of the theatre on which it could have stood; since immediately to the north of the theatre rise the cliffs of the Acropolis, while to the south, as excavations have shown, was the precinct of Dionysus and to the west the sanctuary of Aesculapius. The ground to the east of the theatre has not yet been excavated; but remains of the Music Hall probably exist here under the soil.

It has generally been supposed that there was an older Music Hall in Athens than the one built by Pericles, and that it continued to exist contemporaneously with the latter. The only evidence of this is a statement of Hesychius (*s.v.* ᾠδεῖον) that the Music Hall was "a place in which the rhapsodists and harpers contended before the theatre was built." As the theatre is commonly supposed to have been built in 500-499 B.C. (Suidas, *s.v.* Πρατίνας), it has been inferred from this passage of Hesychius that there was a Music Hall in Athens as early as the sixth century B.C. But the view that from the time of Pericles onward there were two Music Halls in Athens is opposed to the evidence of the classical writers of the best period, all of whom speak of 'the Music Hall,' as if there were only one. The evidence of these writers is confirmed by pre-Roman inscriptions, which mention 'the Music Hall' without qualification (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 421; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 10 (1886), p. 452). The statement of Hesychius as to "the place in which the rhapsodists and harpers contended before the theatre was built" may refer, as Dr. Dörpfeld has suggested, to the place called 'the orchestra' near the market (see note on i. 8. 5 'statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton'). For according to some authorities dramatic exhibitions were given in the market-place before the theatre was built (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ἴκρια; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* iii. 350, p. 472); and it is natural to suppose that the spot where these exhibitions were held was the place which continued, long after the theatre was built, to be known as 'the orchestra.' The theatre or Music Hall of Agrippa in the market-place (see note on i. 14. 1, 'the Music Hall') probably stood on or near the site of 'the orchestra.' This would explain Hesychius's statement: the musical and dramatic contests, before the theatre was built, were held in the market-place on a spot which in after times was occupied by a Music Hall, namely the Music Hall of Agrippa. This Music Hall of Agrippa in the market-place would seem to have superseded the old Music Hall of Pericles as a place of musical and dramatic entertainment;

for Pausanias refers to the Music Hall of Pericles merely as 'a structure,' and does not seem to be aware of its original destination.

See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 186 *sq.*, 192; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 326; E. Hiller, 'Die athenischen Odeen und der προαγών,' *Hermes*, 7 (1873), pp. 393-406; and especially W. Dörpfeld, 'Die verschiedenen Odeen in Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 252-260.

20. 5. **Aristion, an Athenian, whom Mithridates employed as an envoy** etc. Posidonius (quoted by Athenaeus, v. p. 211 d *sqq.*) called this personage Athenion. All other ancient writers call him Aristion, and he is so named on coins of Athens. See Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 139 *sqq.* As to the alliance of Athens with Mithridates, see R. Weil, 'Das Bündniss der Athener mit Mithridates,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 315-337.

20. 5. **he had overrun the territory of the Magnesians of Sipylus** etc. The repulse of the Mithridatic army before Magnesia seems to have been due in large measure to the skilful generalship of Cretinas, a patriotic citizen. See Plutarch, *Praecept. gerend. reipub.* xiv. 3 *sq.*; cp. Livy, epit. lxxxi.; Appian, *Mithrid.* 21. These writers mention Magnesia simply; the present passage of Pausanias proves that the Magnesia in question was the city of that name situated at the northern foot of Mt. Sipylus, not Magnesia on the Maeander, as has been sometimes supposed. See Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 128.

20. 6. **Taxilus —— was besieging Elatea.** Cp. x. 34, §§ 2, 4, and 6.

20. 6. **the Roman general left a part of his army to besiege Athens** etc. Pausanias seems to be in error. Sulla captured both Athens and Piraeus before he moved into Boeotia to meet Taxilus. But the Acropolis, in which Aristion had taken refuge, held out for some time after the city had fallen, and Sulla left a detachment to besiege it. See Appian, *Mithrid.* 39-41; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14 *sq.* It was therefore the news of the capture of the Acropolis, not of Athens itself, which reached Sulla in Boeotia after his victory at Chaeronea (see below). Cp. Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 176.

20. 6. **Taxilus had been defeated at Chaeronea.** Cp. ix. 40. 7 note.

20. 7. **the oracle about the wine-skin.** When Aegeus king of Athens inquired of the Delphic oracle how he might obtain children, he was bidden not to open the wine-skin till he should come to Athens, which was understood to mean that he should not know a woman till he returned home (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3). On the present occasion the oracle hints that Athens, depopulated by war and massacre, might still in time be repeopled by its surviving citizens.

20. 7. **Sulla was afterwards attacked by the disease to which —— Pherecydes of Syros succumbed.** The disease was the *morbus pedicularis* or lousy disease. See ix. 33. 6, and Plutarch, *Sulla*, 36, who enumerates various persons, including Pherecydes, who were supposed to have died of this ailment. As to the death of Pherecydes, see also Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* v. 31, p. 557 a 1 *sqq.* Berlin ed.;

Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 27, v. 2; Diogenes Laertius, i. 11. 118; Apuleius, *Florida*, ii. Num. 15.

20. 7. Sulla —— put him to death. Appian (*Mithrid.* 39) and Strabo (ix. p. 398) seem, like Pausanias, to imply that Aristion was executed immediately after his capture. According, however, to Plutarch (*Sulla*, 23) he was spared for a time along with other friends of Mithridates, but was afterwards poisoned by Sulla.

21. 1. the theatre at Athens. The remains of the theatre at Athens are situated on the slope at the south-eastern foot of the Acropolis. After being buried for centuries under a deep accumulation of soil, they were discovered and partially excavated by the German architect Strack in 1862. The excavations begun by him were continued until 1865 by the Greek Archaeological Society. Some additional excavations were made in 1877 and 1878 by the same society. In 1886 fresh excavations were made for the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Dr. Dörpfeld.

The theatre was included within the sanctuary of Dionysus (Hesychius and Photius, *s.v.* *ἴκρια*); hence it was known as the Dionysiac theatre (Pollux, iv. 121, viii. 133). According to the tradition reported by Suidas (*s.v.* *Πρατίνας*) the first permanent theatre was built at Athens in consequence of an accident which happened in Ol. 70 (500-497 B.C.) In one of the years of that Olympiad the tragic poets Aeschylus, Pratinas and Choerilus were contending for the prize. While a play of Pratinas's was being acted the temporary scaffolding on which the spectators sat fell down, and hence the Athenians built a theatre. The truth of this circumstantial tradition has been denied on somewhat slight grounds by Prof. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (see his article, 'Die Bühne des Aeschylos,' *Hermes*, 21 (1886), p. 597 *sqq.*; and A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, p. 107 *sq.*) After the middle of the fourth century B.C. either a new theatre was built or the old one was reconstructed and beautified. In a decree of the people dated Ol. 109. 2 (343/2 B.C.) the Council is thanked and rewarded with a golden wreath for "superintending well and justly the adornment of the theatre" (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 114). The work thus begun was completed under the administration of the statesman Lycurgus (Pausanias, i. 29. 16; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 841 c, 852 b; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 240; Hyperides, quoted by Longinus, *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 9. p. 545; Hyperides, ed. Blass, Frag. 121). As Lycurgus died in 325 B.C. the theatre must have been built before that year. It was either finished or in process of construction in Ol. 112. 3 (330/29 B.C.); for in a decree of the people, dated in that year, honours are decreed to a certain Eudemus of Plataea in return for having promised to contribute, if necessary, a certain sum towards the expenses of war and for having actually given 1000 yoke of oxen to help in the building of the theatre and stadium (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 176; cp. C. Curtius, in *Philologus*, 24 (1866), p. 272 *sq.*) Fragments of a façade found in the theatre seem to show that the stage-buildings were remodelled in the early times of the Roman empire; from an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 158) on a piece of an architrave which was found built into a later wall in the theatre

it has been inferred that this reconstruction of the stage took place in the reign of Nero. In late Roman times, apparently in the third century A.D., a new stage was constructed in the Roman style by a certain Phaedrus, son of Zoilus, who commemorated the fact in an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 239) which may still be seen on the highest of the five steps leading from the orchestra to the top of the stage. After this point the history of the theatre is unknown until the building was discovered in 1862.

The theatre at Athens was used not merely for dramatic exhibitions but for various other purposes. When a distinguished citizen was rewarded with a crown, proclamation was made by the mouth of a herald in the theatre ; the golden crowns sent by foreign states as a compliment to the Athenian people were displayed in the orchestra ; so was the tribute sent by the dependent states ; and here the orphans whose fathers had fallen in battle for their country and who, after being brought up by the state, had reached manhood, were paraded in full armour before being released from state control. All these ceremonies and pageants took place in the theatre in presence of the assembled people before the dramatic performances began. (See Aeschines, iii. §§ 47 *sq.*, 153 *sq.*, 230 *sq.*; Isocrates, viii. 82.) Again, the annual cock-fights, which the Athenians instituted after the great Persian wars, took place in the theatre (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 28). Further, the public assemblies of the people were, even in the fifth and fourth centuries, occasionally held in the sanctuary of Dionysus (Thucydides, viii. 93 *sq.*; Demosthenes, xxi. 8 *sq.*, p. 517 *sq.*) ; if the theatre was already built, the assemblies were doubtless on these occasions held in it. In the theatre was held the public assembly which condemned Phocion and his associates to death in 317 B.C. (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 34 *sq.*) Demetrius Poliorcetes, after making himself master of Athens, addressed an assembly of the people in the theatre, overawing the multitude by the sight of the serried arms of his body-guards who thronged the stage (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 34). These occasions were special, but even in the latter part of the fourth century it had become customary to hold public assemblies in the theatre regularly for certain purposes (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 42) ; and at a later time, perhaps about the middle of the third century B.C., the theatre became the ordinary place of public assembly, though magistrates continued to be elected in the old place of assembly, the Pnyx (Pollux, viii. 132 *sq.*; A. Müller, *Die griech. Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 74). In the degenerate days of Greece jugglers and thimble-riggers exhibited their tricks in the theatre (Athenaeus, i. p. 19 e ; Alciphron, iii. 20) ; and under the Roman empire gladiators fought in the orchestra, often staining with their blood the marble chairs on which the priests sat (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxi. vol. 1. p. 386, ed. Dindorf; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 22).

The theatre at Athens, like other Greek theatres, consisted of three chief parts : (i.) the auditorium or seats of the audience, (ii.) the orchestra, and (iii.) the stage-buildings.

(i.) The auditorium faces south, the seats rising above each other, on the slope of the Acropolis, in tiers which may be roughly described as

semicircular. At the extremities of the two wings, however, on the east and west, artificial substructions were necessary in order to bring up the back seats to the proper height. The retaining-walls on the western side are preserved. They are two in number, an inner and an outer, united by short cross-walls at right angles. The inner wall is built of conglomerate and formed the real support of the seats in this part. The outer wall is of Piraeic limestone and served merely to cover and protect the inner wall. On the eastern side of the theatre the retaining walls have almost disappeared. The outer boundary of the auditorium seems to have formed three-quarters of a circle, the two ends being prolonged in straight lines. The breadth across from the outer corner of one wing to the outer corner of the other wing was 288 feet. The distance between the inside corners, measured across the orchestra, was 72 feet. The wings are of unequal width, the eastern wing measuring about 111 feet across at its southern extremity, while the western wing measures only 88 feet. This makes the arrangement of the theatre unsymmetrical. The seats in the highest part of the theatre, immediately under the cliff of the Acropolis, are hewn out of the rock. The rest were made of Piraeic limestone, except the front row which consisted of marble chairs. Most of the seats have disappeared, having been probably removed in the Middle Ages to furnish building materials. However, from twenty to thirty of the bottom rows remain, and portions of a few rows at the top. Of the sixty-seven chairs of Pentelic marble which formed the front row, immediately encircling the orchestra, fifty-eight have been found, all of them, with the exception of two or three, in their original places. Most of these chairs, as we learn from the inscriptions carved on them (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 240-298), were reserved for special priests or priestly functionaries ; the rest were set apart for the higher magistrates, such as the king, the commander-in-chief (Polemarch), and the lawgivers (Thesmothetae). The arm-chair in the middle of the row, the largest and finest of all the chairs, was reserved for the priest of Eleutherian Dionysus. It is adorned with elegant sculptures in low relief. On the back of the chair, above the seat, are carved two satyrs, standing back to back in heraldic style, supporting a large cluster of grapes between them. On the outside of each arm of the chair is sculptured a winged figure stooping and holding a cock which he is about to let go for the fight. These latter reliefs, which are very graceful and delicate, probably refer to the cock-fight which, as we have seen, took place annually in the theatre. On the front part of the chair, immediately below the seat, are carved two winged lions fighting with two men who, dressed in long Oriental garments and wearing Phrygian caps, are kneeling and defending themselves with scimitars against the lions. This last design is clearly borrowed from the East, and in point of style seems to belong to the second century of our era (see Beulé, in *Revue archéologique*, N.S. 6 (1862), p. 349 *sq.* ; G. Perrot, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 5 (1881), pp. 23-25). It is calculated that the rows of seats were originally about 100 in number, and that the number of spectators which the theatre could accommodate was 27,500. Plato speaks in round numbers of

over 30,000 spectators witnessing a play of Agathon (*Symposium*, p. 175 e). Access to the seats in the upper rows were afforded by fourteen passages which ran in divergent lines, like the spokes of a wheel, from the orchestra up to the top of the theatre. Two of these passages, at the southern extremities of the wings, immediately adjoined the boundary walls ; the other twelve divided the whole mass of the seats into thirteen wedge-shaped blocks, such as the Latins called *cunei* ('wedges') and the Greeks *kerkides*. In addition to these vertical passages there seems to have been one horizontal passage in the higher part of the auditorium, dividing it into an upper and a lower portion. This horizontal passage or *diazoma* ('belt,' 'girdle'), as the Greeks called it, is marked on a rude representation of the theatre which is stamped on some Athenian coins (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 143, with pl. CC, ix. x.)

In regard to the date of the auditorium, Dr. Dörpfeld, the most competent living authority on such subjects, is of opinion that all the existing remains belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C., when the theatre was built or rebuilt by Lycurgus. The inscriptions on the marble chairs are, indeed, later ; but the chairs themselves seem to be of the age of Lycurgus. Dr. Dörpfeld is reported to hold the view that, in spite of the tradition preserved by Suidas (see above), there was no permanent stone theatre at Athens before that date. This view is to some extent borne out by the evidence of Andocides who speaks (i. 38 *sq.*) of an orchestra only, not of a theatre, in the precinct of Dionysus ; and by the evidence of Thucydides (viii. 93 *sq.*) and Demosthenes (xxi. 8 *sq.*, p. 517 *sq.*) who, speaking of public assemblies held in the precinct of Dionysus, make no mention of a theatre—an omission all the more noticeable in that Thucydides in the same chapter (viii. 93) has mentioned a public assembly held in "the Dionysiac theatre" at Munychia.

(ii) The orchestra or 'dancing-place' was the flat ground enclosed between the stage-buildings and the seats of the auditorium. In the theatre at Athens the orchestra is in the form of a semicircle with the two ends prolonged in straight lines. Its width, measured along the front of the stage of Phaedrus, is 24 metres (about 78 feet 6 inches) ; and its depth from the middle of the stage-front of Phaedrus to the boundary in front of the chair of the priest of Dionysus, in the centre of the first row of spectators, is 17.96 metres (about 58 feet 6 inches). It is paved with slabs of Pentelic and Hymettian marble arranged in lines parallel to the stage, and variegated with strips of a reddish marble. In this pavement, about the middle of the orchestra, but somewhat nearer its southern than its northern boundary, is a large rhombus or diamond-shaped figure, the outline of which is formed by lines of Pentelic and Hymettian marble, while its interior is paved with diamond-shaped pieces of Pentelic, Hymettian, and reddish marble. In the centre of this figure is a block of Pentelic marble in which is cut a shallow circular depression, possibly intended to receive an altar or image of Dionysus. The pavement is of excellent workmanship, and perhaps dates from the first century of our era. The orchestra is

divided from the seats of the auditorium by a parapet composed of upright slabs of marble 3 feet 7 inches high. Along the inside of this parapet and separated by it from the seats, there runs a broad gutter of limestone 35½ inches in width. This gutter was originally open except that opposite the vertical passages which lead through the tiers of seats it was bridged with slabs of limestone. In later times it was covered over with marble slabs. The intention of this gutter, which forms part of the original building, was to drain off the water from the auditorium ; but this intention was frustrated by the erection, at a later time, of the marble parapet which divides the orchestra from the auditorium. The parapet and the marble covering of the gutter belong, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, to the beginning of the third century A.D. It is conjectured that the parapet may have been erected to prevent the vanquished gladiators from being actually butchered on the laps of the dignitaries who sat in the front row, as sometimes happened in the days of Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxxi. vol. 1. p. 386, ed. Dindorf).

Access was afforded to the orchestra by two side-entrances consisting of two open passages, 9 feet wide, which divided the wings of the auditorium from the stage-buildings. By these passages the spectators entered the orchestra, whence they ascended by the vertical passages to their seats ; and by these same passages the chorus entered the orchestra at the beginning of each play. Such passages or side-entrances into the orchestra were called *parodoi* (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 149 ; Pollux, iv. 126) or *eisodoi* (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 296).

The original orchestra, which existed before the theatre was built, seems to have been a flat circular space enclosed by a low wall. Two portions of this wall, built of rough polygonal stones, and forming two arcs of the circle, still exist among the later stage-buildings ; and a cutting in the rock which forms an arc in the same circle and in which doubtless another piece of the circular enclosing wall was bedded, may be seen in the eastern side-entrance (*parodos*) to the orchestra, at the point where the stage of Phaedrus abuts on the seats of the auditorium. The discovery and explanation of these interesting remains are due to Dr. Dörpfeld.

(iii) The existing remains of the stage-buildings are of various dates. Dr. Dörpfeld distinguishes four sets of stage-buildings constructed at different times : (1) The stage-buildings of Lycurgus consisted of a long rectangular hall with two projecting wings, each 7 metres (23 feet) wide by 5 metres (16 feet 5 inches) deep. In the space between the wings, about 66 feet long, was set up the scenery ; it was of wood and canvas and was taken down when the performances were over. There was at this time, if Dr. Dörpfeld is right, no permanent stone stage. (2) At a later time, perhaps in the Roman period, a piece was taken off the front of each wing, and a permanent scene or background, adorned with columns and probably 10 or 12 feet high, was erected between the wings. But even when this permanent background was erected, there was still (according to Dr Dörpfeld) no stage. (3) In the reign of Nero a stage was built further to the front, encroaching on the orchestra.

Slight traces only of its front wall remain ; but of the back wall there are more remains. Fragments of the arches and pillars of Hymettian marble which adorned this stage have been found. (4) Lastly, in the course of the third century A.D. a certain Phaedrus erected a new stage about 8 yards further to the front, so as to stretch across the orchestra between the inner corners of the two wings of the auditorium, thus completely blocking up the side-entrances (*parodoi*) into the orchestra. Of this later stage the western half is preserved. It is low, after the Roman fashion, its height being only 4 feet 7 inches. In the middle a flight of five steps led down into the orchestra. On the top step, as has been mentioned already, is carved the inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 239) recording the erection of the stage. The front of the existing half of this stage is adorned with four groups of figures in high relief. These reliefs are clearly of older date and better workmanship than the stage which they adorn ; and the clumsy way in which the slabs have been cut down and fitted into their present position shows that they were not made for it. The heads of the figures are lost ; when they were in their places they must have been higher than the background. One of the groups represents the birth of Dionysus ; another represents Icarius, attended by his daughter Erigone, about to sacrifice a goat to Dionysus ; in the background crouches the faithful dog Maera (Apollodorus, iii. 14. 7 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 130). The interpretation of the other two groups is uncertain. (See F. Matz, 'I rilievi del proscenio del teatro di Bacco in Atene,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 42 (1870), pp. 97-106.) The reliefs are divided into two pairs of groups by a deep niche in which is the crouching figure of a Silenus. To the east of the steps a second Silenus, the companion of the other, has been found. It doubtless occupied a corresponding niche in the eastern half of the stage-front. These sculptures apparently date from the early period of the Roman empire ; they perhaps belonged originally to the stage which was built in the reign of Nero.

See Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 307-343 ; Leop. Julius, 'Das Theater des Dionysos zu Athen,' *Zeitschrift fur bildende Kunst*, 13 (1878), pp. 193-204, 236-242 ; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1877, pp. 6, 18 *sq.* ; *id.*, for 1878, p. 8 *sqq.*; J. R. Wheeler, 'The theatre of Dionysus,' *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. I. (1882-1883), pp. 123-179 ; Milchhofer, 'Athen,' pp. 190-192 ; Albert Müller, *Die griech. Bühnenalterthümer*, pp. 82-101 ; W. Dorpfeld, *ib.* p. 415 *sq.* ; G. Kawerau, article 'Theatergebaude,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1734-1738 ; *Guide-Joanne*, I. pp. 69-72 ; Baedeker,[3] pp. 53-55 ; A. Botticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 236-255 ; A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, ch. iii. pp. 101-163 ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 271-295.

21. I. statues of tragic and comic poets —— of little mark. Astydamas, a writer of voluminous tragedies, was allowed to set up a statue of himself in the theatre ; the inscription which he caused to be carved on it was so boastful that his name became proverbial (Suidas, *s.v.* σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς ; as to the poet, see *id.*, *s.v.* Ἀστυδάμας ὁ πρεσβύτης). His statue was of bronze and was set up sooner than that of Aeschylus (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 43). Dio Chrysostom mentions the bronze statue of a poetaster which stood cheek by jowl with the

statue of Menander in the theatre at Athens (*Or.* xxxi. vol. 1. p. 3[illegible]4 lines 4-6, ed. Dindorf). We hear of a statue of a nobody called Euryclides which stood in company with the statues of Aeschylus and his fellows in the same place (Athenaeus, 1. p. 19 e). Others besides poets and poetasters had statues in the theatre. There were statues of Themistocles and Miltiades, the former on the right, the latter on the left; and beside each of them was the statue of a Persian captive (Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 215 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; Schol. on Aristides, *l.c.* vol. 3. p. 535 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf). The bronze statue of a general, beside which the trembling Dioclides crouched as he watched the impious crew at their moonlight revels in the orchestra (Andocides, i. 38), may have been the statue of Themistocles or the statue of Miltiades. It appears that twelve statues of the emperor Hadrian were set up in the theatre by the twelve Attic tribes, one statue by each tribe: and that these statues stood one in each of the wedge-shaped blocks of seats, except in the central block. The inscriptions on the bases of four of these statues have been found in the theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 466-469). In the central block of seats was found the inscription from the base of a thirteenth statue of Hadrian, which had been set up by the Council of the Areopagus, the Council of the Six Hundred, and the Athenian people (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 464). See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 191; *Papers of the American School of Classical Archaeology*, 1 (1882-1883), pp. 149-151.

21. 1. Menander. The pedestal of this statue was found built into a late wall at the back of the stage. It is of Pentelic marble, and bears the inscription:

Μένανδρος
Κηφισόδοτος Τίμαρχος ἐπόησαν

"Menander. Cephisodotus and Timarchus made (the statue)" (*C.I.A.* ii. No. 1370; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 108). It has been conjectured that a fine seated statue of Menander in the Vatican (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 923, fig. 995) is no other than the statue which stood in the theatre at Athens, and of which the inscribed pedestal has been found. But the shape and size of the pedestal differ from those of the plinth on which the statue rests. See P. Pervanoglu, in *Bulletino dell' Instituto* for 1862, pp. 163-165; R. Förster, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 32 (1875), p. 100 *sq.*; Loewy, *l.c.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 112 *sq.* The sculptors Cephisodotus and Timarchus were sons of Praxiteles. See note on ix. 12. 4.

21. 1. Among the famous tragic poets there are statues of Euripides and Sophocles. Bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were set up on the motion of the statesman Lycurgus ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 841 f). It was probably these statues which Pausanias saw in the theatre. If so, he was right in conjecturing (§ 2) that the statue of Aeschylus had been erected long after the poet's death. The statue of Aeschylus is mentioned by Athenaeus (i. p. 19 e) and Diogenes Laertius (ii. 5. 43) in passages which have been already referred to (see note on § 1 'statues of tragic and comic poets'). It is

hardly necessary to say that, though Pausanias does not mention Aeschylus in the present sentence, he does not intend to exclude him from the list of famous tragic poets. After mentioning two of the great tragic dramatists, Euripides and Sophocles, our author stops to tell parenthetically an anecdote about Sophocles; he then resumes and concludes the list with the mention of the statue of Aeschylus. F. G. Welcker understood the present passage of Pausanias in this sense (*Alte Denkmäler*, 1. p. 465 *sq.*) He rightly combats Wieseler's view that in Pausanias's time there was no statue of Aeschylus in the theatre.

21. 1. **It is said that after the death of Sophocles** etc. The following anecdote is told more fully by the anonymous author of the life of Sophocles (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 130) as follows: "He was laid in the grave of his fathers on the road to Decelea, eleven furlongs from the walls. Some say that a Siren, others that a bronze swallow, was placed on his tomb. When the Lacedaemonians had fortified this place against the Athenians, Dionysus appeared in a dream to Lysander, and bade him suffer the man to be laid in the grave. As Lysander paid no heed to the injunction, Dionysus appeared to him a second time with the same command. So when Lysander inquired of the exiles who it was that had died, and learned that it was Sophocles, he sent a herald with leave to bury him." A few years ago there was excavated, a mile and a half from *Palaiokastron* (Decelea), a family tomb which was reported to be the tomb of Sophocles. It contained three funeral urns, which, from the objects found in them (a mirror and two strigils), appear to have enclosed the ashes of a woman and two young men. But there were no inscriptions to identify the tomb as that of Sophocles, and the proposed identification appears to have been based on the mistaken supposition that the tomb of Sophocles was situated eleven furlongs from Decelea, instead of (as the anonymous author of the life of Sophocles clearly implies) from Athens. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 8 (1888), p. 1074; *id.*, 13 (1893), p. 1648 *sqq.*

21. 3. **a gilded head of the Gorgon Medusa** etc. This was set up by King Antiochus; the aegis as well as the Gorgon head was gilt. See v. 1. 42. Placed in this prominent position on the wall of the Acropolis the Gorgon head was probably intended to serve as a charm against the evil eye. The stone head of Medusa beside the sanctuary of Saviour Zeus at Argos (ii. 20. 7) may have been placed there with a like intention. Cp. O. Jahn, 'Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philog. histor. Cl. 1855, p. 28 *sqq.*, especially p. 59 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, 'Gorgoneion,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 281-293. With the same intention the ancients sometimes carved a phallic symbol on the walls of their cities: such symbols may still be seen carved on the walls of ancient cities (as *Alatri* and *Ferentino*) in Italy and Africa (O. Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 74; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 6. p. 804). With this Greek use of a charm to avert the evil eye from buildings we may compare a similar Hindu superstition. Lieut. Burnes writes as follows of a Jain temple which he visited at Abu in Guzerat: "While admiring its beauty I observed

the capital of one of the pillars to be of coarse unpolished black stone, which induced me to ask the cause of such a disfiguration: when the people informed me that it had been done intentionally to keep off the evil eye, as in a place like this where all was beauty, it would inevitably fall and become bewitched if there was no foil" (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1833), p. 164).

21. 3. At the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks etc. This cave is still to be seen in the rock of the Acropolis, immediately above the theatre. It is about 23 feet wide and 50 feet deep. The floor of the cave is at two different levels; the back part of it is higher than the front part, and is reached by steps cut in the rock. The cavern has long been a chapel dedicated to the Virgin of the Cave (Panagia Spiliotissa) or the Virgin of the Golden Cave (Panagia Chrysospiliotissa), whose solitary light, when darkness has fallen, may be seen glimmering high up on the side of the Acropolis. On the walls of the cave are some faded Byzantine paintings. Down to the beginning of this century the mouth of the cave was adorned by a Doric portico, forming the choregic monument of Thrasyllus. This elegant little structure, about 29 feet 5 inches high by 25 feet wide, consisted of three Doric pilasters resting on two steps and supporting an epistyle, which was in turn surmounted by a frieze adorned with eleven marble wreaths carved in relief. Thus much of the structure was built of white Pentelic marble. Above the frieze were three pedestals of gray marble: the central one, resting on three steps, supported a seated statue, of more than life-size, which is now in the British Museum. The statue, which had lost its head as early as 1676, is draped in a long robe, and has a panther's skin thrown over the shoulders: it is supposed to represent Dionysus. The space between the pilasters, originally no doubt open, was blocked up with a modern wall, which may have been built when the cave was turned into a church. A door in this wall afforded the only access to the cave, which was dimly lighted by two small openings in the same wall. Three inscriptions were carved on the front of the monument. One of them (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1247) engraved on the middle of the epistyle, under the frieze, set forth that the monument was dedicated by Thrasyllus of Decelea, son of Thrasyllus, in commemoration of a victory which he had won with a chorus in the archonship of Neaechmus (320/19 B.C.) The other two inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1292, 1293) carved on the two pedestals to the right and left of the central pedestal, which supported the statue of Dionysus, commemorate two victories won by choruses furnished by the state in the archonship of Pytharatus (271/70 B.C.), when Thrasycles of Decelea, son of Thrasyllus, was president of the games (*agonothetes*). The monument, after being seen and described by Wheler, Stuart, Chandler, and Dodwell, was destroyed during the siege of the Acropolis by the Turks in the years 1826 and 1827. But the two last-mentioned inscriptions, with a piece of the first, may still be seen lying on the ground to the right and left of the cave, though the block on which one of them (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1293) was engraved is broken in three.

As the monument was erected to commemorate a choregic victory,

it doubtless supported a prize tripod (see i. 20. 1 note), which, being directly over the entrance to the cave, must have been the one seen by Pausanias. In the lap of the statue which surmounted the monument there is a hole in which, it has been conjectured, the tripod was fixed. But such a way of supporting a tripod seems to be without parallel; it is more likely that the statue was enclosed within the legs of the tripod, according to the usual fashion of these monuments (i. 20. 1 note). It has, indeed, been suggested that the whole upper part of the monument, consisting of the three pedestals and the statue of Dionysus, was a later addition made by Thrasycles, who removed his father's prize tripod, and substituted for it the statue of Dionysus. But in addition to the improbability that Thrasycles should have removed a trophy which reflected honour on his family, we have the positive evidence of Pausanias that the tripod was there in his day, three centuries after the time of Thrasycles. The fact that the upper part of the monument is constructed of a different sort of marble from the lower is no proof that it is a later addition. The choregic monument of Lysicrates is similarly constructed of two sorts of marble (Eleusinian and Pentelic); but nobody for that reason supposes that the upper part is a later addition.

The other two pedestals may have supported two other tripods set up by Thrasycles in memory of the two choregic victories won under his presidency in 271/70 B.C. But as Pausanias mentions only one tripod, it may be that Thrasycles contented himself with engraving two commemorative inscriptions on his father's monument, without setting up tripods also. Neither of his two inscriptions mentions a tripod or even a dedication of any kind. It should be remembered that he had not, like his father Thrasyllus, furnished the chorus himself; the chorus had been furnished by the people, and Thrasyllus had only superintended it; to speak technically, he had been *agonothetes*, not *choregos*. Now, though it was certainly the custom for a *choregos* to set up the prize tripod which he had received for a choral victory, it is not certain that it was the custom for an *agonothetes* to do so. Professor U. Köhler has, indeed, inferred that the obligation was binding on the *agonothetes* as well as on the *choregos*; but the passage of the inscription on which he bases this inference is mutilated (see *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 234).

Pausanias's expression "in it" (ἐν αὐτῷ) leaves us uncertain whether the group of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe was in the cave or in (*i.e.* enclosed by the legs of) the tripod. If, as seems probable, the statue of Dionysus was enclosed by the legs of the tripod, it would follow that the group of Apollo, Artemis, and the children of Niobe was in the cave, or perhaps rather in the portico. It has indeed been sometimes supposed, as by Prof. Milchhöfer, that the group was represented in relief on the tripod; but this supposition seems excluded by Pausanias's language. If he had meant to describe the group as a relief on the tripod he would have said not "in it" (ἐν αὐτῷ), but "on it" (ἐπ' αὐτῷ); and would probably have added the participle ἐπειργασμένοι.

The face of the rock on both sides of the cave has been chiselled

into a smooth perpendicular surface. Two large niches are cut in it immediately to the west of the cave. On the steep slope above the cave, at the foot of the wall of the Acropolis, are still standing two high columns of Hymettian marble, with triangular Corinthian capitals. These columns, which are of unequal height, originally supported tripods; the holes in which the feet of the tripods were fastened can be perceived on the top of the triangular capitals by looking down at them from the wall of the Acropolis. To the east of these columns some votive inscriptions, much weathered and defaced, may be seen carved on the rock. The perpendicular cutting in the face of the rock, with its niches and inscriptions, is doubtless what the ancients called the *katatome* or 'scarp.' Hyperides spoke of a man "seated under the scarp"; and Philochorus mentioned that a certain Aeschraeus, "having gained a victory with a chorus of boys, dedicated a silver-plated tripod above the theatre, and carved an inscription on the scarp of the rock" (Harpocration, *s.v.* *κατατομή*; cp. Pollux, iv. 123).

See Wheler, *Journey*, pp. 368-370; Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2 (London, 1787), 29-36, with plates i.-vi.; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, pp. 62-64; Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, 1. pp. 299-301 (with a view of the interior of the cave); Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 186; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 76 *sq.*; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 173 *sq.*; K. B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, pp. 111-118; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 336-341; Milchhoefer, 'Athen,' p. 193; Baedeker,[3] p. 56; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 72; E. Reisch, 'Zum Thrasyllosmonument,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 383-401; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 328; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 266-271; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. pp. 257-259.

21. 3. **This Niobe I myself saw when I ascended Mount Sipylus.** Cp. viii. 2. 7, and see note on v. 13. 7.

21. 4. **Calos is buried** etc. Cp. i. 26. 4. The nephew of Daedalus is commonly called Talos by ancient writers; but Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 41, ed. Potter) and Suidas (*s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν) agree with Pausanias in naming him Calos. Apostolius (xiv. 17) calls him Callos. According to Sophocles (referred to by Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν), Ovid (*Metam.* viii. 236 *sqq.*), Hyginus (*Fab.* 39, 244, and 274), and Servius (on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 143, and *Aen.* vi. 14) his name was Perdix ('partridge'). The story was that Talos (Calos), son of Perdix, a sister of Daedalus, surpassed his uncle and master Daedalus in mechanical ingenuity, and invented the saw, compass, and potter's wheel; whereby he excited his uncle's envy, who murdered him by throwing him from the Acropolis at Athens. Being detected in the act of burying the corpse, Daedalus was tried before the court of the Areopagus, and banished to Crete. Perdix, the mother of Talos, hung herself for grief at the death of her son. So the Athenians dedicated a sanctuary to her beside the Acropolis, and paid honour to her. See Apollodorus, iii. 15. 9; Diodorus, iv. 76; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν; Apostolius, xiv. 17; Schol. on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1648; Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 236-259; Hyginus, *Fab.* 39, 244, and 274; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 143, and *Aen.* vi. 14. According to Ovid (*l.c.*) when Perdix (Talos) was hurled from

the Acropolis, the goddess Athena caught him up and transformed him into a new kind of bird, which was ever afterwards called Perdix ('partridge') after him.

The grave of Talos is mentioned by Lucian in a fanciful passage (*Piscator*, 42), where he describes the eagerness with which the hungry philosophers crowded up to the Acropolis to receive a dole; too impatient to go round to the regular entrance they planted ladders against the wall and swarmed up wherever they could, amongst other places at the sanctuary of Aesculapius and the grave of Talos. This shows that the grave of Talos was close to the foot of the Acropolis. The legend of Talos's death points to the same conclusion; for probably he was supposed to be buried on the spot where he fell from the battlements of the Acropolis. Moreover, the sanctuary of his mother Perdix was beside the Acropolis (Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν). Pausanias tells us that the grave of Talos was on the way from the theatre to the Acropolis, and as he mentions the sanctuary of Aesculapius immediately afterwards, we infer that the grave was situated somewhere between the theatre and the sanctuary. Now the sanctuary of Aesculapius lay (as we shall see presently) immediately to the west of the theatre. Probably, therefore, the grave of Talos was on the slope of the Acropolis between the choregic monument of Thrasyllus and the sanctuary of Aesculapius.

It has been conjectured that in the Attic legend of Talos we have a reminiscence of the Phoenician worship of Baal-Moloch. The link between the legend and the worship is furnished by the stories told about the Cretan Talos. He is said to have been a man of bronze whom Zeus gave to Europa to guard the island of Crete. So he patrolled the whole island thrice every day, keeping watch and ward against intruders. Being made of bronze he would have been invulnerable were it not that he had either a tube of blood in his heel or (according to another story) a vein running from his neck to his ankles, and stopped up with a bronze nail. To this frailty he owed his death. For when he attempted to drive away the Argo from the shores of Crete with showers of stones, Medea contrived to extract the nail from his vein or to make him stumble against a sharp stone and cut his ankle, so that all his blood flowed out. According to another story, Talos received the fatal wound in the ankle from an arrow shot by Poeas. See Apollodorus, i. 9. 26; Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1638 *sqq.*, with the scholium; Agatharchides, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 443, lines 22-25, ed. Bekker; Lucian, *De saltatione*, 49. Another story was that Talos clutched people to his bronze breast and leaped with them into the fire, so that they were roasted alive (Schol. on Plato, *Republic*, 1. p. 337 a; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xx. 302, p. 1893; Suidas, *s.v.* σαρδάνιος γέλως; Zenobius, v. 85). This last story certainly reminds us of the bronze image of Baal at Carthage, from whose outstretched arms human victims rolled into a pit of fire (Diodorus, xx. 14). On coins of Phaestus, where Zeus was worshipped under the Semitic name of *Velchanos* (Hesychius, *s.v.* Γελχάνος, for which, as coins show, we should read Ϝελχάνος), Talos is represented as a winged male figure,

striding along and about to hurl a stone (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 402).

If this supposed connexion of the Attic with the Cretan Talos could be made out, it would follow that the true name of the former was Talos or rather perhaps Talon, the form which appears on coins of Phaestus (see Head, *l.c.*), not Calos, as Pausanias writes it. On this theory of the Phoenician origin of Talos, see L. Stephani, in *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, 1 (1849-1855), p. 140 *sqq.* The late J. J. Bachofen of Bâle maintained the somewhat fanciful view that the legend of the murder of Talos by his maternal uncle was a reminiscence of an attempt to renounce and abolish the old matriarchal system, as it is called, in favour of the patriarchal system. Under the former system the maternal uncle occupies towards his sister's children a position of authority like that which, under the patriarchal system, a father occupies towards his own children. See J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe*, p. 115 *sqq.*

21. 4. **took refuge with Cocalus in Sicily.** See vii. 4. 6 note.

21. 4. **The sanctuary of Aesculapius** etc. From the theatre Pausanias proceeds westward along the southern foot of the Acropolis, and the first sanctuary which he comes to is that of Aesculapius. The proximity of this sanctuary to the theatre is confirmed by a statement of Marinus (*Life of Proclus*, 29) that the house of the philosopher Proclus adjoined both the sanctuary of Aesculapius and the sanctuary of Dionysus which contained the theatre. Further we know from Lucian that the sanctuary of Aesculapius must have been close to the foot of the Acropolis; for in a passage already referred to (*Piscator*, 42) he describes how some of the needy philosophers planted ladders at the sanctuary of Aesculapius and swarmed up them into the Acropolis. These indications of ancient writers as to the situation of the sanctuary were fully confirmed in 1876 by the discovery of the sanctuary at the foot of the precipitous rock of the Acropolis, immediately to the west of and abutting on the retaining-wall of the theatre. In that and the two following years (1876-1878) the Greek Archaeological Society undertook and carried out the excavation of the whole of the ground on the south side of the Acropolis between the theatre of Dionysus on the east and the Music Hall of Herodes on the west. The ground here consists of a great terrace some 173 metres (189 yards) long, bounded on the north by the rock of the Acropolis, on the east by the theatre, on the west by the Music Hall, and on the south by the arched retaining-wall popularly known in Athens as the *Serpentze*, along the foot of which, on the south, stretched the Colonnade of Eumenes nearly the whole way from the theatre to the Music Hall of Herodes. This great terrace is itself divided into three low terraces, which rise one above the other in the direction from east to west. The sanctuary of Aesculapius occupied the eastern and lowest of these three terraces; whether it included also the middle terrace, immediately to the west, is doubtful. From the theatre the sanctuary was reached by a ramp or descending road, which led down from about the middle of the western side of the auditorium. The two walls which supported this ramp on the north and south are still to be seen; on their outer sides the blocks are carefully fitted and

smoothed, on the inner sides they are left rough. About four yards to the north of this ramp and nearly parallel with it are the remains of the wall which enclosed the precinct of Aesculapius on the south. This wall starts from the retaining-wall of the theatre and extends due west for some 20 yards or so. It is faced on both sides with polygonal masonry, the interior being filled with rubble. The sanctuary of Aesculapius was bounded by this wall on the south, by the retaining-wall of the theatre on the east, and by the rock of the Acropolis on the north. Its western boundary is, as has been said, uncertain.

Within the sanctuary the most considerable monumental remains which have been discovered are those of a colonnade which extended along the northern side of the sanctuary, at the foot of the precipitous rock of the Acropolis and abutting, at its eastern end, on the theatre. The colonnade is 49.50 metres (162 ft. 5 in.) long by about 11 metres (36 feet) deep. The outer line of the stylobate with portions of the back and side walls are preserved. The colonnade rested on two steps, of which the lower is built of Piraeic limestone, the upper (the stylobate) of Hymettian marble. The jointing of the stones is excellent. From the marks left by the columns on the stylobate it appears that the colonnade was at some later time rebuilt with slenderer columns placed at wider intervals. Two shafts of Doric columns belonging to the rebuilt colonnade were found on the stylobate. They are of Pentelic marble with twenty flutings ; but the lower parts of the shaft, to a height of about 11 feet, are unfluted. The original colonnade was also of the Doric order. Down the middle of the colonnade, supporting the roof, ran an inner row of columns, as appears from some bases in the eastern part of the colonnade ; the intervals between these bases prove that the distance between each pair of columns in the inner row was double the distance between each pair of columns in the outer row. The back (north) wall and the east wall of the colonnade are carefully and neatly constructed of blocks of limestone. The foot of the back wall is faced with plates of Hymettian marble 1.15 metres (about 3 ft. 7 in.) high. Parallel to the east wall, and at a distance from it of 1.85 metres (5 ft. 11 in.) there ran a cross wall from the back to the front of the colonnade. Between it and the east wall a staircase probably led up to a balcony or upper story. In the middle ages a vaulted passage was constructed in the northern half of the western portion of the colonnade. The southern wall of this passage lies exactly on the central long axis of the colonnade ; its northern wall conceals the original back wall of the colonnade. The original pavement of the colonnade is almost gone, but a fragment of it in the western part of the colonnade shows that it was of Hymettian marble.

An arched doorway in the back wall of the colonnade, nearer its eastern than its western end, leads through a narrow passage into a small round chamber hewn in the rock of the Acropolis, with a dome-shaped roof. In this chamber or grotto is a spring of pure but somewhat brackish water ; it is doubtless the fountain of which Pausanias speaks. The water enters the chamber by a square opening low down at the side, near the entrance, and flows round it in a channel enclosed

by slabs set upright. This channel, as well as the arched entrance to the grotto, date from Christian times when the grotto was converted into a chapel. Its walls were at the same time coated with stucco to receive the holy pictures. In a triangular niche facing the entrance is a picture of the Virgin. The peasants still pray and burn candles in the grotto. Xenophon (*Memor.* iii. 13. 3) speaks of the water of the spring as warm; and Pliny (*N. H.* ii. 225) says that things thrown into it reappeared in the bay of Phalerum (but see note on i. 28. 4).

At the west end of the colonnade is a square platform about 10 feet high, in the middle of which is a circular shaft 2.20 metres (7 ft. 2 in.) deep and 2.70 metres (8 ft. 10 in.) wide. The bottom of the shaft is the natural rock; its sides are constructed of polygonal masonry. Round the mouth of the shaft are four square bases of Hymettian marble; they probably supported columns which in turn supported a roof. Though there is now no water in the shaft it was probably a well. Prof. U. Köhler, however, conjectures that it was a sacrificial pit into which the blood of victims offered to the dead was allowed to flow (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 254).

With regard to the date of the colonnade, the use of Hymettian marble in its construction is believed to show that it cannot be earlier than the fourth century B.C.; for before that century Hymettian marble was not employed for buildings, and hardly even for inscriptions, in Athens. On the other hand, the excellence of the masonry indicates that it can hardly be much later than the fourth century B.C. The colonnade was doubtless intended for the use of the patients and worshippers of the god, who slept here in expectation of receiving revelations in dreams (see below). Its situation on the sunny southern side of the Acropolis, which completely sheltered it from the north, adapted it as a resort for delicate and sickly persons. In a well-known passage (*Plutus*, 659 *sqq.*) Aristophanes has described the patients lying in the sanctuary.

Immediately south of the west end of the colonnade are the foundations of an ancient building which measure 10.50 metres (34 ft. 6 in.) from east to west by 6 metres (19 ft. 8 in.) from north to south. This was probably the temple of Aesculapius. To the east of this building, nearly opposite the entrance to the grotto, are the remains of two Christian churches, which have been supposed to mark the site of another temple, or of the great altar of Aesculapius. Both these views appear to be mere conjectures.

So much for the eastern of the three terraces. The middle terrace is somewhat smaller, and is only about 2 feet 6 inches higher than the eastern terrace. It is in the form of an irregular quadrangle bounded on the east and south by a wall mostly of polygonal masonry, which on the south side is in tolerable preservation. On the north-eastern side of this terrace, at the foot of the Acropolis rock, are the foundations of a large building 28 metres (91 ft. 10 in.) long from east to west, by 14 metres (46 feet) wide from north to south. The northern half of this building, next the Acropolis rock, was occupied by a row of four square chambers of equal size, paved with small round pebbles. The

other (southern) half of the building was a colonnade open to the south, but closed at its eastern and western ends. The steps at the south-west corner, together with the base of the westernmost column, are preserved. The base shows that the columns were of the Ionic order. This building was probably the house of the priests and other officials of the sanctuary. In respect of style it is decidedly inferior to the colonnade of the eastern terrace, and appears to have been built not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C. To the west of this building, just at the foot of the Acropolis rock, is the square shaft of an ancient well, the sides of which are constructed of fine polygonal masonry. It is about 2.50 metres (8 ft. 2 in.) wide, and is at present about 3.50 metres (11 ft. 6 in.) deep, but it has not been completely cleared out. On its western side, which has been destroyed, it opens into a large mediaeval or Turkish cistern built of bricks. This cistern contains good drinking water which rises under the rocks immediately to the north. Immediately to the south of this cistern are the remains of a small building about 5 metres (16 ft. 5 in.) long by 4.25 metres (13 ft. 10 in.) wide. It fronts south-east, and from the excellent style of the masonry is judged to belong to the best period of Athenian architecture. Prof. U. Köhler and Prof. A. Milchhöfer agree in thinking that it was the temple of Themis mentioned by Pausanias (i. 22. 1). In the outer side of the polygonal wall which bounds this middle terrace on the south, there is a stone with the inscription HOPOΣ KPENEΣ, "boundary of the fountain" (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 499 a, p. 51). From the style of the letters this inscription seems to belong to the second half of the fifth century B.C.; and from its position in the boundary wall of the middle terrace nearly opposite the ancient well it appears to refer to this well rather than to the spring which rises in the grotto at the back of the eastern terrace. As the stone, to all appearance, is in its original position, it proves that all the space between it and the well (or the spring in the grotto) was hallowed ground. A little to the west of this boundary stone the polygonal wall is interrupted in consequence, apparently, of the construction of a large mediaeval cistern on its inner side.

As the westernmost of the three terraces was certainly not included within the sanctuary of Aesculapius, it need not be described here.

The sanctuary just described was known as "the sanctuary of Aesculapius in the city" to distinguish it from the sanctuary of Aesculapius in Piraeus (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 621; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 159 b, p. 424; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 477 b, p. 427). Some light is thrown on its history by inscriptions found in or near it. Thus an inscription, unfortunately much mutilated, is believed to have described the bringing of the god from Peloponnese to Athens, the foundation of his sanctuary on the south side of the Acropolis, and its subsequent alterations and improvements (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1649). As this inscription is not later than the beginning of the fourth century B.C., it seems to show that the sanctuary was already in existence in the fifth century B.C. Another inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1650) appears to mention a certain Telemachus as the founder of the sanctuary and altar of Aesculapius; but like the

preceding inscription it is unfortunately mutilated. A good deal more information is furnished by an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 489 b, p. 419 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 356), which seems to date from the second half of the first century B.C. This inscription contains a decree of the Council allowing a certain Diocles, who had been elected by lot priest of Aesculapius for the year after Lysiades's archonship, to make certain necessary repairs in the sanctuary. Diocles had represented to the Council "that the doors of the former entrance into the sanctuary, together with the roof at the back of the portal, and the temple of the ancient foundation of Aesculapius and Health were dilapidated," and had petitioned to be allowed at his own expense "to provide the old portal with doors, and to roof the back part of the portal as well as the temple opposite the entrance." His petition was granted: the Council allowed him "to set up the doors, to roof the back part of the portal, to repair the old temple," and to put up inscriptions on the door, the roof, and the temple recording the restorations which he had effected. From this inscription it has been inferred that there were two temples, an old one and a new one, within the sanctuary, and that there were two entrances, an old one and a new one, into it. Prof. U. Köhler and Prof. A. Milchhöfer suppose that the newer temple occupied the site on the eastern terrace where there are now some remains of Christian churches, nearly opposite the entrance to the round rock-hewn chamber with its sacred spring. Mr. P. Girard, on the other hand, would identify as one of the temples of Aesculapius the foundations on the middle terrace which Prof. Köhler and Prof. Milchhöfer take to be those of the temple of Themis (see above). Another inscription, dating from about the same time as the preceding one (Prof. Köhler thinks it belongs to the year 64 or 63 B.C.), records that a certain Socrates, son of Sarapion, repaired and provided with doors the fountain and the entrance in honour of Aesculapius and Health. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 174; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. xvii. line 42 *sqq.* Lastly, from two inscriptions of the age of Hadrian or the Antonines, we learn that a certain Demetrius, son of Antiochus, who had held the office of custodian of the temple (ζακορεύσας), paved the floor of the portal and of the ground round the altar (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 68 e, 68 f, p. 483).

Interesting lists of votive offerings preserved in the sanctuary are furnished by two long inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 835, 836), which were found on the site. Though now broken into a number of pieces, these inscriptions were evidently carved on opposite sides of the same stone. The older of the two inscriptions, for they are not contemporary, seems to date from about Ol. 115 (320-317 B.C.) Among the votive offerings enumerated in these inscriptions are representations of the human body and various parts of it, such as faces, eyes, mouths, teeth, ears, breasts, hearts, hands, legs and feet. Some of these were of gold, others of silver. They were doubtless offered by patients who had been or hoped to be cured of ailments in the corresponding parts of their bodies. Amongst the offerings mentioned are also small silver and golden serpents, dedicated probably with reference to the sacred

serpents which lived in the sanctuary (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 733 *sqq.*; see notes on ii. 10. 3; ii. 27. 3). Theophrastus tells us (*Charact.* 21) that it was characteristic of the man of petty ambition to dedicate a bronze ring in the sanctuary of Aesculapius, and then burnish and anoint it daily; and among the votive offerings enumerated in the inscriptions rings (one of them of iron) are mentioned. See P. Girard and J. Martha, 'Inventaires de l'Asklépieion, *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 2 (1878), pp. 419-445. A number of the votive offerings themselves have been found in the sanctuary. They include sculptured reliefs representing parts of the human body (legs, feet, breasts, etc.) with the names of the dedicators inscribed on them (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1482; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 132 c, 132 g, 132 h, 132 i, 132 k, 132 p, 132 q, 132 r). Another votive relief represents a serpent (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1445); another a serpent coiled round a staff, with two fir-cones to the right and fruit of some sort to the left (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 181 a). Other reliefs represent Aesculapius alone or in company with the goddess Health, or with his children (his son Machaon, and his daughters Aceso, Iaso, Panacea) receiving the vows and prayers of suppliants. It may possibly be to sculptures of this latter sort that Pausanias refers when he says that the sanctuary contained remarkable images of the god and his children. See P. Girard, 'Ex-voto à Esculape trouvés sur la pente méridionale de l'Acropole,' *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 1 (1877), pp. 156-169; *id.*, 2 (1878), pp. 65-94; F. von Duhn, 'Votivreliefs an Asklepios und Hygieia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 214-222, with plates xiv.-xvi.; *id.*, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), pp. 139-175. A votive offering of a different sort found in the sanctuary is a series of three hymns inscribed on a slab of gray marble (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 171 a, p. 488). The first two hymns consist of prayers addressed to Aesculapius by a certain Diophantes, a custodian of the temple, who had suffered agonies from gout, and now passionately implores the god to restore to him the use of his feet that he may return on them to the god's golden house, and "that I may behold thee, my god, who art brighter than the earth in spring." The third hymn is a song of thanksgiving to the god for having answered the prayer of his servant, who can now walk erect, instead of crawling crab-fashion or limping as on thorns. From another inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 352 b, p. 426) we learn that the public physicians of Athens were accustomed to sacrifice twice a year to Aesculapius and Health on behalf of their patients and themselves. The priest of Aesculapius had a seat reserved for him in the neighbouring theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 287).

On the sanctuary of Aesculapius see Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1876, pp. 14-34, with plan; *id.*, for 1877, p. 6 *sqq.*, with plan; *id.*, for 1878, p. 6 *sqq.*; U. Kohler, 'Der Südabhang der Akropolis zu Athen nach den Ausgrabungen der archäologischen Gesellschaft,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 171-186, 229-260; Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 34, with plate xi.; P. Girard, *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes* (Paris, 1882); A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 194-197; *Guide-Joanne*, I. pp. 72-75; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 265 *sqq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 329; Baedeker,[3] p. 56; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 299 *sqq.*; E. Preuner, 'Zur Einführung des Asklepios-Kultes in Athen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 49 (1894), pp. 313-316.

In his description of the south side of the Acropolis Pausanias makes no mention of two buildings, the remains of which are still very conspicuous features in this part of Athens. These are (1) the Colonnade of Eumenes; and (2) the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus.

(1) The great terrace on the south side of the Acropolis, extending from the Dionysiac Theatre on the east to the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus on the west, is supported in nearly its whole length by a high retaining wall built of conglomerate and strengthened by more than forty buttresses. Each pair of buttresses is united at the top by an arch, so that the appearance of the wall, seen from below, is that of a long wall with a row of pillars and arches placed flat against it. Originally, however, these pillars and arches were concealed by a casing constructed of squared blocks of Piraeic limestone with a socle (5 ft. 3 in. high) of Hymettian marble. Along the whole front of this retaining wall, so concealed, there extended a colonnade 163 metres (about 178 yards) long by more than 16 metres (52 ft. 6 in.) deep. It had two rows of columns, one along its outer edge, the other down the middle. The substructions of the outer side of the colonnade, together with the square foundations of the inner row of columns, and the side and back walls to a certain height, are preserved. The substructions are of limestone and conglomerate; the foundations of the columns are of limestone. At its eastern end the colonnade (and with it the retaining wall of the terrace) stops about 10 metres (33 feet) short of the theatre of Dionysus; it was terminated here by a side wall. At its western end the colonnade communicated, by means of two doors in the side wall, with the rooms at the back of the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus. In the winter of 1892-93 a large number of drums of columns were found immediately to the south of, and a little way below, the colonnade. They are of Pentelic marble, and in shape and dimensions resemble the outer Doric columns of the Colonnade of Attalus (see above, p. 55). There can be little doubt that they belong to the colonnade we have been describing, from which they were probably rolled down hill to strengthen the mediaeval fortification wall.

Opinions have differed as to the date when this great colonnade, the longest yet discovered in Athens, was constructed. As the back of the colonnade is exactly in a line with the stage of Herodes's Music Hall, and as the two buildings communicated by doors in the western endwall of the colonnade, Prof. U. Köhler and Prof. A. Milchhöfer concluded that the colonnade was constructed by Herodes Atticus at the same time that he built the Music Hall. This would explain Pausanias's silence as to the colonnade, for (as we shall see presently) when he was in Athens the Music Hall was not yet built. But Dr. Dörpfeld has shown good grounds for dissenting from this view. The walls of the Music Hall, where they exceed a certain breadth, are regularly constructed of a core of small stones and mortar (*opus incertum*), with an outer facing of Piraeic limestone. The use of small stones bonded with mortar (a sure mark of the Roman origin of the Music Hall) does not occur in the colonnade, which is constructed of breccia, limestone, and Hymettian marble, materials which were employed at Athens in buildings

of the pre-Roman time, especially in the declining age of Greece. Probably, therefore, the colonnade is the Colonnade of Eumenes, described by Vitruvius (v. 9. 1) as situated near the Dionysiac theatre, and used as a place of shelter by the spectators when a sudden shower of rain compelled them to quit the open theatre. The Eumenes at whose expense the colonnade was constructed was most probably Eumenes II., king of Pergamus (197-159 B.C.) The plan of the colonnade agrees with that of a colonnade in Pergamus, which is known to have been built by Eumenes II. Moreover, the agreement of the recently discovered columns with those of the colonnade of Attalus is another argument for dating the colonnade, with Dr. Dörpfeld, in the second century B.C., rather than, with Professors Köhler and Milchhöfer, in the second century A.D.

See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας for 1877, p. 12 *sqq.*, with plan; *id.*, for 1878, p. 6 *sqq.*; J. Martha, 'Restes d'un portique au sud de l'Asklépieion,' *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 2 (1878), pp. 584-586, with pl. xxiii.; U. Köhler, 'Hallenlage am Südfusse der Akropolis zu Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 147-154, with pl. vii.; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 193 *sq.*; W. Dörpfeld, 'Die Stoa des Eumenes in Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 100-102; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 263 *sq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1882), p. 450 *sq.*

(2) The Music Hall of Herodes Atticus, which stands at the south-western foot of the Acropolis, in a line with the Colonnade of Eumenes, appears to have been the last great building erected in ancient Athens, and it is now one of the best preserved of the Athenian monuments. Pausanias tells us elsewhere (vii. 20. 6) that when he wrote his description of Athens the Music Hall of Herodes was not yet begun; he informs us further that it was built by Herodes Atticus in memory of his dead wife, and that in size and magnificence it surpassed the one at Patrae, which was otherwise unrivalled in Greece. Philostratus, who calls it a theatre, says that Herodes Atticus built it in memory of his wife Regilla, that it had a roof of cedar-wood, and was far superior to the Music Hall which Herodes built at Corinth (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 8). Suidas mentions (*s.v.* Ἡρώδης Ἰούλιος) that Herodes built "a roofed theatre" at Athens. Regilla died about 160 or 161 A.D. (note on vii. 20. 6); hence the Music Hall must have been built shortly after.

In modern times, down to the middle of last century and even later, the Music Hall of Herodes was often taken for the Dionysiac theatre. The first who gave the building its true name was Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, p. 64 *sqq.*) The interior of the building, long buried under a deep accumulation of soil, and even turned into a cornfield, was fully excavated under the superintendence of Pittakis in 1857 and 1858. From the quantity of ashes brought to light in the course of the excavations it appears that the Music Hall must have been partially destroyed by fire. The building has the form of a Roman theatre. The seats rise steeply in a semicircle, tier above tier, on the rocky slope of the Acropolis. The auditorium, measuring about 80 metres (262 feet) across, was enclosed by a massive wall of limestone, which rose high

above it, and was strengthened on the east side by buttresses. This enclosing wall doubtless supported the cedar-wood roof mentioned by Philostratus (*l.c.*) A *diazoma* or horizontal passage, running round the semicircular auditorium at a height somewhat above the middle, divided the seats into an upper and a lower section, of which the lower section contained twenty rows of seats, and the upper section perhaps thirteen; but these upper rows of seats are very ruinous, and their number cannot be exactly ascertained. Staircases divided the seats below the *diazoma* into five wedge-shaped blocks (*cunei*, *kerkides*), and the seats above the *diazoma* into ten blocks. The seats were covered with Pentelic marble, which, however, in the upper division has wholly disappeared. The front seats have backs and a low step which served as a foot-stool. It is calculated that the theatre held about 6000 spectators.

The orchestra, 62 feet broad, and in shape rather larger than a semicircle, is paved with square pieces of dark marble, sprinkled with yellow. From each side of the orchestra a passage, similarly paved with marble, led past the extremity of the stage and up eight steps to a doorway opening into a chamber to the south, from which one passed into the open air.

The stage, about 115 feet wide, 26 feet deep, and 5 feet high, was connected with the orchestra by two staircases; but only three steps of the eastern staircase are preserved. The massive wall at the back of the stage is preserved to a height of two stories throughout, and to a height of three stories in places. The two upper stories are indicated by rows of arched windows. This wall at the level of the stage is pierced with three stage doors, and contains eight niches for statues. There was also an entrance to the stage through each of the side-scenes. A row of columns seems to have extended across the stage in its back part, supporting a second story. In the back wall of the stage, at a height of about 16 feet, may still be seen the rows of holes in which the beams of this second story were fixed. In this upper story the gods and other spiritual beings may have made their appearance.

See R. Schillbach, *Über das Odeion des Herodes Attikos* (Jena, 1858); S. Ivanoff, 'Il teatro d' Atene detto di Erode Attico,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 30 (1858), pp. 213-221; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 197 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 56 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, I. p. 75 *sq.*; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 291-293; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 263.

21. 4. a fountain beside which, they say, Halirrothius —— violated Alcippe. Cp. Euripides, *Electra*, 1258 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 14. 2. The mother of Alcippe was Aglaurus (Apollodorus, *l.c.*) Prof. v. Sybel has suggested that Alcippe was the nymph of the spring before Aesculapius took possession of it (*Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 97 *sqq.*) As to the trial of Ares at the Areopagus, see i. 28. 5 note.

21. 6. They make their corselets in the following way etc. Ammianus Marcellinus (xvii. 12. 2) describes the Sarmatian corselets as "made of horns scraped and smoothed, fastened like feathers on linen garments." Tacitus describes them (*Hist.* i. 79) as made of iron plates or hard hides and impenetrable to thrust or cut.

21. 7. **Linen corselets may be seen dedicated in various sanctuaries.** Three linen corselets were dedicated in the Carthaginian treasury at Olympia (vi. 19. 7). Amasis, king of Egypt, dedicated a fine linen corselet in the sanctuary of Athena at Lindus in Rhodes (Herodotus, ii. 182; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 17); each strand in it was itself composed of 365 threads, and visitors to the temple used to finger the corselet so much, in order to count the threads, that by Pliny's time there was little of it left (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 12). Amasis sent a similar corselet as a present to the Lacedaemonians, but it was intercepted at sea by a Samian rover. Figures of animals were woven into it, and it was adorned with gold and cotton (Herodotus, iii. 47). A linen coat answering to this description was found in the grave of Rameses III. (Wiedemann, on Herodotus, ii. 182). Some of the Homeric heroes wore linen corselets (Homer, *Il.* ii. 529, 830). New linen corselets hung on nails in the armoury described by Alcaeus (Frag. 15, in Bergk's *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*[3] 3. p. 935; Athenaeus, xiv. p. 627 b). Linen corselets were regularly worn by Persian soldiers, according to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vi. 4. 2), who had good opportunity of knowing them. Cornelius Nepos says (*Iphicrates*, i.) that Iphicrates armed his light infantry with linen corselets. On ancient corselets, see Stephani in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1874, p. 182 *sqq.*

21. 7. **Gryneum, where Apollo has a most beautiful grove** etc. Gryneum was a small city of Aeolis in Asia Minor. It possessed a sanctuary of Apollo with an ancient oracle and a costly temple of white marble (Strabo, xiii. p. 622; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Γρύνοι). The Grynean grove of Apollo is mentioned by Virgil (*Ecl.* vi. 72). It is described by Servius (on Virgil, *l.c.*) as "a place clothed at all times with many trees, reeds, and flowers of various sorts, and abounding also in springs." The sanctuary is mentioned in Pergamene inscriptions (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. Nos. 13, 158).

22. 1. **a temple of Themis.** Prof. U. Köhler conjectured (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 256) that this was the small rectangular building of which the foundations were discovered on the middle terrace, to the west of the sanctuary of Aesculapius and immediately south of the large mediaeval cistern (see above, p. 237). This conjecture was approved by Prof. Milchhöfer ('Athen,' p. 196). But it is now said that the building in question is not Greek (Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 330); and there seems to be no other foundation which would answer to that of a temple between the sanctuary of Aesculapius and the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus. It would appear, therefore, that the temple of Themis, together with the sanctuaries of Vulgar Aphrodite, Earth, and Green Demeter mentioned by Pausanias below (§ 3), must have been situated at the south-western foot of the Acropolis, somewhere between the Music Hall of Herodes and the entrance to the Acropolis. But the exact site of none of them has as yet been determined. For other sanctuaries and altars of Themis, see Index.

22. 1. **a barrow erected in memory of Hippolytus.** Beside the Acropolis there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite, who was here called 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' (ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ). This sanctuary was

said to have been founded by Phaedra out of love to Hippolytus, and is described by Euripides as being situated beside the Acropolis and in sight of Troezen. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 30 *sqq.*, with the scholiast; Diodorus, iv. 62; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1329. An inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 212) seems to show that 'in memory of Hippolytus' was the official designation of the goddess at this shrine. It is natural to suppose that this sanctuary of 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' was near the barrow or tomb of Hippolytus. Euripides has given two indications of its situation, namely, that it was beside the Acropolis and within sight of Troezen. Now the coast of Troezen is visible from the middle terrace on the south side of the Acropolis (see above, p. 236 *sq.*); but if you go further west, the prospect is cut off by the Museum Hill. Hence it has been supposed that the sanctuary of 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' was on the middle terrace, immediately to the west of the sanctuary of Aesculapius. To this view it has been objected that there are no foundations of a temple on this terrace. But ancient writers (with the exception of Tzetzes, *l.c.*, whose authority is worth very little) speak, not of a temple, but only of a sanctuary of Aphrodite, which may have been merely an enclosure with an altar. If, however, the sanctuary of 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' was on this middle terrace, it can hardly have been, as was suggested above, near the barrow of Hippolytus; for the barrow was near the temple of Themis, and, as we have seen, there are no foundations of a temple on this terrace. The sanctuary of 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' is not mentioned by Pausanias. It was formerly, indeed, believed to be identical with the sanctuary of Vulgar Aphrodite mentioned by him below; but this appears to be a mistake (see note on § 3). Cp. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 245 *sq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 346 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 196; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 330; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 328 *sqq.*; P. Foucart, in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 156 *sq.*

22. 1. **his death was brought about by curses.** Poseidon had promised Theseus that he would fulfil any three prayers which Theseus might make to him. Accordingly when Theseus, misled by Phaedra's slander, cursed his son Hippolytus, Poseidon fulfilled the curse by sending a sea-monster which frightened the horses of Hippolytus, and so led to his death. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 43 *sqq.*, 887 *sqq.*, 1166 *sqq.*

22. 1. **how the nurse sought to serve her by a bold bad deed.** The nurse attempted in vain to persuade Hippolytus to gratify Phaedra's guilty passion for him. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 433 *sqq.* The scene between the nurse and Hippolytus is represented on existing wall-paintings and on the sculptured reliefs of sarcophaguses.

See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 300 *sqq.*; *Monumenti Inediti*, 6 (1857), pl. i.; H. Brunn, 'Hippolito e Fedra,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 29 (1857), p. 36 *sqq.*; H. Hinck, 'Due sarcofaghi riferibili al mito d' Ippolito e Fedra,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 39 (1867), p. 109 *sqq.*; A. Kalkmann, 'Ueber Darstellungen der Hippolytos-Sage,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), pp. 37-80, 105-154; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2685 *sq.*

22. 1. **The Troezenians have also a grave of Hippolytus.** See ii. 32. 4.

22. 2. **Pallas and his sons revolted against Theseus** etc. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 35 *sqq.*; Philochorus, quoted by the scholiast on Euripides, *l.c.*; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13; A. Brückner, 'Das Reich des Pallas,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), pp. 200-234. Cp. Paus. i. 28. 10.

22. 2. **and laid the plot of death.** By accusing him falsely of having attempted her virtue. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 857 *sqq.*

22. 2. **There is a myrtle-tree at Troezen** etc. See ii. 32. 3.

22. 3. **Vulgar Aphrodite.** Cp. vi. 25. 1, note; viii. 32. 2; ix. 16. 3 *sq.* According to Apollodorus, cited by Harpocration (*s.v.* πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη), Aphrodite was called Vulgar (*Pandemos*) at Athens because her image stood in the ancient market-place, where all the people used to meet in public assembly. A second explanation of the title was that Solon had established public brothels and with the produce had founded a sanctuary of Vulgar Aphrodite (Nicander, cited by Harpocration, *l.c.* and by Athenaeus, xiii. p. 569 d). A third explanation is given by Pausanias in the present passage. In modern times it has been held that Vulgar Aphrodite was identical with the 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' (see note on § 1), the latter being her official title, the former merely a popular epithet. See U. Köhler in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 247; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 196; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 330. This view has, however, been disproved by the discovery of an inscription in which the epithet 'Vulgar' (*Pandemos*) is applied to Aphrodite as an official title. The inscription, which was found in 1888 at the western foot of the Acropolis, between the bastion on which rests the temple of Victory and the southern bastion of Beulé's gate to the Acropolis, contains a decree of the Council to the effect that at the time of the procession in honour of Vulgar Aphrodite the Commissioners of Public Works (*astunomoi*) should provide a dove for the purification of the sanctuary, anoint the altars, give the roofs a coat of pitch, wash the images, and provide a certain weight of purple dye. This decree was proposed by Hermeus "in order that the Commissioners of Public Works for the time being may take care of the sanctuary of Vulgar Aphrodite according to the customs of our fathers." The decree is dated in the priesthood of a lady, Hegesipyle, and in the archonship of Euthius (284/3 B.C.) See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 187 *sq.*; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 162 *sqq.*; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 9 (1889), p. 234. In 1889 there was found, in the same place, another inscription relating to the worship of Vulgar Aphrodite. It contains a dedication to "great, august Vulgar Aphrodite" by a certain Archinus and a priestess named Menecretia, daughter of Dexicrates, of the township Icaria. The inscription is mutilated, and the name of the deity whom Menecratia served as priestess is lost. But if, as is highly probable, the deity was Vulgar Aphrodite, the inscription proves that the priestess of Vulgar Aphrodite was a true-born Athenian burgess. The inscription, which seems to date from the fourth century B.C., is cut on what appears to have been the cornice of a building. Above the

inscription three doves are carved in relief; and at the back of the blocks composing the cornice are the holes in which the roof-beams were probably fitted. As the cornice appears to have rested on a wall, not on pillars, the late Dr. Lolling thought that the building was not a temple, but that it may have been a house for the priestess and other officials of the sanctuary. See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, pp. 127-129; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 160 *sqq.* Another inscription, found in the same place and at the same time (1889) as the preceding, contains another dedication to Aphrodite, but in it the goddess does not bear the surname of Vulgar (*Pandemos*). The inscription seems to date from the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, p. 126 *sq.*; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 159 *sq.* The discovery of these three inscriptions close to the western entrance of the Acropolis makes it probable that the sanctuary of Vulgar Aphrodite was in this neighbourhood. According to Apollodorus, as we have seen, the image of Vulgar Aphrodite stood "in the ancient market-place." It is possible that the market-place at one time extended up to the western foot of the Acropolis; but it is perhaps more probable that Apollodorus's statement as to the old market-place was nothing more than an inference from the surname *Pandemos* (literally, 'of all the people') borne by the goddess. At all events it seems clear that the sanctuary of Vulgar Aphrodite must be distinguished from the sanctuary of 'Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytus' (see note on § 1), since we now know from inscriptions that both titles ('Vulgar' and 'in memory of Hippolytus') were official designations of the goddess, and she could hardly have borne two distinct official titles at the same shrine. Cp. P. Foucart, 'Inscriptions de l'Acropole. Le temple d'Aphrodite Pandémos,' *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 156 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 328-334. Some marble doves which have been found on the slope of the Acropolis (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 248) may have been offerings dedicated in one or other of these sanctuaries of Aphrodite. That the dove was holy to Aphrodite is well known; its special relation to Vulgar Aphrodite is proved by the provision for cleansing her sanctuary with a dove, as well as by the carvings on the cornice of a building dedicated to her (see above).

22. 3. **Persuasion.** A sacrifice was annually offered to the goddess Persuasion (Isocrates, xv. 249). Her priestess seems to have had a special seat in the theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 351). There was a sanctuary of Persuasion at Sicyon (ii. 7. 7), and another in the island of Thasos, as we learn from an archaic inscription (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 6 (1882), p. 443).

22. 3. **a sanctuary of Earth, the Nursing-Mother, and of Green Demeter.** It is said that the first to sacrifice to Earth the Nursing-Mother on the Acropolis was Erichthonius, who set up an altar to her and made a rule that when people were sacrificing to any god they should first sacrifice to Earth the Nursing-Mother (Suidas, *s.v.* κουροτρόφος). The lads (*epheboi*) sacrificed to the Nursing-

Mother on the Acropolis (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 481, line 58 *sq.*) In a fragmentary inscription found on the Acropolis the sacrifice of a pig to Earth the Nursing-Mother appears to be prescribed (*C. I. A.* i. No. 4). Another stone, found in a Turkish bastion near the temple of Wingless Victory, bears the inscription: "Entrance to the shrine of Blaute and the Nursing-Mother" (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 411). (*Blaute* was the name of a kind of sandal, and there was a hero, ghost, or spirit at Athens called 'the hero of the *blaute* or sandal,' because a shoemaker had dedicated a model of a *blaute* in stone. See Pollux, vii. 87. Blaute is described as "a place in Athens" by Hesychius, *s.v.* *βλαύτῃ*.) Another stone with a fragmentary inscription, which was to be seen in the portal of the Acropolis a few years ago, is supposed to have marked the boundary of the precinct of Earth the Nursing-Mother (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 555 c, p. 55; Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 177). Solon spoke of Earth as the "buxom Nursing-Mother" (Frag. 43 in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*,[3] 2. p. 438). Cp. *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 529, line 50.

That the sanctuary of Green Demeter was near the entrance to the Acropolis appears from a passage in Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 831 *sqq.*), where the women, who are supposed to have taken possession of the Acropolis, see a man hurrying up the slope, beside the sanctuary of the Green Goddess. The scholiast on this passage of Aristophanes explains that the Green Goddess is Green Demeter, who had a sanctuary "on the Acropolis," in which the Athenians sacrificed in the month of Thargelion; the authority to whom the scholiast refers is Philochorus. The scholiast on Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 1600) describes the sanctuary of Green Demeter more correctly as "near or beside the Acropolis," and quotes a passage of Eupolis, "I will go straight to the Acropolis; for I must sacrifice a ram to Green Demeter." He adds that the worship had reference to the greenery of gardens; and that sacrifices were offered to the goddess on the sixth of Thargelion (mid-May to mid-June). An inscription found to the south of the present entrance to the Acropolis records that a certain Isodotus, in obedience to an admonition received in a dream, had dedicated an image of the Nursing-Mother to Green Demeter and the Maid (Proserpine) (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, p. 130). Another inscription, found in the same place, records a dedication to Green Demeter by a priestess named Nicobule (Δελτ. ἀρχαιολ. *l.c.*; cp. *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 167 *sq.*) Another inscription, containing a metrical oracle, mentions the sanctuary of Green Demeter as situated at the highest part of the city; it was found in 1889 to the south-west of the Victory bastion (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), pp. 192-198). The discovery of these inscriptions, coupled with the evidence of Aristophanes and Pausanias, makes it practically certain that the sanctuary of Green Demeter was close to the main (western) entrance to the Acropolis. A third Athenian inscription containing a dedication to Green Demeter is preserved (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 191). The priestess of Green Demeter had a seat reserved for her in the theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 349), and received certain allowances of flesh, wheat, honey, oil, firewood, etc. (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 631). The name

of Green Demeter appears to occur in a treasure-list (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 722).

Athens was not the only place where Green Demeter was worshipped. In the island of Myconus two sows (one of them pregnant) used to be sacrificed to Green Demeter on the twelfth day of the month Poseidon (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 373); and Cornutus (*De natura deorum*, 28) says that in spring men sacrifice to Green Demeter with mirth and gladness at sight of the green earth with its promise of abundance.

Pausanias implies that at Athens Earth the Nursing-Mother and Green Demeter shared a single sanctuary. This is not borne out by the evidence of the other ancient writers and of the inscriptions referred to above, which goes rather to show that these goddesses had separate sanctuaries. But if the sanctuaries were separate, they were probably beside each other, and situated near the western approach to the Acropolis. Cp. Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 302 *sqq.*; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 246 *sq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 349; U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 177; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 197; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 330; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 334 *sq.*

Earth was not the only goddess whom the Greeks called 'the Nursing-Mother' (κουροτρόφος). We find the same epithet applied to Demeter (*Orphic Hymns*, xl. 2; Hesychius, *s.v.* κουροτρόφος), Latona (Theocritus, xviii. 50), Artemis (Diodorus, v. 73; *Orphic Hymns*, xxxvi. 8; cp. Paus. iv. 34. 6), Hecate (Hesiod, *Theog.* 450; Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 861, with the Scholiast), Aphrodite (*Anthol. Palat.* vi. 318; [Herodotus,] *Life of Homer*, 30; Athenaeus, xiii. p. 592 a), Peace (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 228; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 419), and the Nymphs (Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 62). See Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, pp. 133-136 (from whom the references just given are borrowed).

22. 4. **There is but one entrance to the Acropolis** etc. The Acropolis of Athens is a long and lofty mass of rock extending east and west. On the north and east it is naturally steep, but on the south side its slope was originally much more gradual than at present. Hence to strengthen the fortress on the south side recourse was had to art. The face of the rock on the western half of the south side, above the sanctuary of Aesculapius, was scarped; while on the eastern half of the same side, above the Dionysiac theatre, a lofty wall was built. On its western side the Acropolis slopes gently down towards the Areopagus, and here was always, at least in historical times, the public entrance to the fortress. There was, indeed, a staircase leading down from the north side of the Acropolis to the sanctuary of Aglaurus (see note on i. 18. 2); and a little to the east of this staircase there is a natural rift in the rock in which another staircase was built in the middle ages. But neither of these approaches was open to the public. In addition there is a prehistoric staircase leading down to the lower town from a point to the east of the Erechtheum; it was discovered a few years ago.

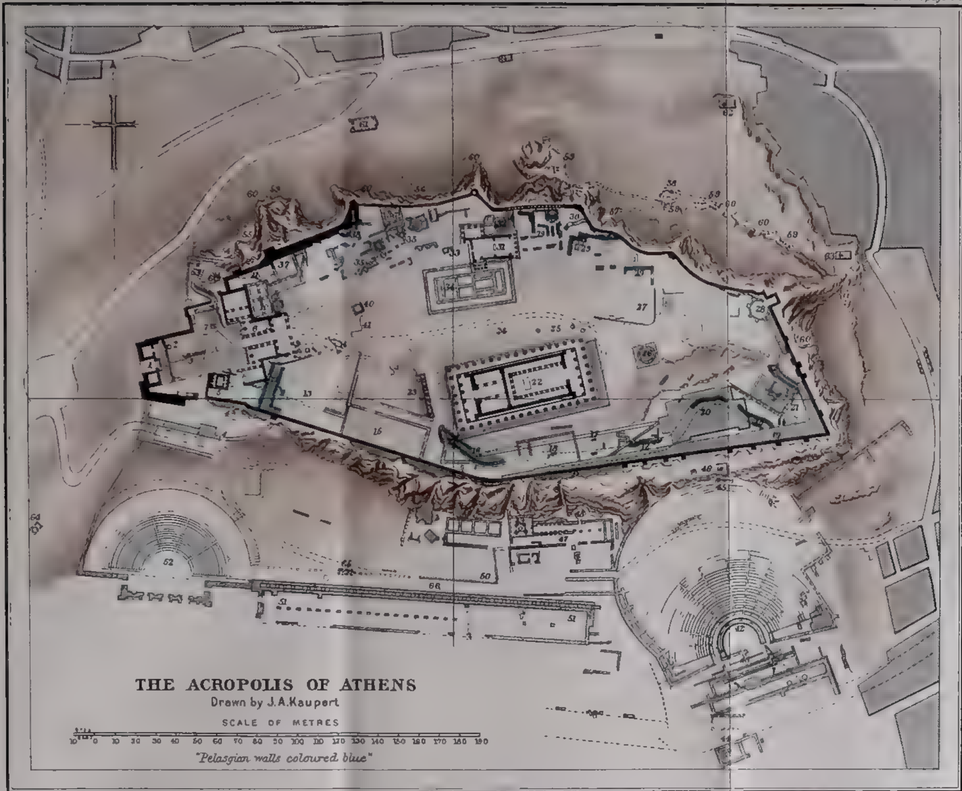
The top of the Acropolis is a plateau which rises somewhat towards

KEY TO PLAN OF ACROPOLIS

1. Gate excavated by Beulé.
2. Altar.
3. Polygonal wall.
4. Modern entrance (now disused).

4a. Low step and niche cut in rock; probably the shrine of Aegeus (see vol. 2. p. 262).

5. Temple of Wingless Victory.
6. Propylaea.
7. Monument of Agrippa.
8. Passage to Clepsydra spring.
9. Health Athena (see vol. 2. p. 277 *sqq.*).
10. Cistern.
11. Water-channel.
12. Pelasgian fortification-wall.
13. Precinct of Brauronian Artemis.
14. Rock-cut steps.
15. *Chalkotheke*? (see vol. 2. p. 297).
16. Staircase in wall.
17. Supporting wall.
18. Ancient building.
19. Offerings of Attalus.
20. Modern museum.
21. Foundations under 'Small Museum.'
22. Parthenon.
23. Terrace steps.
24. Fruit-bearing Earth (see vol. 2. p. 299).
25. Cisterns.
26. Temple of Rome and Augustus (see vol. 2. p. 320 *sq.*).
27. Terrace (highest point).
28. Modern outwork.
29. Foundations of prehistoric palace.
30. Staircase and entrance.
31. Erechtheum.
32. Paved terrace.
33. Cuttings in rock.
34. Old temple of Athena (Pre-Persian temple).
35. Foundations of Pelasgian dwellings.
36. Rectangular building.
37. Hall with cistern below it.
38. Staircase leading from Acropolis to precinct of Aglaurus.
39. Ancient well-house.
40. Position of great bronze image of Athena (Athena *Promachos*).
41. Base.
42. Theatre of Dionysus.
43. Ancient circular orchestra.
44. Two temples of Dionysus.
45. Monument of Thrasyllus (see vol. 2. p. 230 *sq.*).
46. Columns which supported tripods (see vol. 2. p. 232).
47. Sanctuary of Aesculapius.
48. Grotto and spring.
49. Shaft of well? (see vol. 2. p. 236).
50. Terrace-wall with boundary inscription (see vol. 2. p. 236 *sq.*).
51. Colonnade of Eumenes (see vol. 2. p. 240 *sq.*).
52. Music Hall of Herodes Atticus (see vol. 2. p. 241 *sq.*).
53. Clepsydra spring.
54. Cave of Apollo.
55. Cave.
56. Subterranean winding passage.
57. Cleft in the rock with staircase.
58. Inscribed rock.
59. Votive niches in the rock.
60. Hollows in the rock.
61. Ruined chapel of the Seraphim.
62. Chapel of St. Simeon.
63. Chapel of St. George.
64. }
65. } Remains of ancient walls.
66. Ancient road.



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the east, attaining its highest point (512 feet above the sea) to the north-east of the Parthenon. The length of the plateau from east to west is about 300 metres (328 yards); its greatest breadth from north to south, after the artificial elevation of the south side, is about 135 metres (148 yards).

See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 200; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 336; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 49.

The antiquary Polemo wrote a work in four books on the votive offerings in the Acropolis (Strabo, ix. p. 396); and the Athenian Heliodorus, who wrote some time after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), devoted fifteen books to the description of the Acropolis (Athenaeus, vi. p. 229 e; cp. *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 425). It is probable that Pausanias consulted these works in writing his own account of the Acropolis; at least if he did not, he should have done so. But we have no positive evidence that he did. Of modern books, besides those which deal with the topography of Athens in general, there are special works on the Acropolis by E. Beulé (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris, 1853) and Mr. Adolf Bötticher (*Die Akropolis von Athen*, Berlin, 1888). Pausanias's description of the Acropolis has been edited separately, enriched with plans, elevations, and a most useful collection of illustrative passages from ancient authors and inscriptions, by Otto Jahn and Prof. A. Michaelis (*Pausaniae Descriptio arcis Athenarum*, ed. O. Jahn. Editio altera recognita ab Ad. Michaelis, Bonnae, 1880).

22. 4. **The portal (Propylaea) has a roof of white marble** etc. The great portal of the Acropolis, the remains of which are still amongst the most splendid monuments of ancient Greece, was built under the administration of Pericles in the fifth century B.C. The architect was Mnesicles. We are told that the building was begun in the archonship of Euthymenes (437/6 B.C.) and completed in five years, and that the sum spent on it was 2012 talents or about £424,000 (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* *προπύλαια*: Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13; cp. Thucydides, ii. 13; Diodorus, xii. 40; Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 8; Schol. on Demosthenes, iii. 25, p. 35). It was always reckoned, with the Parthenon, among the glories of Athens (Demosthenes, xxii. 13, p. 597; *id.*, xxiii. 207, p. 689; Phoenicides, cited by Athenaeus, xiv. p. 652 d; Cicero, *De re publica*, iii. 32. 44; Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 7; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* ii. vol. 1. p. 27, ed. Dindorf; Himerius, *Ecl.* xxxi. 8). Epaminondas told the Thebans that they should carry off the portal to Thebes and set it up before the Cadmea (Aeschines, ii. 105). Fragments of the accounts of the moneys expended on the construction of the portal have been preserved in inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 314, 315; cp. *C. I. A.* iv. No. 315 a b c; Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis*, p. 39). One of these inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. No. 314) mentions the archonship of Euthymenes (437/6 B.C.), thus confirming the date assigned by our authorities to the commencement of the building.

The present entrance to the Acropolis is through the gate which is known as Beulé's Gate, from the French archaeologist E. Beulé, who

discovered it in 1853, the gate having been down to that time concealed within the wall of a Turkish fortification. This gateway is exactly opposite and parallel to the central portico of the great portal (Propylaea). It consists of a marble wall pierced with a Doric doorway and flanked by two square towers built of common stone. It total breadth is less than 23 metres (75 ft. 5 in.) The doorway is 3.87 metres (12 ft. 6 in.) high by 1.75 metres ($5\frac{1}{2}$ feet) wide; it lies exactly in the axis of the central opening of the great portal (Propylaea). The marble wall which forms the central part of Beulé's gate is constructed of blocks brought from a monument which, as we learn from the inscription built in above the gate (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1246), was erected by Nicias, son of Nicodemus, in commemoration of a scenic victory won by him with a chorus in the archonship of Neaechmus (320/19 B.C.) From the remains of this monument built into the gate and lying around Dr. Dörpfeld was able to restore its plan. It resembled the front of a temple, with six Doric columns supporting a Doric architrave with a rather low gable (pediment). When first discovered, the mutules and triglyghs still retained a colouring of red and blue. Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that the monument of Nicias stood on the slope of the Acropolis at a point immediately to the north-east of the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus. Here there are strong and well-built foundations, which Dr. Dörpfeld holds to be those of the monument of Nicias. He conjectures that the old road from the sanctuary of Aesculapius to the Acropolis passed over the ground now occupied by the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus; and that hence when the Music Hall was built (about 161 A.D.) the line of the road had to be deflected and carried round the north-east side of the Music Hall. This would necessitate the pulling down of Nicias's monument which blocked the way. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld concludes that the monument of Nicias was taken down and Beulé's gate constructed out of its materials at the same time that the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus was built, namely about 161 A.D.

See E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, I. p. 99 *sqq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 358 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld, 'Das choragische Monument des Nikias,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 219-230; U. Köhler, 'Die choregische Inschrift des Nikias,' *ib.* pp. 231-236; *Guide-Joanne*, I. p. 41 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 59; W. Dörpfeld, 'Zum choregischen Monumente des Nikias,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), pp. 63-66; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 344-350.

From the inside of Beulé's Gate a ruined marble staircase, 72 feet in width, leads up to the portal (Propylaea). The staircase is of Roman date and concealed the original ascent, which seems, from its remains, to have been a path winding up the rocky slope. At the head of this staircase we reach the portal (Propylaea). This magnificent structure of Pentelic marble, the greater part of which is still standing, consists of a central portion facing a little to the south of west, with two wings flanking the approach to it on the north-west and south-west.

The central portion contains the portal proper, which is a wall pierced by five openings. The middle opening or chief gateway is 24 ft. 2 in. high and 13 ft. 8 in. wide; the two gateways on either side

of it are 17 ft. 8 in. high and 9½ ft. wide; and the two side gateways are 11 ft. 3 in. high and 4 ft. 9 in. wide. These five gateways were closed by massive gates. Before and behind this wall with its five

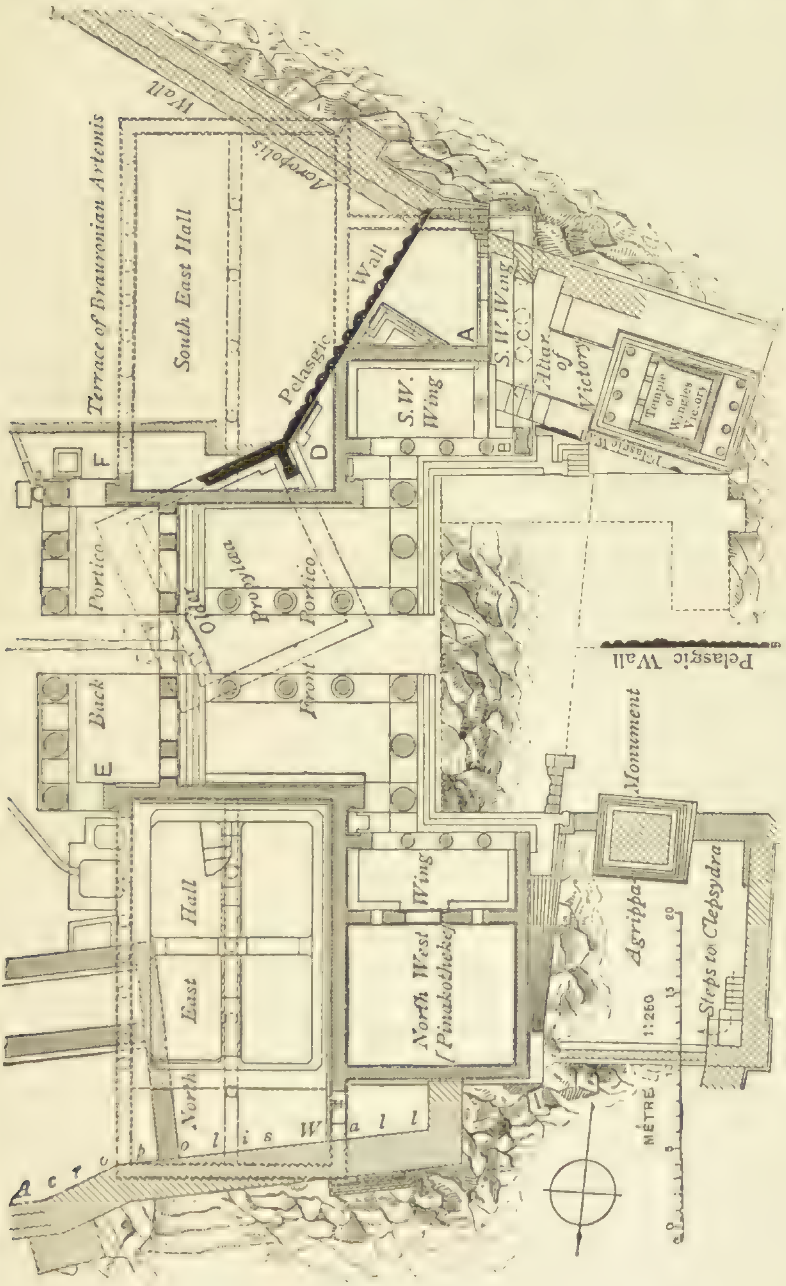


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF PROPYLAEA; THE DOTTED PORTIONS WERE PROJECTED ONLY.

openings were porticos. The outer or western portico, about 59 feet wide by 49 feet deep, has six Doric columns in front and two rows of Ionic columns (three columns in each row) in the interior. The two rows

of Ionic columns are at right angles to the front row of Doric columns, and flank the central passage which runs through the portico to the middle or chief gateway. The Doric columns in front are 28 ft. high, and vary in diameter from 5 ft. 3 in. at the bottom to 3 ft. 11 in. under the capital. The flutes, separated by sharp edges, are twenty on each column. These front columns, being Doric, have no bases but rise directly from the stylobate. The two columns at the ends of the row retain their capitals with pieces of the architrave. The four middle columns have lost their capitals as well as the architrave. The space between the two central columns is 12 ft. 7 in.; while the intervals between the other columns vary from 5 ft. 10½ in. to 6 ft. 7 in. The Ionic columns in the interior of the portico have, of course, bases. They were originally 33 ft. 7 in. high. Their shafts measure 3 ft. 2 in. in diameter at the base and have twenty-four flutes separated by blunt edges. These Ionic columns, of which the capitals are now wanting, supported the marble roof which Pausanias admired so much. Many of the marble coffers of the ceiling are preserved and exhibit clearly the pattern of the golden stars which adorned them. They mostly lie inside the portal, on its north-eastern side. The portico rests on four high steps; but the central passage through it, instead of having steps, rises gradually, so that chariots could drive up it; the ruts in which the wheels ran can still be seen in the rock. At the inner side (back) of the portico, a flight of five steps leads up to the four side gateways: each step is about a foot high; the first four steps are of Pentelic marble, the uppermost is of black Eleusinian stone. The middle gateway, through which the main roadway passes, is without steps, so that chariots could drive through it. The inner or eastern portico, into which the five gateways open, has the same width (59 feet) as the western portico, but it is shallower, its depth being only 19 feet. Like the western portico it has six Doric columns in front; they rest on a stylobate which is raised by two steps above the central roadway. Five of these columns still bear their capitals, and two of them are still joined by a block of the architrave.

The north-west wing, the best-preserved part of the whole structure, consists of a chamber nearly square (35 ft. 3 in. by 29 ft. 5 in.) with a portico (35 ft. 3 in. wide by 13 ft. deep) on its southern side. As this portico faces south, it is at right angles to the outer portico of the central building, which faces west. Its front is composed of three Doric columns between *antae*. The columns are 19 ft. high, and vary in diameter from 3¼ feet at the base to 2¼ feet under the capitals. They still support the architrave and a plain frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The walls of the square chamber at the back of this portico are still preserved to their full height. The chamber was lighted from the portico by a door and two windows in the partition wall. The door is 14 ft. high and 9 ft. 4 in. wide. Curiously enough the two windows are not placed symmetrically with regard to the door. This square chamber was probably the room in which were the paintings described by Pausanias. Hence in modern times it is commonly known as the *Pinakotheke*, or picture gallery. As the walls show no trace of having

been prepared to receive stucco, it is supposed that the pictures must have been easel-pieces, not wall-paintings.

The south-western wing is much smaller than the north-western one, consisting merely of a portico facing north, without any chamber behind it. The front of the portico corresponds to and matches with the front of the north-western portico which faces it; it consists of three Doric columns between *antae*. But the portico itself is not so long as its front; its back wall stops, not opposite the western *anta*, but opposite the third column, with which it is joined by an architrave. Thus the western *anta* was a mere sham; it had no wall behind it and was clearly erected merely to make the front of the south-west wing match the front of the north-west wing, that the eyes of persons ascending to the portal might not be offended by the want of symmetry between the wings. Hence, though the fronts of the two wings match each other, the south-west wing is smaller than the north-west wing in two directions: its portico does not extend so far to the west, and it has no chamber at the back of the portico to the south, corresponding to the chamber which forms the back part of the north-western wing. The reason of this want of symmetry between the wings has been plausibly explained by Dr. Dörpfeld. He points out that if the south-western wing had been made as large as the north-western one, it would have encroached on the precinct of the Wingless Victory on the west and on the precinct of the Brauronian Artemis on the south. Probably therefore the south-western wing, which the architect had intended to make equal in size to the north-western wing, was curtailed in these two directions in deference to the opposition of the priests of the Wingless Victory and Brauronian Artemis, who would naturally object to sacrifice part of the sacred precincts for a purely decorative purpose.

Dr. Dörpfeld has also made it probable that the original plan of Mnesicles was curtailed in two other directions. It seems that Mnesicles intended to add two large halls on the north-east and south-east sides of the portal (Propylaea). The north-east hall was to be enclosed on the south by the northern wall of the central building; on the west it was to be enclosed by the eastern wall of the north-west wing; on the east it was to have an open front with a row of columns. This is proved by (1) the cornice running round the two walls which would have been the inner walls of the hall on the south and west, but which at present, being merely the outer walls of the central building and south-west wing, have no need of such a cornice; (2) the holes in the walls for the reception of the roof-beams above the cornice; and (3) an *anta* facing north at the south-east corner of the projected hall and clearly intended to receive an architrave coming from the north. The north-east hall was to have extended further north than the north wall of the north-west wing; for the eastern wall of this wing, which was to have been the western wall of the hall, does not stop at the point where it is met by the north wall of the wing but projects beyond it to the north. Probably the hall was to be continued north till it met the fortification wall of the Acropolis. It is clear that the architect not only planned but fully expected to execute this north-east hall; the

holes prepared for the roof-beams are enough to prove it. The cause which prevented him from carrying out his design was probably the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war which took place in 431 B.C., the year after the portal (Propylaea) is said to have been finished.

On the south-east side of the portal the architect projected a similar hall, for the *anta* is still to be seen at what would have been the north-east corner of the hall. But the absence of a cornice and of holes for the reception of roof-beams on what would have been the northern and part of the western walls of the hall (namely the southern wall of the central building and the eastern wall of the south-west wing) proves that the architect had given up his intention of building a south-east hall before he relinquished the hope of building a north-east hall. The abandonment of the south-east hall was therefore probably caused, not by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, but by the opposition of the priests of the Brauronian Artemis, from whose sacred precinct a large slice would have been cut off by the construction of such a hall.

The portal (Propylaea) seems to have remained nearly as Mnesicles left it down to about 1656, when some gunpowder, which the Turks kept in it, blew up and shattered most of the roof. Nevertheless when Wheler and Spon visited Athens in 1676, the west front of the portal, with its pediment, seems to have been still entire, and the Ionic columns in the interior of the outer (western) portico still supported some of the marble beams of the roof.

Among the ruins of the portal of Pericles which I have been describing there have been found traces and remains of an older portal. The remains consist of a wall about 20 feet long and a few feet high, with a short wall joining it at right angles and terminated by a marble *anta*. These remains are to be seen immediately to the south of Pericles's portal (Propylaea), the longer of the two walls abutting in a direction from south-west to north-east against the southern wall of the central portion of Pericles's portal. The continuation of the wall to the north-east must have been pulled down to make room for Pericles's portal. Other traces of this older portal are to be seen in the shape of parallel cuttings in the rock in the central passage which runs through Pericles's portal. These cuttings are clearly the beds in which the blocks forming the lowest course of a wall were laid. If the line of this wall be produced to the south-east, and the line of the existing wall of the old portal be produced to the north-east, the two lines will meet at right angles. We thus learn that the older portal faced south-west, and that it formed a rectangle, of which the south-eastern and north-eastern sides measured about 44 feet each. When this older portal was planned and whether it was ever finished are questions which we cannot answer. It is commonly thought to have been a work of Cimon, but this is a mere conjecture.

Pausanias makes no mention of the statue of Agrippa, though it must have been a very conspicuous object on his left hand as he ascended toward the portal. The lofty quadrangular pedestal which supported the statue still stands immediately to the west of the north-west wing of

the portal, opposite the temple of Wingless Victory. It measures 55 feet in height by 12½ and 10 feet in the sides. The lowest part is of limestone; the pedestal proper is of Hymettian marble surmounted with a cornice of white marble. The inscription on the west side of the pedestal (*C. I. A.* iii. 575) states that the statue was erected by the people in honour of their benefactor Marcus Agrippa, who had been thrice consul. As Agrippa was consul for the third time in 27 B.C., the statue must have been set up sometime between that year and 12 B.C., the date of Agrippa's death. The marks on the top of the pedestal show that Agrippa must have been represented in a chariot drawn by two or four horses.

See Wheler, *Journey in Greece*, p. 358 *sq.*; Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2 (1787), ch. v. pp. 37-42, with plates i.-xi.; Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 527 *sq.*; Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 162 *sqq.*; S. Ivanoff, 'Sulla grande Scalinata de' propilei dell' Acropoli d' Atene,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), pp. 275-293; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 362 *sqq.*; L. Julius, 'Ueber den Südflügel der Propylaeen und den Tempel der Athena Nike zu Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 216-228; *id.*, 'Die Gemälde des Polygnot in der Pinakothek der Propyläen zu Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 192-194; C. Robert, 'Der Aufgang zur Akropolis,' in v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Aus Kydathen*, pp. 172-194; R. Bohn, *Die Propylaeen der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1882); Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 200-202; W. Dörpfeld, 'Die Propyläen der Akropolis von Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 38-56, 131-144; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. pp. 45-47; Baedeker,[3] pp. 59 *sq.*, 63-65; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 175-187; Lolling, 'Athen,' pp. 339-341; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Propyläen,' pp. 1414-1422; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 350-361; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 147 *sqq.*

22. 4. **Whether the statues of the horsemen represent the sons of Xenophon** etc. There appear to have been two statues of single horsemen, facing each other on opposite sides of the road which led up to the portal (Propylaea) of the Acropolis. Portions of the inscribed bases and pedestals of both statues have been found. The inscribed base and pedestal of the statue which stood on the south side of the ascent were found in 1889 near the south-west corner of the Parthenon, and have been set up in their original position, namely, between the south-west wing of the portal and the little staircase which leads up from the main ascent to the temple of Wingless Victory. The pedestal which supported the other statue stands on the opposite (north) side of the main ascent, at the south-western corner of the south-west wing of the portal (Propylaea); but only a small fragment of the inscribed base which crowned this northern pedestal has been found as yet (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 104, No. 418 h; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 317 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 57). The southern pedestal is composed of a number of blocks of Pentelic marble, surmounted by a slab of Hymettian marble. On its two broad flat surfaces this slab of Hymettian marble bears marks which show that each of these surfaces, at different times, supported a statue; but the marks on the two surfaces are so different that they cannot be those of the same statue. Further, on each of the two longer of the narrow sides of the slab the following inscription is carved:—

Hοι Hιππῆς ἀπὸ τõν πολεμίον, Hιππαρχóν
τον Λακεδαιμονίο, Ξενοφõντος, Προνάπο.
Λύκιος ἐποίησεν 'Ελευθερεὺς Μύρονος.

"The cavalry (dedicated this out of the spoils which they took) from the enemy when Lacedaemonius, Xenophon, and Pronapes were colonels. Lycius of Eleutherae, son of Myron, made (this statue)." On the two opposite sides of the stone this inscription reads a different way up.

These facts seem to show that the statue which stood on this slab was at some time taken down, the slab reversed, a different statue placed on it, and the same inscription carved, the other way up, on the side opposite to that which bore the original inscription.

The original statues cannot have been made later than 437 B.C., the date when Pericles's portal was begun. For the two pedestals which supported them are contemporary with, and form integral parts of the portal, having been clearly included in the architect's original design. From the inscription it appears that the two statues were dedicated by the Athenian cavalry in commemoration of some feat of arms. But down to the middle of the fifth century B.C. a native Athenian cavalry hardly existed, its place being supplied by hired regiments of Thessalian horse. But soon after that date the Athenians seem to have wakened up to their deficiency in this arm, and to have enrolled a fine body of native cavalry, which they regarded with patriotic pride, as we may infer from the conspicuous place which the cavalry occupies on the sculptured frieze of the Parthenon. At some time, therefore, between about 450 and 437 B.C. may have been won the victory which the Athenian cavalry commemorated by these two statues placed at the entrance to the Acropolis. H. G. Lolling conjectured that the campaign may have been the one in which Euboea was conquered by Pericles (446 B.C.) Lacedaemonius, one of the colonels in command, may have been Lacedaemonius the son of Cimon (Thucydides, i. 45). It is remarkable that three cavalry colonels (*hipparchoi*) are mentioned in the inscription; so far as we know from other sources the regular number was two (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 61). The sculptor Lycius, who made one at least of the two commemorative statues, was believed by H. Brunn to have flourished in Ol. 90 (420-417 B.C.: see note on v. 22. 3); but the discovery of this inscribed base seems to prove that Lycius must have been at work twenty years or more before that date. It must be observed, however, that neither of the two inscriptions on the base is as old as the middle of the fifth century B.C.: from certain peculiarities in the shapes of the letters Lolling inferred that both are merely copies of the original inscription, made at different dates by masons who did not succeed perfectly in their attempts to imitate the old characters. If Lolling was right, the slab which bears these inscriptions cannot have belonged to the original monument. This is confirmed by the nature of its material, namely Hymettian marble, which was hardly used at all for inscriptions at Athens in the fifth century B.C. It would seem to follow that the original statue with its

inscribed base was at some time destroyed or carried off, and was afterwards replaced by a copy.

In addition to the two copies of the inscription just discussed, the pedestal in question bears the following inscription:—

ὁ δῆμος
Γερ[μ]ανικ[ὸν Κα]ίσαρα
Θεοῦ Σε[βαστοῦ ἔγγονον.

"The people (dedicated this statue of) Germanicus Caesar, descendant of the divine Augustus." This inscription is cut, not on the slab of Hymettian marble which bore the statue, but on a block of the pedestal immediately under it. It shows that the statue of the horseman on the pedestal was, by the adulation of the Athenians, converted into a statue of Germanicus, probably in 18 A.D., when he visited Athens and was received with the most elaborate marks of respect (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 53).

Pausanias's conjecture that the two statues of horsemen may have represented the sons of Xenophon is not a happy one, for the sons of Xenophon were not yet born when these statues were put up. His eye would seem to have caught the name of Xenophon on the inscription; he jotted it down without copying the rest of the inscription; and then rashly propounded his conjecture. The later inscription, which referred the southern of the two statues to Germanicus, he either overlooked or purposely disregarded.

See *C. I. A.* iv. p. 183 *sq.*; Lolling, in Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, pp. 179-199; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 11 (1890), p. 211; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 159, 259 *sq.*, 299.

22. 4. **On the right of the portal is a temple of Wingless Victory.** The goddess whom Pausanias here and elsewhere (iii. 15. 7; v. 26. 6) calls the Wingless Victory was more properly described as Victory Athena, that is, Athena in the character and with the attributes of Victory (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ: Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 134; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 410; *C. I. A.* i. p. 88 *sq.*, No. 189 a, lines 3, 7, 19; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 163; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 471, line 14). Her image was of wood and represented the goddess as wingless, with a pomegranate in her right hand and a helmet in her left (Harpocration and Suidas, *l.c.*; Pausanias mentions the wooden image in v. 26. 6). In Greek art the personification of Victory was regularly represented as a winged woman; but as the goddess of this temple was not a mere personification of Victory but the goddess Athena herself, who was always wingless, it was perfectly natural that she should here be represented without wings. There was therefore no need to explain her want of wings in the way which Pausanias did (iii. 15. 7 note). A cow, picked out for its beauty, was sacrificed to her (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 163; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 471, line 14).

The tiny but elegant temple of Victory Athena (or the Wingless Victory, as Pausanias calls her) is still standing in fair preservation on the western extremity of the Acropolis rock, on the south side of the

ascent to the Propylaea. The precipitous sides of the rocky spur are faced with masonry forming a massive bastion 26 feet high, on the summit of which the temple stands. After being seen and described by Wheler in 1676 the temple was pulled down about 1685 by the Turks, who erected a battery on the site. When the battery was removed in 1835 the remains of the temple were discovered by Ross, Schaubert, and Hansen, who out of the remains rebuilt the temple as it now stands. The gables are wanting and only a few fragments of the roof have been found ; but otherwise the building is almost entire. It is of the Ionic order, and consists of a single *cella*, opening to the east, with a portico of four columns at each front (east and west). The material is Pentelic marble. The temple rests on a three-stepped base, which on the highest step measures 27 ft. 2 in. long from east to west by 18 ft. 3¾ in. broad from north to south. The height of the columns, including base and capital, is 13 ft. 4 in. ; their diameter above the base is 1 ft. 10 in. ; the height of the entablature (architrave, frieze, and cornice) is 3 ft. 8½ in. Each of the shafts of the columns is composed of a single block of marble and has twenty-four flutes. Above the architrave a frieze, sculptured in high relief, runs all round the temple : it is 86 ft. long and 1 ft. 5½ in. high. Four panels of the north and west sides of the frieze were found by Lord Elgin and removed to England. They are now in the British Museum and their place is taken by casts in terra-cotta. The scene represented on the east frieze appears to be a council of the gods ; it has been interpreted by Mr. Bruno Sauer as the gods sitting in judgment on Europe and Asia. But the figures are so mutilated that they can hardly be recognised ; the goddess standing in the middle with a shield is perhaps Athena. Scenes of battle occupy the three other sides of the frieze. On the west side the combat is between Greeks and Greeks, on the north and south sides between Greeks and barbarians. The barbarians, who are both on horse and on foot, appear by their costume to be Persians. The *cella* is 16 ft. long ; the entrance to it is between two pillars which were connected with the *antae* by a railing or balustrade.

The platform on the east, north and south sides of the temple was paved with marble. This pavement is still nearly entire on the north side but on the east side only three slabs remain, and on the south side only one. On its west side the temple was built close to the edge of the bastion, so that there was no room here for a pavement. In the pavement immediately opposite the middle of the east front are the marks of what is believed to have been the altar mentioned in an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 163) on which the cow was sacrificed. There was a statue of the triple Hecate by Alcamenes beside the temple (Paus. ii. 30. 2 note).

Round the precipitous sides of the bastion on which the temple stood there ran a breast-high parapet composed of marble slabs which were clamped together and supported a bronze railing. The sockets into which the marble slabs of the parapet fitted can still be seen on the north and west sides of the temple. Some of the slabs as well as a number of fragments of the parapet or balustrade, as it is commonly

though less correctly called, were found in the course of excavations made on the site in 1835, 1852, and 1880. Three pieces of the parapet were found on the south side of the Acropolis in 1877; and in 1893 Mr. V. W. Yorke discovered three more fragments at the foot of the Victory bastion. The outer side of the parapet was adorned with a series of figures in moderately high relief, the remains of which are amongst the most beautiful specimens of ancient sculpture extant. The reliefs represent a number of winged Victories in various attitudes. One of them is erecting a trophy by fastening a helmet to a pole; another, the most beautiful of all, is stooping to adjust the sandal on her right foot; two others are leading a cow to be sacrificed. Another seems to have been represented in the act of sacrificing a cow by kneeling on the back of the animal and plunging a knife into it. This last group, of which only a fragment survives, was perhaps the original of a number of similar representations which have come down to us from antiquity (see A. H. Smith, 'Nikè sacrificing a bull,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7 (1886), pp. 275-285). The slabs are 1.05 metres (about 3 ft. 3¼ in.) high. A narrow staircase, of the same date as the bastion, led up to the temple from the main ascent to the Propylaea. Five steps of this staircase are still preserved. The parapet or balustrade, after following the north side of the bastion as far east as the staircase, turned south and skirting the west side of the staircase ended where the staircase ends.

We have no positive information as to the date when the temple was built, but that it is a work of the fifth century B.C. may be regarded as certain. It used to be commonly supposed that the temple was built by Cimon as a trophy of his victories; but archaeologists are now generally agreed in referring the foundation of the temple to the age of Pericles. But the question whether the temple was built before or after or during the construction of the Propylaea has given rise to considerable divergence of opinion. The architectural evidence afforded by the platform on which the temple stands and the staircase leading up to it has been examined in recent years by Mr. P. Wolters with great care. He comes to the conclusion that the bastion on which the temple stands existed in its present form before the Propylaea was begun in 437 B.C., and that the axis of the Propylaea was determined by the line of the already existing north wall of the bastion; but that, on the other hand, the temple of Victory Athena was not yet built when the Propylaea was begun. Mr. Wolters supposes that the bastion was constructed by Cimon at the time when he built the south wall of the Acropolis (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13; Cornelius Nepos, *Cimon*, 2; cp. Paus. i. 28. 3); and that the temple of Victory Athena was built by the conservative party in religion as a protest against Mnesicles's plan of curtailing the sacred precinct of Victory Athena for the purpose of adding to his grand portal. That a sanctuary of Victory Athena existed on the bastion before the Propylaea was begun seems to be proved by the design of the existing south-west wing of the Propylaea (see above, p. 253). Mr. Wolters's researches make it probable that down to 437 B.C. the sanctuary was nothing more than a sacred enclosure with an image and an altar; and

that the temple was built at some time between 437 B.C. and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war in 431 B.C.

Prof. Furtwängler has, however, propounded a different theory. He supposes that the temple was built in 425 B.C. or very soon after as a trophy of the victories which the Athenians under Demosthenes gained over the Ambraciots in the winter of 426/5 B.C. (Thucydides, iii. 105-114). This view is, he thinks, confirmed by an inscription of the fourth century B.C., found on the Acropolis, which records a commission appointed to repair a statue of Victory Athena which had been dedicated out of spoils taken from the Ambraciots (see U. Köhler, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), pp. 43-50). The statue mentioned in this inscription is, according to Prof. Furtwängler, the one in the temple of the so-called Wingless Victory. Against this theory it may be urged that (1) the image in the temple of Wingless Victory is known to have been of wood, and it seems unlikely that in the golden age of Athenian art and arms the Athenians would have contented themselves with setting up a merely wooden image to commemorate a brilliant success; and (2) the sculptured frieze, as Prof. Furtwängler himself admits, represents combats of Greeks with Persians, which would be a most inappropriate decoration for a temple erected to commemorate a victory over Ambraciots. How old the original sanctuary was we do not know; but the fact that the image was of wood makes it probable that the sanctuary was ancient even in the fifth century B.C.

The style of the sculptures both of the frieze and of the balustrade confirms the conclusion that the temple was built after the Parthenon and consequently not earlier than 437 B.C.; for the influence of the Parthenon sculptures can be traced both on the frieze and on the balustrade. The battles on the frieze are rendered with great dramatic liveliness and skill in grouping; the bodies of the combatants are carefully and accurately modelled; their garments float on the wind or cling to their bodies in a manner at once truthful and refined. The free and flowing style of these figures, in which no trace of the stiff archaic manner can be perceived, proves that the artist had studied the epoch-making sculptures of the Parthenon. The reliefs on the balustrade exhibit a still freer style, a still more perfect mastery of the sculptor's art. In these respects the figure of the Victory stooping to adjust her sandal has probably never been surpassed. It is a miracle of art, an astonishing proof of the power which the human hand can attain of moulding dead matter so as to embody human thought. There is no high idealism in the conception; but the easy grace of the figure and of the flowing drapery which half hides and half reveals the form beneath, is beyond praise. It is commonly supposed that the reliefs on the balustrade are somewhat later than those on the frieze; but of this there is no sufficient proof. They seem undoubtedly to be the work of a greater sculptor, but may quite well have been executed about 432 B.C., when the temple was probably complete. The treatment of the drapery closely resembles that of the three seated female figures in the eastern gable of the Parthenon.

It may be mentioned that in the west face of the Victory bastion, at

the level of the ground, there are two quadrangular niches side by side, each about 2.75 (8 ft. 10 in.) high. Their purpose is not known, but they may have held statues.

See Wheler, *Journey in Greece*, p. 358; Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2 (1787), ch. v. plates xii. and xiii.; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 529-535; Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. pp. 227-271; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, ed. Reinach, pp. 125-131, with plates (Architect. 1-12); Ad. Michaelis, 'Die Balustrade am Tempel der Athena Nike auf der Akropolis von Athen,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 20 (1862), pp. 249-267, with plate clxii.; C. Bötticher, 'Ueber die Thymele des Niketempels,' *Philologus*, 21 (1864), pp. 41-72; Pervanoglu, in *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1868, pp. 162-164; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 372-374; E. Curtius, 'Die Cultusstätte der Athena Nike,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 97 *sq.*, ; *id.*, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 130 *sq.*, 198; R. Bonn, 'Zum Nike-Pyrgos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), pp. 85-91; *id.*, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 259-267, 309-316; R. Kekulé, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* (Stuttgart, 1881); E. Petersen, in *Zeitschrift für die oesterreich. Gymnasien*, 32 (1881), pp. 261-282; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 202 *sq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Niketempel,' pp. 1021-1027; Ad. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 193-209; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. pp. 47-49; Baedeker,[3] p. 61 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 361-367; P. Wolters, 'Zum Alter des Niketempels,' in *Bonner Studien. Aufsätze aus der Altertumswissenschaft R. Kekulé gewidmet* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 92-101, with plate 5. 6; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 747-804, pp. 281-290; Mrs. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 372-377; Bruno Sauer, 'Das Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas,' *Aus der Anomia* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 96-113; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 239-248; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 480-489; V. W. Yorke, 'Newly-discovered fragments of the balustrade of Athena Nike,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 272-280; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 207-222.

22. 5. **Aegeus —— flung himself down and was killed** etc. The story of the death of Aegeus is similarly told by Diodorus (iv. 61), Plutarch (*Theseus*, 17 and 22), and Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 74), except that Servius says Aegeus flung himself into the sea, which was henceforth called the Aegean sea after him. According to Simonides (quoted by Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17) the signal of safety was to be the hoisting of a scarlet (not a white) sail. In a modern Greek tale, which preserves some of the features of the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, the ship which carries the destined victims puts to sea with black sails (B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, 'Die siebenköpfige Schlange,' p. 118 *sqq.*) The ship which sailed annually from Thessaly to Troy with sacrifices for Achilles hoisted black sails on the outward voyage (Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 25, p. 311, Didot ed.); whether white sails were substituted on the return voyage, is not said. In an Irish folk-tale Fin brings the body of Gilla na Grakin to Ireland, and as he nears the coast he hoists a black flag, "for he had promised Gilla's wife to raise a white flag if her husband was well, but a black one if he was dead" (Jeremiah Curtin, *Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland*, p. 267). The sea, as Pausanias here says, is indeed visible from the Victory bastion. It is about three miles off, but owing to the clearness of the Attic air the distance seems less. The peninsula of Piraeus is seen stretching out into the blue waters; further off are Salamis and Aegina, the latter with its sharp-peaked and ever beautiful outline; and beyond them, far away to the south, the coast of Peloponnese.

22. 5. **the shrine of the hero Aegeus.** At the southern foot of the bastion on which stands the temple of Victory Athena the rock of the Acropolis protrudes, and here a quadrangular space has been levelled artificially in the rock as if to receive some building. This, as Lolling suggested, was probably the shrine of Aegeus, for it is just the spot where, according to the tradition, he must have fallen. See Lolling, 'Das Heroon des Aigeus,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), p. 332 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Athen,' p. 341; Baedeker, *Greece*,[1] p. 57. Dr. Dörpfeld formerly supposed that this quadrangular cutting in the rock was the site of the choregic monument of Nicias (see above, p. 250); but he now inclines to Lolling's opinion (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), p. 63). The shrine of Aegeus at Athens was mentioned by the orator Dinarchus in a lost speech (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Αἰγεῖον: Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 354, line 8 *sq.*)

22. 6. **On the left of the portal is a chamber containing pictures.** This chamber, as we have seen (p. 252), is still in good preservation: the walls with the cornice are standing, though the roof is gone. It has been debated whether the paintings in this chamber were wall-paintings or easel-paintings. Beulé, Ivanoff, and Mr. L. Julius have examined the walls with care and have discovered no traces on them which would lead us to suppose that they had been prepared to receive wall-paintings. Not only has no vestige of colour or of stucco been found, but the faces of the stones are still left rough. Round each block, both on its perpendicular and its horizontal edges, there runs a shallow channel, to indicate the depth to which the face of the stone was to be chiselled down after it had been placed in position. The faces of the blocks which compose the socle or lowest courses of the walls have been thus cut down and smoothed; but in the upper courses the protuberant faces of the stones are left, which seems to show that they never were covered with paintings. One of the many proofs of the unfinished state of the great portal (Propylaea) is that the faces of all the walls in the portal are left in this rough state. On the other hand, there are no holes in the walls of the picture gallery (*Pinakothek*), as it is called, to indicate that the paintings were hung from nails. They may have been either placed loose against the walls or, as Welcker suggested, hung by cords from the cornice. The antiquary Polemo wrote a dissertation on the pictures in the portal of the Acropolis (Harpocration, *s.v.* Λαμπάς); and the title of his treatise (περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις πινάκων, not περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις γραφῶν) is in favour of the view that the pictures were easel-pieces rather than wall-paintings. This treatise of Polemo on the paintings was probably a section of his general work on the Acropolis (C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 35, n. 2). See E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 204 *sqq.*; F. G. Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 4. p. 232 *sqq.*; S. Ivanoff, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 278; L. Julius, 'Die Gemalde des Polygnot in der Pinakothek der Propylaen zu Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 192-194.

Pausanias's description leaves it uncertain how many of the pictures in the gallery were by Polygnotus. It has, indeed, been denied that

Polygnotus painted any of them; but the most natural interpretation of our author's words seems to be that Polygnotus painted at least two of the pictures (namely, the sacrifice of Polyxena, and Achilles among the maidens at Scyros), and probably more. If the pictures were wall-paintings, Polygnotus must have painted them in extreme old age, since he flourished about 480-457 B.C., and the great portal, of which the picture gallery formed part, was not begun till 437 B.C. On the other hand, if they were easel-pieces, they may have been placed in the gallery after the painter's death. See E. Beulé, *op. cit.* 1. p. 218 *sqq.*; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 17, 24 *sq.* On the question whether the works of Polygnotus were wall-paintings or easel-pieces, see above, p. 135 *sq.*

22. 6. **Diomede and Ulysses, the one at Lemnos carrying off the bow of Philoctetes, the other carrying off the image of Athena from Ilium.** From Pausanias's description of these pictures it is not quite clear which of the two heroes (Diomede and Ulysses) was represented with the bow of Philoctetes, and which with the image of Athena. But the order of the words is in favour of the view that the painter depicted Diomede carrying off the bow of Philoctetes, and Ulysses carrying off the image of Athena.

(1) According to the Attic tragedians it was the crafty Ulysses who succeeded in stealing the bow of Philoctetes, without which, so the oracle ran, Troy could not be taken (cp. Paus. v. 13. 4). This is the story told by Sophocles in his extant tragedy *Philoctetes*, and this was the story told by Aeschylus and Euripides in their lost dramas on the same subject (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lii.) But according to an older tradition followed by Lescheos in his *Little Iliad*, it was not Ulysses but Diomede who fetched Philoctetes and his bow from Lemnos to the Greek camp before Troy (Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 36). The substitution of Ulysses for Diomede in the story seems in fact to have been an innovation which the Attic tragedians introduced and gave currency to (see F. W. Schneidewin, in *Philologus*, 4 (1849), p. 645 *sqq.*) The painter of the picture in the Propylaea appears, if I have interpreted Pausanias rightly, to have followed the original form of the tradition, representing Diomede, not Ulysses, as the hero who secured the bow of Philoctetes for the Greeks. Of existing works of ancient art the only ones which represent the winning of Philoctetes's bow are the reliefs on some Etruscan caskets for holding the ashes of the dead; and as Ulysses figures on all of them, it is plain that the artists followed the version of the story introduced by the Attic tragedians. But between the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides on this theme there was this difference, that while Sophocles represented Ulysses as accompanied and aided by Neoptolemus, Euripides represented him as accompanied by Diomede; and this difference is reflected in the reliefs on the caskets, for on some of them the companion and accomplice of Ulysses appears to be Neoptolemus, and on others Diomede. On the latter reliefs, two in number, the suffering Philoctetes is seated with his bandaged foot on a stone, listening with a surly air to the bland discourse of the wily Ulysses, while the doughty Diomede steals up behind

him and makes a grab at his bow. This is clearly not the Sophoclean version of the story, but it may very well be the Euripidean. See Fr. Schlie, *Die Darstellungen des troischen Sagenkreises auf etruskischen Aschenkisten*, pp. 134-148; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1326, with fig. 1483. Apollodorus seems to have followed Euripides, for he says that "Ulysses went with Diomede to Philoctetes in Lemnos, and having by guile got possession of his bow and arrows he persuaded him to sail to Troy" (*Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 67; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, 1. p. 205 *sqq.*) Quintus Smyrnaeus (ix. 333 *sqq.*) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 102) also agree with Euripides rather than Sophocles in so far as to make Diomede, not Neoptolemus, the companion of Ulysses in his expedition to Lemnos.

(2) In regard to the stealing of the Palladium or image of Pallas Athena, upon which the safety of Troy depended, the common tradition seems to have been that it was effected by Diomede and Ulysses together, but that Diomede played the chief part by carrying off the image in his arms. Such at least appears to have been the version of the story told by Lescheos in the *Little Iliad*. It is true that Proclus in his summary of the *Little Iliad* says that "Ulysses conveyed the Palladium out of Ilium with the help of Diomede" (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 37), which might imply that Ulysses was the principal and Diomede the accessory in the affair. But in the explanation given of the proverb 'Diomede's necessity' it is said that Diomede carried the Palladium and that Ulysses followed or accompanied him (Conon, *Narrationes*, 34; Schol. on Plato, *Republic*, vi. p. 493 d; Zenobius, iii. 8; cp. Apostolius, vi. 15; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* x. 531, p. 822), and this explanation of the proverb is expressly traced by Hesychius (*s.v.* Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη) to the *Little Iliad*. Moreover, in the representation of the scene on the marble relief known as the *Tabula Iliaca* (see note on x. 25. 2), which in this part is professedly based on the *Little Iliad* of Lescheos, Diomede is seen carrying the Palladium in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, while Ulysses follows him (see Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 775, Nos. 84 and 85). The tradition to which the author of the *Little Iliad* gave currency seems to have been the one generally accepted by artists, for on most of the existing monuments which represent the stealing of the Palladium it appears to be Diomede and not Ulysses who is carrying the image. The monuments in question consist of a large number of engraved gems, some red-figured vases, and a few reliefs. On the gems not uncommonly Diomede appears alone, either standing in front of the Palladium, or seizing it, or carrying it away.

But there seems to have been another version of the tale, according to which it was not Diomede but Ulysses who had the chief hand in carrying off the Palladium. Thus in the fragments of Apollodorus recently discovered in the Vatican it is said: "Ulysses, having come with Diomede by night to the city (Troy), bade Diomede stay there, while he himself, after disfiguring himself and putting on mean attire, entered unknown into the city as a beggar. And having been recognised by Helen and having by her help stolen the Palladium, he slew many

of the guards and conveyed the image with Diomede's help to the ships" (*Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, p. 67 *sq.*, ed. R. Wagner; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, 1. p. 207 *sq.*) Not much weight, however, can be given to this narrative of Apollodorus, since it has the appearance of being a blundering version of the account in the *Little Iliad* (see Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 37). More decisive is the evidence of the monuments; for on some Roman gems Ulysses is represented carrying the Palladium, while his comrade Diomede looks cautiously back; and on a terra-cotta relief in the Berlin Museum Ulysses is seen holding the Palladium in his left hand and his raised sword in his right, while Diomede stands beside him in a tranquil attitude. See O. Jahn, 'Der Raub des Palladion,' *Philologus*, 1 (1846), pp. 46-60; *id.*, 'Il ratto del Palladio,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 30 (1858), pp. 228-264; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Palladion, Palladionraub.' The painter of the picture here described by Pausanias seems to have followed this latter version of the story, assigning to Ulysses instead of to Diomede the honour of actually bearing away the Palladium from Troy. Pliny mentions a relief on a cup which represented the stealing of the Palladium by Ulysses and Diomede (*N. H.* xxxiii. 156); but he does not say which of them carried the image.

22. 6. **Orestes slaying Aegisthus** etc. The subject is represented on red-figured Attic vases of the fifth century B.C., as well as on an archaic relief. See O. Benndorf, 'La fine di Egisto e Clitennestra,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 37 (1865), pp. 212-243; C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, pp. 149-191; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1112 *sqq.*

22. 6. **Polyxena about to be slaughtered near the grave of Achilles.** This scene is delineated on the *Tabula Iliaca*. The tomb of Achilles is represented as a square pillar, on the base of which Polyxena kneels, the upper part of her body bare, and her head drawn back by Neoptolemus who raises his sword to deal her the fatal blow. On the other side of the tomb sits Ulysses, plunged in thought; beside him is Calchas. See O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, p. 37; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 775, No. 107. The subject is seldom depicted on existing monuments of ancient art. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 751; C. Robert, 'Homerische Becher,' 50*tes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 73-75. There is an epigram in the Anthology (*Antholog. Planud.* iv. 150) on a picture by Polyclitus representing the sacrifice of Polyxena. It has been conjectured that the author of the epigram meant to refer to the picture in the Propylaea, which he wrongly ascribed to Polyclitus instead of to Polygnotus (Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 217).

22. 6. **Homer did well —— to represent Scyros as captured by Achilles.** See Homer, *Il.* ix. 668. But according to a scholiast on this passage of Homer, the Scyros here mentioned by the poet was not the Aegean island of that name in which Achilles was said to have been brought up, but a city of Phrygia (*Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, ed. Bekker, p. 271). According to Philostratus (*Heroica*, xx. 5) Achilles was sent by his father Peleus to the island of Scyros to avenge the death

of Theseus on King Lycomedes. Cp. Fr. Löhr, 'Achills Auszug aus Skyros,' *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 13 (1890), pp. 161-175.

22. 6. **Achilles lived in the company of the maidens at Scyros.** The story that the young Achilles wore female attire and lived among the daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros (Hyginus, *Fab.* 96 : Bion. ii. 15 *sqq.* ; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ix. 968), is perhaps a reminiscence of a custom of dressing boys as girls in order to avert the evil eye. Such a custom is common in some parts of India, where the disguise is sometimes carried so far that the boy's nose is pierced and a nose-ring inserted in it. It is especially resorted to when several male children have previously died in the family. See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 1 (1884), Nos. 219, 869, 1029; *id.*, 2 (1885), Nos. 344, 561, 570; *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1 (1886), p. 123 ; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, 3 (1893), No. 99. The practice is not unknown in Europe (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, 1 (1884). No. 1007) ; Condorcet in his childhood was dressed as a girl for eight years or more (John Morley, *Critical Miscellanies*, 2. p. 166). Cp. *Classical Review*, 7 (1893), p. 292 *sq.*

The story of Achilles in female attire detected by Ulysses was painted by Athenion (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 134). It is represented in relief on a number of ancient sarcophaguses and is the subject of some Pompeian wall-paintings. But it seems to have been neglected by vase-painters. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pp. 352-378 ; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 5 *sq.*, and fig. 1528.

22. 6. **Polygnotus also painted Ulysses at the river** etc. Protogenes painted a famous picture of Paralus and Hammonias in the Propylaea at Athens ; the figure of Hammonias was by some called Nausicaa (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 101). The picture was still at Athens in the time of Cicero (*In Verrem*, iv. 60). Paralus and Ammonias (Hammonias) were the names of the two warships which the Athenians employed on occasions of ceremony and in services of special urgency. The old name of the Ammonias was the Salaminia ; it seems to have been exchanged for Ammonias in compliment to Alexander the Great when he assumed the title of 'son of Ammon' (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 2. p. 121). It is supposed that in the picture by Protogenes the Paralus was personified as a mariner and the Ammonias as a young woman, and that ignorant people mistook the figures for those of Ulysses and Nausicaa (Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 238 *sq.*) K. O. Müller conjectured that this picture by Protogenes was the one here described by Pausanias, and that Protogenes's name has dropped out of Pausanias's text (*Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*,[3] § 142. 1). For Homer's account of the meeting of Ulysses and Nausicaa, see *Od.* vi. 85 *sqq.*

22. 7. **a picture of Alcibiades** etc. Satyrus, quoted by Athenaeus (xii. p. 534 d e) says that when Alcibiades returned from Olympia he dedicated two pictures by Aglaophon ; one of them represented Alcibiades crowned by Olympias and Pythias (personifications of Olympia and Delphi) ; in the other Nemea was seen seated

with Alcibiades on her lap, Alcibiades being here depicted as "fairer than the faces of women." Plutarch says that Aristophon painted a picture of Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, which the Athenians admired and came in crowds to see; but the older people were disgusted, considering that Alcibiades's behaviour in allowing himself to be thus painted was "tyrannical and illegal" (Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 16). There can be no doubt that in these passages Satyrus and Plutarch are speaking of the same picture, and very little doubt that the picture was the one here described by Pausanias. There is, however, a discrepancy between the statements of Plutarch and Satyrus. According to Plutarch the picture was by Aristophon; according to Satyrus it was by Aglaophon. Aristophon was a brother of the great Polygnotus; their father was named Aglaophon (Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 448 b; Harpocration, *s.v.* Πολύγνωτος). If Aristophon painted Alcibiades, he must have been a good deal younger than his brother Polygnotus, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century B.C. But if the portrait of Alcibiades was, as Satyrus says, by Aglaophon, this Aglaophon cannot of course have been the father of Polygnotus, but may have been his grandson; in Greek artistic families it was a common practice to call a son after his grandfather. Now Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 60) mentions a painter Aglaophon who flourished in Ol. 60 (420-417 B.C.), and this date would agree very well with the theory that he was a grandson of Aglaophon the father of Polygnotus, and that he painted Alcibiades. Hence Dr. E. Kroker accepts the statement of Satyrus that the portrait was by Aglaophon, and suggests that the passage in Plutarch should be corrected accordingly (E. Kroker, *Gleichnamige griechische Künstler*, p. 23 *sq.*) Prof. Brunn, on the contrary, accepted the statement of Plutarch that the portrait was by Aristophon, and proposed to emend the passage in Athenaeus accordingly (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 13 *sq.*, 54). Prof. W. Klein holds that the two pictures mentioned by Satyrus were in reality one picture, in which Alcibiades was depicted reclining in the lap of Nemea, while Olympias and Pythias placed crowns on his head (*Archäolog.-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 12 (1888), p. 94 *sq.*) The reason why older people regarded as illegal the picture of Alcibiades reclining in the lap of Nemea probably was that it was forbidden by law to give the name of a quadriennial festival (like the Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian festivals) to a slave girl, a prostitute, or a flute-girl (Harpocration, *s.v.* Νεμέας: Athenaeus, xiii. p. 587 c); for the model who sat for Nemea in Alcibiades's portrait would almost certainly belong to one of these classes. On existing portraits of Alcibiades see W. Helbig, 'Teste di Alcibiade,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 38 (1866), pp. 228-240; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 47 *sq.*

22. 7. **Perseus —— carrying the head of Medusa to Polydectes.** The story was that Perseus had promised Polydectes, king of Seriphos, that he would bring him the head of the Gorgon Medusa. He kept his word, but turned Polydectes and his people to stone by holding up the Gorgon's head before them. See Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* x. 72; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1515; Strabo, x. p. 487; Ovid,

Met. v. 242 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 64. The subject is depicted on two ancient vases. On one of them, a red-figured Attic vase found at Bologna in 1879, Perseus, clad in an embroidered tunic and wearing his winged cap and winged shoes, is holding up in his right hand the severed Gorgon-head before Polydectes, an elderly bald-headed man, who stretches out his right hand in a deprecatory or suppliant attitude, while the lower part of his body is already turned into a shapeless stone. On the left of the picture is Athena gazing intently at the scene. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 53 (1881), pp. 82-87, with Tavv. d' agg. F, G. On the other vase-painting the figure of Polydectes is very similar, but that of Perseus is quite different. He is naked except for a cloak thrown over his shoulders, and is holding up the Gorgon's head with both hands, while he averts his own face. See *Philologus*, 27 (1868), pl. iii. with O. Jahn's description on p. 15. Mr. H. Luckenbach, who published the former vase-painting, thought that it might be a copy of the picture here described by Pausanias. But this seems hardly likely: since Pausanias's description points rather to a picture of Perseus flying through the air to Seriphos with the Gorgon's head in his hand (cp. v. 18. 5 note). Another vase-painting apparently represents Perseus at the moment before he takes the Gorgon's head from the bag. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, pl. 5; P. Kretschmer, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 7 (1892), pp. 37-42. The legend of Perseus is treated of by Mr. E. S. Hartland in an elaborate monograph, in which parallels are cited from the folklore of many lands (*The Legend of Perseus*, vol. 1. 'The supernatural birth,' London, 1894).

22. 7. **Timaenetus.** This painter is otherwise unknown.

22. 7. **I believe that the verses were composed by Onomacritus.** Onomacritus edited the so-called oracles of Musaeus, and was expelled from Athens by Hipparchus for having been convicted of forging one of them; he fled to the court of Persia (Herodotus, vii. 6). He also forged poems in the name of Orpheus (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 131, p. 397, ed. Potter). See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel, p. 238 *sqq.*

22. 7. **the hymn which he made on Demeter for the Lycomids.** This hymn is mentioned again by Pausanias (iv. 1. 5). As to the Lycomids, cp. note on iv. 1. 7.

22. 8. **Just at the entrance to the Acropolis are figures of Hermes and the Graces** etc. These figures of the Graces, said to be by Socrates, are mentioned by Pausanias in another passage (ix. 35. 7), from which we learn that the figures were draped, and that they stood "before the entrance to the Acropolis." In the same chapter (ix. 35. 3), he tells us that a secret rite was performed beside the three figures of the Graces before the entrance to the Acropolis. Diogenes Laertius mentions, on the authority of Duris, that the philosopher Socrates had been a sculptor, and he adds that the draped figures of the Graces on the Acropolis were said by some people to have been made by Socrates (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 19; cp. Suidas, *s.v.* Σωκράτης). Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 32) mentions the Graces in the Propylaea at Athens which were made by Socrates, "not the same Socrates as the painter.

though others think they were the same person." The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 773) attributes these figures to Socrates the philosopher, and says that they were "carved in relief on the wall behind Athena."

In the Museo Chiaramonti at Rome there is a marble relief (Fig. 11) which has been by some supposed to be a copy of the relief attributed to Socrates. It is cut on a slab of yellowish Greek marble .82 metre (2 ft. 7½ in.) wide, and represents three women hand in hand moving to the spectator's left. All three women are clothed in garments reaching to the feet, but the dress of the woman on the right differs from



FIG. 11.—THE GRACES (CHIARAMONTI RELIEF).

that of the other two. They probably represent the Graces, though their squat, thick-set figures and heavy features are rather ungainly than graceful according to our notions. From the stiff and somewhat archaic style of the relief it would seem to have been executed not later than the first half of the fifth century B.C. A similar relief, apparently an exact reproduction of it, was formerly to be seen in the Palazzo Giustiniani at Rome; it passed into the hands of the dealers, and its present whereabouts seems to be unknown. Three fragmentary copies of the same relief have been found at Athens, two of them on the Acropolis, and one at its southern foot. What appears to be the same group of Graces (three women clad in long robes, moving hand in hand) is represented on some coins of Athens (see E. Beulé, *Monnaies*

d'Athènes, p. 297 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary*, p. 150 *sq.*, with plate EE vi.) These facts make it highly probable that the Chiaramonti relief and its duplicates are copies of some celebrated original which stood on the Acropolis and which may very well have been the group assigned by tradition to Socrates. The copies of it were probably set up as votive offerings by private persons. See O. Benndorf, 'Die Chariten des Sokrates,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 27 (1869), pp. 55-62; A. Furtwängler, 'Die Chariten der Akropolis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 181-202.

But was the original relief really, as tradition reported it, a youthful



FIG. 12.—THE GRACES AND HERMES (?) (MARBLE RELIEF).

work of the philosopher Socrates? The style of the relief is not absolutely conclusive against this view, though it is more archaic than we should expect in a work of the middle of the fifth century B.C. But in 1889 there was discovered on the Acropolis, not far from the Propylaea and the Victory terrace, a sixth relief (Fig. 12) representing the Graces, which seems to prove that the original must have been considerably earlier than the time of Socrates. This latest found relief represents the three Graces clothed in tight-fitting tunics and twilled petticoats, which cling closely to their persons. They are hand in hand, and striding to the spectator's left. Their faces, which are turned to the front, wear the familiar archaic smile. The foremost of them is holding some round object in her right hand, which is raised to her breast. The last of them is leading by the hand a nude male figure, who is only about half

her size. At the head of the procession walks a man in a loose robe which reaches below his knees ; his left arm is raised, and he seems to have been represented playing on a flute, but the relief is here imperfect. The stone on which the relief is carved is a block of Pentelic marble 1 ft. 4 in. wide and 1 foot high. The style of the relief is so thoroughly archaic that it can hardly be dated later than the beginning of the fifth century B.C. ; more probably, perhaps, it is a work of the sixth century B.C. There is little doubt that the relief is a votive offering dedicated to the Graces, and that the small male figure represents the dedicator. Although the figures of the Graces on this relief differ from those on the Chiaramonti relief in so many minor particulars that they cannot both be exact copies of the same original, yet the general agreement of their scheme of composition is such that one can hardly help regarding them as imitations, more or less free, of a common original. This original, if I am right in the date I have assigned to the more archaic of the two reliefs, was probably a work of the sixth century B.C., and cannot therefore have been made by Socrates the philosopher. See H. Lechat, 'Hermes et les Charites,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), pp. 467-476, with plate xiv.

But the more archaic of the two reliefs suggests a further question. Hitherto it has been usually supposed that the figure of Hermes ascribed, as Pausanias tells us, to Socrates, was a distinct work from the figures of the Graces which were also ascribed to him ; and it has been further supposed that while the Graces were in relief, the Hermes was a statue in the round. But Prof. Ussing held that Hermes was represented in the same relief with the Graces ; and if, as Mr. H. Lechat supposes, the flute-player who is leading the three Graces in the more archaic relief is Hermes, Prof. Ussing's view receives a strong confirmation. The view is perfectly consistent with the language of Pausanias, and is moreover supported by the evidence both of ancient writers and of existing monuments. Thus Plutarch (*De audiendo*, 13) and Seneca (*De beneficiis*, i. 3. 7) say that Hermes and the Graces were represented together in art ; and Cornutus tells us (*De natura deorum*, 16) that Hermes was traditionally regarded as the leader of the Graces. And Hermes is represented with the Graces on an archaic relief of Thasos (Ad. Michaelis, 'Archaisches Relief von Thasos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 25 (1867), pp. 1-14, with pl. ccxvii. ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 544, fig. 6); on a relief apparently of the fourth century B.C. found on the south side of the Acropolis at Athens (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 199, but the relief is mutilated, only one of the Graces is preserved) ; and on a Roman relief (O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, pl. iv. 2).

On the other hand, if the original relief contained the figure of Hermes leading the Graces, it is remarkable that Hermes should be omitted on the Chiaramonti relief and its duplicates. Another objection to the view that the Propylaean Hermes was grouped with the Graces in the relief attributed to Socrates is that his figure would not have been so likely to receive a special name ('Hermes of the Portal') as if it had been a separate image. If the Hermes was a separate image it may perhaps have stood at the north-western corner of the central building

of the Propylaea, in the niche formed by the *anta* of the central building on the one side and the projecting wall and *anta* of the north-west wing on the other side. In this niche there are marks on the pavement which show that the pedestal of a life-size statue probably stood here. In the corresponding niche at the south-west corner of the central building there are traces on the floor of a relief having been set up here. This may very well have been the place where the group of Graces attributed to Socrates stood. The position would agree well with the statement of Pausanias that the group stood just at the entrance to the Acropolis. See R. Bohn, *Die Propylaeen*, p. 24 *sq.*

The style of the six reliefs discussed above proves that they were executed, and consequently that a sanctuary of the Graces existed on the Acropolis, before the Propylaea was built. Was then this old sanctuary absorbed into the Propylaea? or did it continue to exist separately after the Propylaea was built? Pausanias, as we have seen, tells us (ix. 35. 3) that the Athenians performed a secret rite "beside the figures of the Graces before the entrance to the Acropolis." If the figures of the Graces here referred to were those which tradition ascribed to Socrates, they stood in the public entry to the Acropolis, not a very likely place for the performance of a secret rite. It seems more probable that there was a sanctuary of the Graces separate from the Propylaea, and that in this sanctuary the mystic rite was performed. There are some indications that such a sanctuary existed close to the temple of Victory Athena (Wingless Victory). For we learn from an inscription in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 268) that at a date long subsequent to the building of the Propylaea there was a 'fire-bearing priest' of the Graces and Artemis on the Tower; and this Artemis on the Tower, as we have already seen, is probably identical with the Hecate on the Tower whose image stood beside the temple of Wingless Victory (Paus. ii. 30. 2); indeed, the goddess is mentioned under her double title of Artemis Hecate on an Athenian inscription (*C. I. A.* i. 208). Moreover, it is unlikely that all the votive reliefs, of which, to judge by the surviving specimens, there must have been a great number, should have been allowed to be fastened up in the Propylaea. Probably, therefore, there was a small sanctuary of the Graces in the corner of the Acropolis immediately to the east of the temple of Victory and to the south of the south-west wing of the Propylaea.

The question still remains, why should one of the reliefs representing the Graces have been set down by tradition as the work of the philosopher Socrates? We have already seen it to be highly improbable that he should have executed the original relief. It remains to suppose either that the sculptor of the original relief was a namesake of the philosopher and was confused with him, or that the philosopher executed a copy of the relief to be set up as a votive offering on the Acropolis. Less probable, perhaps, is the theory which would explain the origin of the tradition by the fact that on some of the Athenian coins on which the group of the Graces is represented there appears the name of a magistrate Socrates.

Modern writers commonly identify the Propylaean Hermes with an image of Hermes called 'the uninitiated Hermes,' which stood on the Acropolis (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἑρμῆς ἀμύητος: Diogenianus, iv. 63; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* x. 102, p. 81, ed. Potter); but for this identification there is no sufficient ground.

In addition to the papers of Professors O. Benndorf and A. Furtwängler on this subject, cited above (p. 272), see Ussing, *Griechische Reisen und Studien*, pp. 125-144; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 374 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I. pp. 134-142; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 203 *sq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Charites,' p. 376; P. Weizsäcker, 'Pausanias und die Bildwerke in den Propylaien,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), pp. 1-11; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 342; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis*, p. 187 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 373 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 118; Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Chariten,' I. p. 880 *sq.*

It may here be mentioned that the site of the precinct of the People and the Graces, the existence of which was known from an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 605) and from Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xiv. 8. 5), was discovered in 1891 at the foot and to the north of the hill on which the so-called Theseum stands, a little to the east of the Piraeus railway-station. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, pp. 25-27; Th. Homolle, in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 15 (1891), pp. 344-373.

22. 8. **The Pythian priestess bore witness that Socrates was the wisest of men.** See Plato, *Apology*, p. 20 e-21 a; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 37; E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, 2.³ p. 50.

22. 8. **a title which she did not give even to Anacharsis.** Anacharsis the Scythian was reckoned by Ephorus among the Seven Sages (Strabo, vii. p. 303; Diogenes Laertius, i. 1. 41).

23. 1. **there were Seven Sages.** See x. 24. 1 note.

23. 2. **The story has never before been put on record** etc. Pausanias seems not to have been aware that the following story about Leaena, the mistress of Aristogiton, had already been related by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 72; cp. *id.*, vii. 87) and Plutarch (*De garrulitate*, 8). Indeed Cicero appears to have told the story and to have mentioned the bronze lioness in his lost work *On Glory* (see Philargyrius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 63). The anecdote was repeated by Pausanias's contemporary Polyaenus (viii. 45), and afterwards by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 19. 122, p. 618, ed. Potter), Athenaeus (xiii. p. 596 f), and Lactantius (*Divin. Instit.* i. 20). The bronze lioness is said to have had no tongue in order to signify that Leaena, even in the agony of torture, had betrayed the names of none of her associates (Pliny, Plutarch, Polyaenus, *ll.cc.*) That the lioness stood in the Propylaea is mentioned both by Plutarch and Polyaenus. The name of the sculptor was Amphicrates (Pliny, *l.c.*) According to Athenaeus (*l.c.*) Leaena was the mistress of Harmodius; Polyaenus agrees with Pausanias in representing her as the mistress of Aristogiton. The language of Pliny and Plutarch leaves this question open. Lactantius absurdly says that Leaena had herself slain the tyrant. L. Stephani argued that the whole story about Leaena was invented at a late date to explain the bronze statue of the lioness which, Stephani thought, was nothing more than a votive offering

dedicated to the neighbouring image of Aphrodite, the lioness having been a symbol of Aphrodite. See L. Stephani, 'Parerga Archaeologica. vi. *Melanges Gréco-Romains*, 1. pp. 173-180. A similar view was advocated by Mr. R. Jacobi, who thought that a lioness was a symbol of a courtesan, because the grave of Lais was surmounted with the figure of one (Paus. ii. 2. 4), and that hence the statue of the lioness was placed beside the image of Aphrodite as the patroness of courtesans. See R. Jacobi, 'Leaena ein aetiologischer Mythos,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 19 (1873), pp. 366-368. But it has been objected with justice by E. Plew that there is no sufficient evidence of the lioness having been, as Stephani and Mr. Jacobi supposed, a symbol or attribute of Aphrodite (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 20 (1874), p. 230). The bronze lioness probably stood in the eastern portico of the Propylaea and in its southern half; this at least is the natural inference from the order in which Pausanias mentions it. On the probable position of the statues in the Propylaea, see P. Weizsäcker, 'Die Aufstellung der Bildwerke in den Propylaeen zu Athen,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 32 (1875), p. 110 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Pausanias und die Bildwerke in den Propylaien,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), pp. 1-28.

23. 2. **an image of Aphrodite, which they say was an offering of Callias.** What seems to have been the pedestal of this statue has been found on the Acropolis; it stands on the right when you have passed through the Propylaea. It is a quadrangular block of Pentelic marble, and bears on its front the following inscription:

Καλλίας Ἱππονίκο ἀνέθηκ[ε]ν,

"Callias the son of Hipponicus dedicated (this statue)" (*C. I. A.* i. No. 392; *id.*, iv. p. 44; *Hermes*, 3 (1869), p. 166 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 7; Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, No. 415). On the upper surface of the stone there are marks of a statue having stood there. The inscription is in the old Attic (pre-Euclidian) alphabet, and is judged to date from some time between 470 and 456 B.C. The dedicator of the statue may have been the Callias who fought at Marathon, and went by the nickname of 'the pit of wealth.' The story was that a Persian prisoner had guided him to a buried treasure, which Callias appropriated after knocking his guide on the head (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 5). As to the sculptor Calamis, see note on v. 25. 5. He executed another statue of a certain Sosandra which stood on the Acropolis and was admired for its demure smile and the decorous grace with which the drapery was disposed about her figure (Lucian, *Imagines*, 4 and 6; *id.*, *Dialog. Meretr.* iii. 2). This statue of Sosandra by Calamis has sometimes been identified with the statue of Aphrodite here mentioned by Pausanias, it being supposed that Sosandra ('saving men') was an epithet of Aphrodite. But for this view there is not much to be said. Prof. Overbeck conjectures that a relief on a small altar or pedestal at Athens may be a copy of Calamis's statue of Sosandra; it represents a woman moving to the right but looking backwards and lifting the hem of her veil with her left hand.

The style is delicate and refined, but somewhat archaic. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 279 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 419; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 129 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 386 *sqq.* Mr. P. Weizsäcker essayed to prove that the Sosandra of Calamis was a statue of Hera (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), p. 18 *sqq.*) Although the base of Calamis's statue of Aphrodite now stands on the plateau of the Acropolis, it is probable, from the order in which Pausanias mentions it, that it originally stood in the eastern portico of the Propylaea, perhaps in its southern half. See the papers by Mr. Weizsäcker, already cited, in *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 32 (1875), p. 110 *sq.*; *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), p. 1 *sqq.*

23. 3. a bronze statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows etc. The capture of Mycalessus by a body of Thracian mercenaries under the Athenian officer Diitrephes took place in 413 B.C. See Thucydides, vii. 29 *sq.*, and note on ix. 19. 4. In 1839 there was found, built into the wall of a cistern opposite the western front of the Parthenon, a pedestal which may have supported the statue of Diitrephes here described by Pausanias. It is a square block of Pentelic marble .70 metre (2 ft. 3½ in.) long by .46 metre (1 ft. 4 in.) high. On its top are two square holes for fastening a statue, and on its front face is the following inscription:

Ἑρμόλυκος Διιτρέφος ἀπαρχέν.
Κρέσιλας ἐπόεσεν

'Hermolycus son of Diitrephes (dedicated this as) a first-fruit. Cresilas made (it)" (*C. I. A.* i. No. 402; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 46). From this inscription we learn that the statue which stood on this pedestal was dedicated by Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes, and made by Cresilas. Now Pliny tells us (*N. H.* xxxiv. 74) that Cresilas made a statue representing a wounded man swooning away. It is, therefore, a probable inference that this statue described by Pliny is the one of Diitrephes pierced with arrows which Pausanias here mentions, and that it stood on the pedestal in question. It is no serious objection to this view that the statue on this pedestal was dedicated by the son of Diitrephes as a first-fruit. More serious, perhaps, is the objection that the lettering of the inscription points to a date not later than 444 B.C., whereas Diitrephes is known to have been alive as late as 411 B.C. (Thucydides, viii. 64). But on private monuments, like this, archaic forms of letters may very well have been employed after they had been abandoned in public inscriptions. To judge from Pausanias's description of the statue, Diitrephes would seem to have fallen fighting against some barbarous people who made use of bows and arrows. They may have been the Thracians, since Diitrephes was appointed to a command in Thrace in 411 B.C. (Thucydides, viii. 64). Schubart thought that the arrows which Pausanias saw sticking in the statue may have formed no part of the original statue, but might have been shot into it accidentally at some later time; and Mr. P. Weizsäcker suggested that the arrows might have been discharged by Roman

archers during the siege of the Acropolis by Sulla. But this is highly improbable. Pausanias seems to have regarded the arrows as a piece of the statue. The statue probably stood within the eastern portico of the Propylaea, perhaps in its southern half.

See L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 168-170; Th. Bergk, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 3 (1845), p. 961 *sqq.*; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 281 *sq.*; Brunn, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 262 *sq.*; Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 9 (1863), p. 304 *sq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 377; Ad. Michaelis, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. [illegible] *sq.*; *id.*, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 104-106; P. Weizsäcker, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), pp. 15-17; Ad. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis*, p. 188 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 388; Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 159 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 496; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 239 *sq.*

Mr. J. Six has lately published a black-figured vase-painting (Fig. 13) which he takes to be a copy of the statue described by Pausanias. It represents a warrior sinking backward, his legs pierced by two arrows. He wears a crested helmet, brandishes a long spear in his raised right hand, and carries a round shield on his left arm. His left foot is in advance and is planted flat on the ground; while his right foot, on which the weight of the body rests, is drawn back and only the toes and ball of the foot are in contact with the ground. Mr. Six thinks that the statue represented not Diitrephes, as Pausanias supposed, but Hermolycus wounded by Persian arrows at the battle of Mycale (see note on i. 23. 10), and that the statue was dedicated by his grandson Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes. He points out that the marks of the feet on the pedestal agree with the posture of the warrior on the vase-painting. See J. Six, 'Hermolykos und Kresilas,' *Jahrbuch d. k. d. archaeolog. Instituts*, 7 (1892), pp. 185-188; cp. A. Gercke, 'Vulneratus deficiens,' *ib.* 8 (1893), pp. 113-117. But we do not know that the Hermolycus who dedicated the statue was a grandson of the Hermolycus who fought at Mycale; nor do we know that the latter was wounded at Mycale; he certainly was not killed there (Herodotus, ix. 105). Prof. Furtwangler also thinks it probable that the wounded man in the vase-painting is a copy of the statue described by Pausanias. He conjectures, however, that the Diitrephes represented was not, as Pausanias supposed, the general who captured Mycalessus, but an earlier personage of the same



FIG. 13.—DIITREPHES (?) PIERCED WITH ARROWS (VASE-PAINTING).

name, the father of Nicostratus (Thucydides, iii. 75) See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 277-284.

Three other inscribed pedestals of statues by the sculptor Cresilas have been found (Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 45 and 47; and see note on i. 25. 1, 'a statue of Pericles'). Cresilas, a native of Cydonia in Crete, was a contemporary of Pericles, and flourished in the last part of the fifth century B.C. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 260 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 495 *sqq.*; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 267-339.

23. 4. **the Cretans are the only Greek people who are accustomed to the use of the bow.** But the Athenians had a large corps of native archers in the Peloponnesian war (Thucydides, i. 13; vi. 25 and 43).

23. 4. **the Opuntian Locrians, whom Homer described** etc. See *Il.* xiii. 712 *sqq.*

23. 4. **one of Health, who is said to be a daughter of Aesculapius.** On a base of Hymettian marble found in the eastern part of the Propylaea, but not in its original position, there is inscribed a dedication to August Health (Σεβαστῇ Ὑγεία, *sic*). On the top of the base are the foot-marks of a statue. See *C. I. A.* iii. No. 460; L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. p. 189 *sq.*; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 285. The inscription is of Roman date, and the August Health whose statue stood on the pedestal was probably Livia, wife of Augustus, since on Roman coins she is called *Salus Augusta* ('August Health'). Her statue may have been set up near the image of Health here mentioned by Pausanias. Beside the image of Health there stood a statue of the mother of Isocrates, but the inscription was altered at a later time ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 839 d). On representations of the goddess Health in ancient art, see W. Wroth, 'Hygieia,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), pp. 82-101; F. Koepp, 'Die attische Hygieia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 255-271, with plates viii, ix.

23. 4. **one of Athena, who is also surnamed Health.** The story of the dedication of this image is thus told by Plutarch (*Pericles*, 13). While the great portal (Propylaea) of the Acropolis was building "the most active and zealous of the workmen fell from a height and was badly hurt, the doctors despairing of his life. Pericles was cast down at the mishap, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to adopt a certain treatment by following which he cured the man soon and easily. For this he set up the bronze image of Health Athena on the Acropolis beside the altar, which, they say, had existed previously." The same story is told, with some variations, by Pliny, who, speaking of a herb called *perdicium* or *parthenium*, says (*N. H.* xxii. 44): "A dear domestic slave of Pericles, the Athenian statesman, having been engaged in building a temple on the Acropolis and having fallen from a pinnacle to which he had climbed, is said to have been healed by this plant, which was revealed to Pericles in a dream by Minerva (Athena); wherefore the plant began to be called *parthenium*, and is assigned to that goddess [viz. to Athena *Parthenos* or Virgin Athena]. It is this slave whose statue, cast in bronze, is the famous *splanchnoptes* ['roaster of entrails']." Thus Pliny's account differs in two important points from

Plutarch's. In the first place, Pliny says that the accident to the workman happened during the building, not of the Propylaea, but of a temple, which in the circumstances must have been the temple of Athena *Parthenos* or Virgin Athena, *i.e.* the Parthenon. In the second place, Pliny does not mention the dedication of an image of Health Athena, but does mention the erection of a famous statue of the slave which was known as the *splanchnoptes* or "roaster of entrails." Elsewhere Pliny tells us (*N. H.* xxxiv. 81) that the statue of the slave was by a Cyprian sculptor named Styppax, and that it represented the man roasting entrails while, with puffed and swollen cheeks, he blew up the flame with his breath. The herb *Parthenium* grew about the Acropolis, and the famishing Athenians were fain to stay the pangs of hunger with it during the siege by Sulla (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 13). It is said to be the *Matricaria Parthenium* or *Parietaria diffusa* of Linnaeus, which still grows about the Acropolis in spring, "and pursues with its aroma the visitor who crushes it with his foot" (Beulé). Certainly in spring the southern side of the Acropolis is pervaded by the heavy, sickly odour of some plant. But what the plant is which emits this disagreeable scent, I did not discover.

In 1839 the pedestal which supported the statue of Health Athena was found in its original position, where it still stands, just outside the eastern portico of the Propylaea, opposite to and almost abutting on the south-eastern column of the portico. The pedestal proper (marked D in Fig. 14) is of white marble and has the shape of about three-quarters of a circle, its flat side being turned toward the column of the portico. It measures .89 metre (2 ft. 11 in.) in diameter, and stands .405 metre (1 ft. $3\frac{7}{8}$ in.) high, exclusive of the step or base on which it rests. This step or base, which is of the same shape as the pedestal, is placed with its flat side in contact with the stylobate of the portico, and its top is exactly on a level with the top of the stylobate. On the top of the pedestal are two marks showing where the feet of the statue stood: from these marks it appears that the statue faced north-east and rested on the right foot, with the left foot thrown a good deal back. On the front of the pedestal, looking to the north-east and east, is engraved the following inscription:

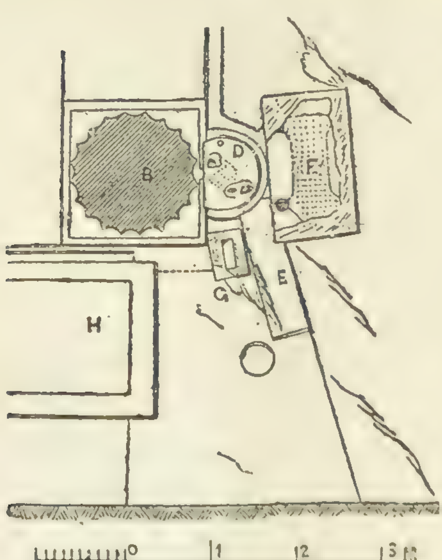


FIG. 14.—BOHN'S DIAGRAM OF THE HEALTH ATHENA BASIS AND ADJACENT STONES.

Ἀθεναῖοι τε̃ι Ἀθεναίαι τε̃ι Ὑγιείαι
Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθεναῖος

"The Athenians dedicated (this image) to Health Athena. Pyrrhus, an Athenian, made (the image)" (*C. I. A.* i. No. 335; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 36; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 365; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Künstler*, No. 53). Pliny tells us that the sculptor Pyrrhus made a statue of Health Athena, doubtless the statue which stood on this pedestal (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 80, "*Pyrrhus* (*fecit*) *Hygiam et Minervam*," where the *et* should probably be omitted, as L. Ross said). As the inscription shows at least one trace (viz. the use of *η* in a single instance) of the transition from the old Attic to the Ionic alphabet, L. Ross dated it about 420 B.C., but Mr. P. Wolters would put it some years earlier.

The inscription proves that the statue was dedicated by the Athenians, not by Pericles, as Plutarch says it was. Mr. P. Wolters has recently pointed out another reason for questioning the truth of the tradition related by Plutarch as to the setting up of the statue. If Plutarch is right, the statue must have been set up while the Propylaea was still building or immediately after it was finished, that is, just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. Now part of the evidence which proves that the Propylaea was never completed in accordance with the original design of Mnesicles is the state of the floor. Each column is placed in a shallow square depression cut in the pavement; and the original intention seems to have been to pare the whole pavement down to the level of these shallow depressions in which the columns stand. This intention was never carried out, so that the pavement remains everywhere (except in these depressions) a trifle higher than Mnesicles meant that it should be. Now, as we have seen, the step or base on which the pedestal of Health Athena rests is exactly on a level with the existing top of the stylobate; indeed, the edge of the pedestal actually overlaps and rests on the stylobate. This proves, Mr. Wolters thinks, that the statue was not set up until all intention of completing and perfecting the Propylaea in accordance with Mnesicles's design had been abandoned. It could not, therefore, have been set up while the Propylaea was still building or even at the moment when its construction was suddenly interrupted by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, for Mnesicles would then still hope to be able to finish his great work. Probably it was set up some years after the outbreak of the war. Mr. Wolters conjectures that it may have been dedicated in 429 B.C. as a thank-offering for the cessation of the great plague. He supposes that Plutarch's story of the dedication of the statue arose from a confusion. A slave of Pericles had fallen from the Parthenon, as Pliny implies, and his wonderful cure had been commemorated by the statue of the 'entrail-burner,' which probably stood close to the Parthenon, on the spot where the man fell. Legend, as represented by Plutarch's story, wrongly transferred this incident from the Parthenon to the Propylaea, and assigned it as the occasion of dedicating the statue of Health Athena. Such is Mr. Wolters's theory.

With regard to the manner in which Health Athena was represented in this statue, our only clue consists in the marks on the top of the pedestal. One of these marks was thought by Prof. Michaelis to indicate

that the goddess had been holding a spear with its lower end resting on the ground. But this mark, according to Mr. R. Bohn, is probably of later date than the statue. Another theory of Prof. Michaelis, that a statue in Cassel is a reproduction of the statue in question, has been disproved by an exact comparison of their pedestals. Bergk and Prof. Löschcke conjectured that a relief on a marble candelabra in the Vatican representing Athena feeding a serpent (Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 2124) may have been copied from Pyrrhus's statue of Health Athena. A similar group on some Athenian coins (a woman allowing a serpent to drink out of a saucer which she holds in her hand) was interpreted by Beulé as a copy of the same statue (*Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 259 *sq.*) To these identifications it is objected by Mr. P. Wolters that the serpent as a symbol of the goddess of Health was borrowed from the worship of Aesculapius, which was not imported into Athens until the end of the fifth century B.C.; in other words, until some time after the statue by Pyrrhus was made. But the objection appears to be refuted by a fragment of a vase-painting, published by Mr. Wolters himself in the same article (see below). An inscribed statuette of white marble found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus represents Health Athena armed with a shield and rushing impetuously along, her drapery fluttering behind her; her helmet is adorned with the figure of a sphinx between two winged horses (E. Petersen, 'Athenastatuen von Epidauros,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), p. 309 *sqq.*; 'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 250 *sqq.*, with pl. 12).

Abutting on the pedestal of Health Athena, or, more strictly, on the step which supports the pedestal, stand in their original situations two large blocks of marble, the meaning of which was long a puzzle to archaeologists. The larger of the two (commonly designated on plans as F) is 1.67 metres (5 ft. 3 in.) long by 1.02 metres (3 ft. 3¼ in.) deep, and abuts on the east side of the pedestal. Four holes on the top of the block show that it supported an altar or table on which probably offerings to the image were placed. As this block rests on an accumulation of soil at a higher level than the base or step which supports the pedestal of Health Athena and which is bedded on the rock, it is probable that the altar or sacrificial table was erected later than the statue. This is confirmed by the inscription which shows that the statue was set up merely as a votive offering, not as a statue to be worshipped.

The other block (commonly marked E on plans) measures 1.51 metres long by .375 metre high and .465 wide, and abuts on the south-east side of the base of the statue in a slanting direction, lying north-west and south-east. Its northern end fits into the round step of the Athena pedestal, and its north-east corner lies under block F, showing that F was added later. The line of the block E is prolonged to the south-east by a groove cut in the natural rock and extending to the rocky wall which bounds the precinct of the Brauronian Artemis on the north. Probably therefore, as Mr. R. Bohn suggested, block E is the remnant of a row of similar blocks intended to keep the rain-water from flowing into the corner between the Propylaea and the precinct of the

Brauronian Artemis. For the ground rises to the east of the Propylaea; hence the water flows from it westward toward the Propylaea. The low dam formed by the row of marble blocks diverted the water from the corner between the Propylaea and the Brauronian precinct, and caused it to flow along the front of the eastern portico to the ancient channel that runs through the central gateway of the Propylaea.

Plutarch, as we have seen, tells us (*Pericles*, 13) that the statue of Health Athena was set up beside a previously-existing altar of the goddess. Aristides says that "the most ancient of the Athenians founded an altar of Health Athena" (*Or.* ii. vol. 1. p. 22, ed. Dindorf). The marble foundations of this altar are still to be seen 3.60 metres (11 ft. 10 in.) east of the pedestal of Health Athena. On a quadrangular basement or step, 2.60 metres (8 ft. 6 in.) square, rises the altar proper, of which a portion .88 metre high is still preserved. From the position of the altar proper nearer the eastern than the western side of the basement it appears that the priest stood on the western side of it, facing east. This shows that the worshipped statue of the goddess must have been situated to the east of the altar and cannot have been the statue made by Pyrrhus, otherwise the priest in sacrificing would have had his back to the goddess. The sacrifice to Health Athena is mentioned on an Attic inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 163; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 380). The altar seems to date from the fifth century B.C., and as the rock on which it stands appears to have been reduced to its present level when the Propylaea was built, it is probable that the altar was built at the same time as the Propylaea, and that it replaced an older altar which stood about the same spot, though on a higher level. The antiquity of the worship of Health Athena on the Acropolis is attested by the fragment of a red-figured vase found near the southern wall of the Acropolis in 1888, and inscribed with the following dedication: "To Health Athena. Callias made and dedicated (this)" (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 32; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 154). From the use of the crossed theta (⊕) in the inscription it appears that the inscription must belong to the sixth century B.C., since this form of the letter went out of use in Attic inscriptions at the close of that century (Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 94). On this potsherd, besides the inscription, there is painted a bit of drapery and a piece of a shield emblazoned with a serpent. These are doubtless fragments of a picture of Health Athena with the healing serpent as her crest. Hence we learn that the serpent-crest of Health Athena was known in Athens as early as the sixth century B.C., and was not (as Mr. Wolters supposed) introduced with the worship of Aesculapius from Epidaurus at the close of the fifth century B.C.

See L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 185-194; Th. Bergk, in *Zeitschrift f. die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 3 (1845), p. 966 *sqq.*; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 282 *sqq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 377-380; A. Michaelis, 'Die Statue und der Altar der Athena Hygieia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 284-294; R. Bohn, 'Zur Basis der Athena Hygieia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 331-334; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 204; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 343; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 389-393; P. Wolters, 'Zur

Athena Hygieia des Pyrrhos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), pp. 153-165.

23. 5. **Elderly Satyrs are named Silenuses.** Similarly the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* says (*s.v.* Σαληνός, p. 710) "aged satyrs are called Silenuses," and Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 14, says "Silenuses, before they grow old, are satyrs." This distinction was not, however, maintained in common parlance, the name Satyr being used to include old as well as young members of this fabulous stock; for example Pollux (iv. 142) speaks of "a hoary Satyr." In Euripides's play, *The Cyclops*, Silenus speaks of the Satyrs as his children (verses 13, 27, 82, 269), which so far bears out the distinction noticed by Pausanias. Cp. L. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1874, p. 67, note 2.

23. 5. **Euphemus, a Carian, said that** etc. The following account of the Isles of the Satyrs situated in the Atlantic Ocean has all the appearance of being a sailor's yarn with which Euphemus gulled the credulous Pausanias. Schubart gravely treated it as the narrative of an explorer whose ship, putting in to the western coast of Equatorial Africa, had been attacked by gorillas or other man-like apes—as if these shy and solitary, though certainly fierce and dangerous creatures, were in the habit of combining to rush out of their forests and attack vessels which happen to put in to the shore! He reminds us of the wild hairy men whom the Carthaginian explorer Hanno reported to have seen on an island off the west coast of Africa, and which the interpreters called gorillas (Hanno, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 13). These latter may certainly have been large apes; but they did not attack the ship. On the contrary, they fled with great agility, scrambling up the rocks most nimbly, while the three females who were caught by the sailors bit and scratched their captors so fiercely that they had to be killed, and only their skins were brought back as a trophy to Carthage. Moreover, these 'gorillas' of Hanno had not the long tails with which Euphemus so liberally provided his wild men and which, Mr. Schubart is constrained to admit, were probably thrown in by the narrator to heighten the effect of the picture. See Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 21 (1875), p. 415 *sq.* Others, with still less probability, have identified the Isles of the Satyrs with the West Indies, and the Satyrs themselves with the Indians. See Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains* (Paris, 1724), 1. p. 31 *sq.*; Lucien de Rosny, *Les Antilles* (Paris, 1886), p. 22.

23. 7. **the bronze boy holding the sprinkler.** With the mention of the image of Health Athena (§ 4) Pausanias fairly quits the Propylaea and sets out on his tour round the Acropolis, going first south-eastward towards the precinct of Brauronian Artemis, which he mentions immediately below. As a sprinkler (*perirrhanterion*) was a basin containing holy water which stood at the entrance to every sanctuary in order that worshippers might sprinkle themselves before entering the precinct (Pollux, i. 8, i. 25, i. 32; cp. viii. 65; K. Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*,[2] § 51. 7-14), it has been conjectured that this bronze statue of the boy with the sprinkler may have served a practical purpose, being placed at the entrance to the precinct of Brauronian Artemis (see

below), and holding the holy water in his basin. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 143 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 204; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 345. Th. Bergk considered that this statue of the boy with the sprinkler was identical with a statue of 'a boy fumigator' (*puer suffitor*), which Pliny mentions as a work of the same sculptor Lycius (*N. H.* xxxiv. 79). It might be suggested that the statue of the 'boy fumigator' was identical with another work of Lycius, which Pliny in the same paragraph describes as "a boy blowing up a languid fire." Pliny, indeed, mentions them as if they were distinct works; but he may possibly have taken his information from two writers without perceiving that they were referring to the same statue. See Th. Bergk, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 3 (1845), p. 970 *sq.*; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 259; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 493 *sq.*, 505; M. Mayer, 'Splanchnoptes,' *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Instituts*, 8 (1893), p. 218 *sqq.* As to the sculptor Lycius, see note on v. 22. 3.

23. 7. **Perseus after he has done the deed on Medusa —— a work of Myron.** Cp. ii. 27. 2. Pliny mentions a statue of Perseus by Myron (*N. H.* xxxiv. 57), which may have been the one here mentioned by Pausanias. Two ancient heads of Perseus, both replicas of a common original, are conjectured by Prof. Furtwängler to be copies of the head of Myron's statue. One of them is in the British Museum: the other was found recently at Rome. See A. S. Murray, 'Bust of Perseus,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), p. 55 *sq.*; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 382-388, with pl. xxii. For a list of existing monuments of ancient art on which Perseus is represented after his slaughter of Medusa, see Fr. Knatz, *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* (Bonnae, 1893), p. 17 *sqq.* Cp. v. 18. 5 note.

23. 7. **a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis.** From the central gateway of the Propylaea an ancient road leads nearly due east to the middle of the Acropolis; it then turns south, and ends at the eastern front of the Parthenon. This was doubtless the road along which the great religious processions passed; the grooves or ruts in which the wheels of the chariots ran can still be seen in places. On both sides of the road, especially in its first half, the rock has been cut and levelled in many places to receive the bases of votive offerings. These cuttings in the rock begin near the pedestal of Health Athena (see above, p. 277 *sqq.*) and extend close up to the wall of rock, which here runs parallel to the processional road on the south. This wall of rock, formed artificially by cutting away the natural rock perpendicularly, is the northern boundary of a terrace lying to the south-east of the Propylaea. The terrace has the shape of an irregular quadrangle, and is about 48 metres (157 ft. 6 in.) long from east to west. It is bounded on the west by the prehistoric polygonal wall (commonly known as the Pelasgic wall), on the south by the southern fortification wall of the Acropolis, on the north by the wall of rock mentioned above, and on the east by another low wall of rock which supports a higher but smaller terrace lying to the east. A flight of eight small steps cut in the rock leads up to the terrace near

its north-eastern corner. The staircase is flanked on both sides by cuttings in the rock for the reception of statues or other votive offerings. This terrace is most probably the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis. It appears to have been merely a precinct with images and an altar; at least classical authors and inscriptions make no mention of a temple of Brauronian Artemis on the Acropolis, and no foundations of a temple have been found within her precinct. But colonnades appear to have extended along the eastern and southern sides of the sacred enclosure. See Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 291 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 204 *sq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 344; W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), pp. 304, 306, with the plan on p. 307; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 404. As to the traces of bear-worship in the rites of Brauronian Artemis, see note on viii. 13. 1. In this connexion it is interesting to note that a marble statuette of a bear seated on his haunches was found within the precinct of Brauronian Artemis on the Acropolis (Beulé, *op. cit.* 1. p. 298). The statuette is figured in Miss Harrison's *Ancient Athens* (p. 403). At the festival of the goddess a goat was brought and sacrificed to her (Hesychius, *s.v.* Βραυρωνίοις: cp. Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*. 1. p. 445, line 5 *sqq.*) To this sacrifice Varro probably refers when he says that a goat was not driven up to the Acropolis except once (a year?) for a necessary sacrifice (*De re rustica*, i. 2. 20; the rule against admitting goats to the Acropolis is mentioned also by Athenaeus, xiii. p. 587 a). Elsewhere I have wrongly assumed that the goat annually sacrificed on the Acropolis was sacrificed to Athena (*The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 63 *sq.*)

23. 7. **the image is a work of Praxiteles —— at Brauron is the old wooden image** etc. Brauron, Sparta, Comana in Cappadocia, and Laodicea in Syria, all claimed to have the famous image of the Tauric Artemis which Iphigenia was said to have brought from the Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea) to Brauron in Attica. See i. 33. 1; iii. 16. 7-11, with the note on 8; viii. 46. 3. Pausanias himself thought that the real image was at Sparta (iii. 16. 7-11). Prof. C. Robert thinks that the legend of the bringing of the image from the Crimea to Brauron was an invention of Euripides in his play *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and that the popularity which this fiction obtained through the medium of the poet's verses induced various towns, which possessed ancient images of Artemis, to set up claims to the possession of the genuine image of the Tauric Artemis. The story that the ancient image at Brauron was carried off by Xerxes (iii. 16. 8; viii. 46. 3) is treated by Prof. C. Robert as another fiction devised to support the claims of Laodicea to the possession of the true image. He thinks that if the image at Brauron had been really carried off by Xerxes, Euripides must have alluded to its capture in his play, and must have put into the mouth of Athena a promise that the image would one day be restored. The argument is scarcely convincing, though Prof. Robert regards it as conclusive. See C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, pp. 144-150.

From inscriptions containing lists of the treasures in the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis it appears that at least as early as Ol. 108. 3

(346/5 B.C.) there were two images of her in the sanctuary. One of the images is referred to as "the idol" (*hedos*), "the old idol," "the stone idol"; the other is designated "the image" (*agalma*), "the upright image," "the standing image" (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758; Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae Descriptio arcis*, p. 8; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 150 *sqq.*) From this we infer that the old image was of stone and was in a sitting posture, and that the new image was of some other material than stone and was in a standing posture. The new image was doubtless the one by Praxiteles which Pausanias mentions. As it was not of marble, it must have been of wood or bronze or gold and ivory. As a work of Praxiteles (whether we take this Praxiteles to be the great sculptor of that name or a namesake of his who lived in the fifth century B.C.) the image was almost certainly not of wood, that material being rarely used by Greek sculptors of the best period (though we hear of wooden statues of the orator Lycurgus and his sons made by Timarchus and Cephisodotus, the sons of Praxiteles; see [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 e). Probably therefore it was either of bronze or of gold and ivory. Prof. C. Robert decides in favour of gold and ivory on the ground that the inscriptions mention many garments dedicated by women and actually worn by the image; for he assumes that real garments would not have been placed on a bronze image. And since the use of gold and ivory as materials for a statue had gone out in the time of the younger Praxiteles, Prof. Robert concludes that the sculptor was the elder Praxiteles. This argument rests on the gratuitous and unproved assumption that real garments would not have been placed on a bronze image. I see no reason whatever for such an assumption, which is disproved by the simple fact that linen garments were worn by a bronze image at Elis (Pausanias, vi. 25. 5), and that garments were regularly woven for the bronze image of the Amyclaean Apollo (Paus. iii. 16. 2; cp. iii. 19. 2). In the present case the probabilities seem to me all in favour of bronze as the material of the image and the younger Praxiteles as the sculptor. Images of gold and ivory were rare, and if the image of the Brauronian Artemis had been of these costly materials, Pausanias would probably have noted the fact. Moreover the date (the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.) of the inscriptions which distinguish the old image from the new one is entirely in favour of the younger Praxiteles, who was at the height of his activity and fame at that time. Finally, the very existence of an older Praxiteles is a mere fiction of archaeologists; ancient writers are wholly ignorant of any such person (see note on i. 2. 4). Prof. Robert, however, goes farther. Some years ago there was found on the Acropolis a fragment of a small vase adorned with the figure of a woman (Artemis?) armed with a bow and quiver and smelling at a flower. This figure on the potsherd Prof. Robert supposes to be a copy of the supposed gold and ivory statue of the supposed Praxiteles. His views are accepted by Miss Harrison. See Prof. Robert's *Archäologische Märchen*, pp. 150-159; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 395 *sqq.* Prof. Studniczka has conjectured that the statue of a young woman standing and fastening her robe over her

right shoulder (known as the Diana of Gabii) is a copy of Praxiteles's statue of Brauronian Artemis (Fr. Studniczka, *Vermutungen zur griech. Kunstgeschichte*, pp. 18-36; the statue is figured in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xvi. No. 180). As we possess no description of Praxiteles's statue, Prof. Studniczka's theory is necessarily an idle guess.

23. 8. **a bronze figure of the so-called Wooden Horse** etc. Hesychius mentions (*s.v.* δούριος ἵππος) that a bronze statue of the famous Wooden Horse stood on the Acropolis at Athens, and that four men were represented peeping out of it. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Birds*, 1128) mentions the same statue, and adds that it bore the inscription: "Chaeredemus of Coele, son of Evangelus, dedicated (it)." In 1840 two large blocks of Pentelic marble bearing this inscription were found within the precinct of Brauronian Artemis. They doubtless formed part of the pedestal which supported the statue of the horse. The inscription contains further the name of the sculptor; it runs thus:

Χαιρέδεμος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλες ἀνέθεκεν
Στρογγυλίον ἐποίεσεν

"Chaeredemus of Coele, son of Evangelus, dedicated (it); Strongylion made (it)" (*C. I. A.* i. 406; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 52). As the inscription is in the old Attic alphabet it must be earlier than 403/2 B.C., the date when the use of that alphabet was officially abolished. On the other hand, the use of the four-stroke sigma (Σ) instead of the old three-stroke sigma (≤) makes it probable that the inscription is later than 447/6 B.C. (Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 94). In his play *The Birds*, which was acted in 414 B.C., Aristophanes speaks of "horses as big as the Wooden Horse" (*v.* 1128). If, as seems probable, Aristophanes is here referring, not to the traditionary Wooden Horse of the poets, but to the bronze statue of it on the Acropolis, it follows that the statue must have been set up before or in the year 414 B.C. Probably it had been set up not long before, and the poet alluded to it as a novelty.

It appears that the pedestal was composed of six blocks. The two blocks found in the precinct of Brauronian Artemis, where they still stand, are not in their original position. Two more blocks of the pedestal were found in 1889 or 1890, one of them near the north-western corner of the Parthenon, the other between that spot and the precinct of Brauronian Artemis. Probably the statue stood somewhere between the precinct of Brauronian Artemis and the Parthenon. At least this seems to be the natural inference from the order of Pausanias's description. The two blocks found in 1840 composed the front of the pedestal; each of them is 1.76 metres long, so that the total length of the front of the pedestal was 3.52 metres (11 ft. 5¾ in.)

With regard to Strongylion, the sculptor of the horse, Pausanias elsewhere remarks (ix. 30. 1) that he was extremely skilful in modelling oxen and horses.

See L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 194-198; E. Beulé, *l'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. pp. 298-301; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 382

sq.; Loewy, *l.c.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 404-406, 412.

23. 9. **the one of Epicharinus —— is by Critias.** The inscribed base of this statue was found between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. It is a square pedestal of Pentelic marble, and bears the following mutilated inscription:

> Ἐπιχαρῖνος [ἀνέ]θεκεν ὁ . . .
> Κριτίος καὶ Νεσιότες ἐπο[ιεσ]άτεν

"Epicharinus dedicated (it). Critius and Nesiotes made (it)" (*C. I. A.* i. No. 376; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 39; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 68 a). Thus we learn that the statue of Epicharinus was dedicated by Epicharinus himself, and that it was a joint work of the two sculptors Critius and Nesiotes. We do not know in what attitude Epicharinus was represented. Pausanias does not say that he was represented running, but only that he had practised running in armour. But this statement of our author may very well have been an inference from the pose and accoutrements of the statue. As to the sculptors Critius and Nesiotes, see note on i. 8. 5. This is the second work known to have been made by Critius and Nesiotes which Pausanias ascribes to Critius alone; the other was the group of the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton (i. 8. 5). Critius was probably the chief artist. His name is spelt as Critias in our manuscripts of Pausanias here and in vi. 3. 5; and the same appears to be the spelling in the manuscripts of Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 49), at least Detlefsen in his edition of Pliny notes no variant. But that the true spelling was Critius (Kritios) is proved by the present inscription and by two other inscribed bases of statues by the same artists which have been found in Athens (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 374, 375; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 38 and 40; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 752; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, Nos. 67 and 68). Cp. L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 164-166; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 383 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 406 *sq.*

23. 9. **Oenobius —— did a good deed to Thucydides** etc. Pausanias implies, though he does not expressly state, that there were statues of Oenobius, Hermolycus, and Phormio (§ 10) on the Acropolis. They probably stood between the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis and the Parthenon. Thucydides was banished in 424 B.C. and his exile lasted twenty years (Thuc. v. 26, cp. iv. 104); so that the year of his recall was 404 B.C. He doubtless returned after the conclusion of peace between Athens and Sparta in that year. But it was one of the conditions of peace imposed on Athens by the victorious Lacedaemonians that the Athenian exiles should be allowed to return to Athens; and of this permission the exiles availed themselves (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 20 and 23). Why then should Thucydides, as one of the exiles, not have returned with the rest under the general amnesty? Why was it necessary to recall him by a special decree of the people? This difficulty has led Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to reject Pausanias's state-

ment that Thucydides was recalled by a special decree of the people proposed by Oenobius (*Hermes*, 12 (1877), p. 344 *sq.*) But there is no sufficient ground for rejecting Pausanias's statement on the subject, especially as it is supported by the evidence of Pliny, who says (*N. H.* vii. 111) that the Athenians recalled Thucydides from banishment because they admired the eloquence of his history. The motive assigned by Pliny for the recall of the historian need not be the true one; but at least his statement implies that Thucydides was recalled by a special vote of the people. As to Oenobius who proposed the decree nothing positive is known; but it has been proposed to identify him with a general of that name who is mentioned in an inscription of 410/9 B.C. (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 16, line 27). The inscription contains a decree in honour of the people of Neapolis in Thrace, near which town Thucydides possessed gold mines. If Oenobius held a command in this quarter of Thrace, he may very well have been brought into contact with the banished Thucydides, and hence may have taken a prominent part in procuring his recall (cp. Schöll, in *Hermes*, 13 (1878), p. 441 *sq.*) If Pausanias is right, it would seem as if Thucydides had been excepted from the general amnesty of 404 B.C., and had been afterwards recalled by a special decree in the same year, perhaps through the influence of aristocratic friends whom he may have possessed among the oligarchical party then in power (cp. Classen's *Thukydides*,[3] Einleitung, p. xxiii. *sq.*)

The accounts of Thucydides's death are discrepant. Pausanias's statement that he was murdered as he was returning from exile can hardly be true, since Thucydides's own statement "I was an exile from my native land for twenty years" (v. 26) seems to imply that he was writing after his return from banishment. According to one account he died in Thrace; according to another account he was murdered in Athens; and according to a third account he died a natural death in Athens. See Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4; Marcellinus, *Life of Thucydides*, 31-33 and 55; *Anonymous life of Thucydides*, 9 *sq.* (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 202 *sq.*)

But whether he died in Thrace or Athens, his tomb, marked by a slab inscribed with his name, seems certainly to have been in the family burying-ground of his relative Cimon, outside the Melitian gate of Athens, in a spot called Coele. Plutarch says, "His tomb is shown in the family burying-ground of Cimon beside the grave of Cimon's sister Elpinice" (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4); and this statement of Plutarch's, based, it would seem, on personal knowledge, we have no right to question. According to some, however, this tomb was a cenotaph, the historian having been buried in Thrace. See Marcellinus, *Life of Thucydides*, 31 *sq.*, 55; *Anonymous life of Thucydides*, 10 (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 203). The Melitian gate, outside of which Thucydides's tomb was shown, must have been one of the western gates of Athens, since the quarter Melite was in the west of the city (see note on i. 14. 6, 'a temple of Hephaestus'). Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff has essayed to show that Thucydides died and was buried at Pella, in Macedonia.

See von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Die Thukydideslegende,' *Hermes*, 12 (1877), pp. 326-367; R. Hirzel, 'Die Thukydideslegende,' *Hermes*, 13 (1878), pp. 46-49; R. Scholl, 'Zur Thukydides-Biographie,' *ib.*, pp. 433-453; O. Gilbert, 'Zur Thukydideslegende,' *Philologus*, 38 (1879), pp. 243-268; Classen's *Thukydides*,[3] Einleitung, pp. lxxxviii-xcv.

23. 10. **Hermolycus, the pancratiast.** This was probably Hermolycus the pancratiast who distinguished himself above all the Greeks by his gallantry at the battle of Mycale; he was afterwards slain in battle at Cyrnus in Euboea and buried at Geraestus; his father's name was Euthoenus (Herodotus, ix. 105). It has been supposed by some scholars that the statue which Pausanias took to be a portrait of the pancratiast Hermolycus was really the statue which stood on the base inscribed with a dedication by Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes (see above, p. 275), and that Pausanias mistook this Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes, for the Hermolycus, son of Euthoenus, whose bravery at the battle of Mycale has been commemorated by Herodotus. See Th. Bergk, in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 3 (1845), p. 961 *sqq.*; A. Kirchhoff, in *C. I. A.* i. No. 402; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in *Hermes*, 12 (1877), p. 346; A. Furtwängler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 28. The theory is arbitrary and highly improbable. It is much more likely that, as we have seen, the base in question supported the statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows.

23. 10. **This much, however, I have to add as regards Phormio.** The following anecdote about Phormio is told, with variations, by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Peace*, 347), who cites as his authority Androtion in the third book of his *Attica*. As Androtion was a pupil of Isocrates and a contemporary of Demosthenes (Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀνδροτίων: *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. lxxxiii) his evidence is fairly good. According to him a fine of 100 *minae* had been inflicted on Phormio on one occasion when he was called on to give an account of his public services. Being unable to pay the fine he was disfranchised and retired to his estate. When the Acarnanians requested that he should be sent as general to them, Phormio declined to go on the ground that he was disfranchised. So the Athenians released him from the fine. Phormio's father is called Asopichus by Pausanias, but Asopius by Thucydides (i. 64) and the scholiast on Aristophanes (*l.c.*)

24. 1. **Athena is represented striking Marsyas** etc. Athena is said to have invented the pipes or double flute. But as she played on them in the forest of Mt. Ida, she saw her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in the water of a spring. Disgusted at the sight she threw away the pipes with a curse on whoever should pick them up. They were found by the satyr Marsyas, who practised on them till he attained such skill that he challenged Apollo himself to a musical contest, thereby courting his doom. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 165; Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 6; Athenaeus, xiv. p. 616 e f. It has been conjectured with great probability that the group described by Pausanias was identical with a work of Myron which Pliny thus describes (*N. H.* xxxiii. 57): "He made a satyr wondering at the pipes and Minerva (Athena)" (*fecit* ——

Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam). Pliny's words leave it uncertain whether the Minerva (Athena) of Myron formed a group with the "satyr wondering at the pipes" or was a separate work. But that the two figures formed a group is made highly probable by the fact that several representatives of such a group, evidently copies of some famous original, have come down to us.

(1) On two bronze Athenian coins (one of which is figured here, Fig. 15) Athena is represented standing, dropping the flutes; before her stands Marsyas with one arm raised in an attitude of surprise. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 132 *sq.*, with pl. Z, xx, xxi., and the references below.



FIG. 15.—ATHENA AND MARSYAS (ATHENIAN COIN).

(2) A similar scene is carved in relief (Fig. 16) on a cup of Pentelic marble found in Athens. Athena, carrying her shield on her left arm, is retreating towards the spectator's right, but is looking backwards. Behind her, to the spectator's left, stands Marsyas in an attitude of surprise, his legs wide apart, his left arm raised, his right thrown out behind him. From a drawing of this

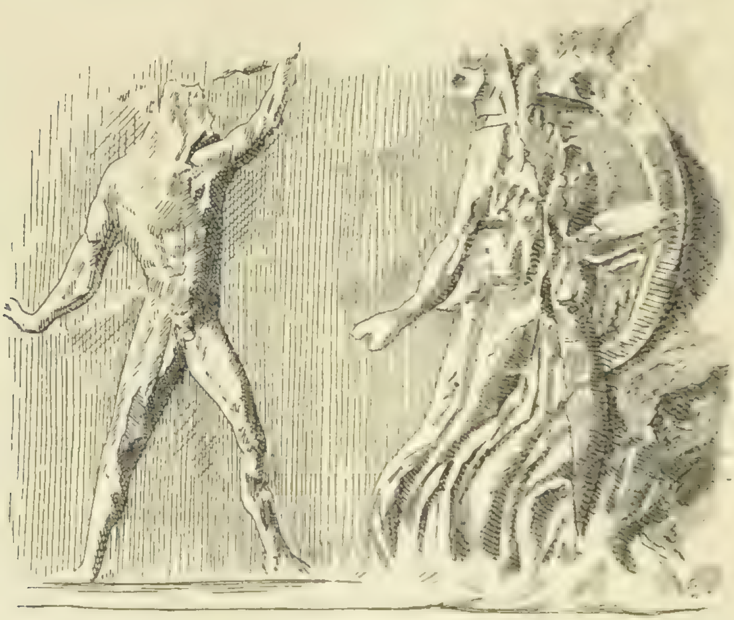


FIG. 16.—ATHENA AND MARSYAS (RELIEF ON MARBLE VASE).

relief made last century by Stuart it appears that the pipes were represented falling from Athena's hand. They have now disappeared, the marble being a good deal worn in this part. The relief, moreover, is clearly unfinished. The vase was formerly in the Finlay collection, but is now in the National Museum of Athens. See references below.

(3) A painting (Fig. 17) on a red-figured vase (*oinochoe*), which was found at *Vari* in Attica and is now in the Berlin Museum, represents Athena standing to the spectator's left. In her left hand she holds her spear, which leans against her shoulder; her right arm is



FIG. 17.—ATHENA AND MARSYAS (VASE-PAINTING).

extended towards the right. Facing her, on the spectator's right, is Marsyas in the attitude already described. Between them the pipes are seen falling to the ground; it is not quite clear whether they have dropped from Athena's right hand or from Marsyas's left hand; but they are slightly nearer Athena than Marsyas. See references below.

Moreover, the figure of Marsyas, as it appeared in this group, is known to us from

(4) A marble statue found in the studio of an ancient sculptor on the Esquiline at Rome in 1823. The statue (Fig. 18) is now in the Lateran Museum. The arms from below the shoulders have been wrongly restored on the supposition that the statue represented a satyr dancing and playing the castanets. Otherwise the pose of the statue agrees so closely with that of Marsyas in the groups described above that we can hardly doubt that they are all copies of a common original. The statue represents Marsyas starting back in surprise, his look turned intently on the ground; his right arm (as we see from the stump) was raised. The body rests on the left leg, the right leg being thrown far forward. The anatomy of the body is finely rendered, the face is full of vigour, and the whole statue is worthy of a sculptor of Myron's reputation.

(5) A marble head preserved at Rome in the Barracco collection is

evidently a copy from the same original as the Lateran statue. But it probably reproduces the original more closely; for the workmanship is superior, and the expression of the face, with its mixture of astonishment and covetousness, more powerfully rendered. See *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, École Française de Rome, 10 (1890), pp. 118-122, with pl. ii.

(6) A bronze statuette, found at *Patras* and now in the British Museum, is clearly a copy of the same original as the Lateran statue, the pose of which it reproduces almost exactly, though the right leg is not thrown so far forward in the statuette as in the statue. The right hand is raised so as nearly to touch the head. The hair and beard are much more carefully and naturally rendered than in the statue, and the expression of the face is much more powerful. In both these respects the statuette resembles the Barracco head more than the Lateran statue.

That the original of all these works was at Athens is probable from the fact of the group being represented on Athenian coins. Moreover, both the other existing reproductions of the complete group (viz. the relief and the vase-painting) were found in Attica. Probably, therefore, the original was no other than the group on the Acropolis here described by Pausanias. Pausanias, indeed, says that Athena was represented striking Marsyas, whereas on two of the existing copies (the coin and the vase-painting) she is represented standing quietly, while on the third (the relief) she is actually retreating. But from the differences in detail between these three copies it is clear that they reproduced the original only in a very free and general way. Hence very little weight can be given to their disagreement with Pausanias, whose evidence on this point is probably more trustworthy than theirs. Athena may very well have been represented raising her lance in the act of striking or threatening to strike Marsyas. Indeed, some such gesture on Athena's part is almost needed to account for Marsyas's attitude and expression.

Another apparent inconsistency between Pausanias's description of the group and our existing copies of it is that, whereas the copies seem to represent Athena in the act of dropping the pipes, Pausanias says that Marsyas had already picked them up and was being struck by Athena for so doing. Thus Pausanias appears to imply either that Marsyas held the pipes in his hand or that he had dropped them on the ground. But it is not absolutely certain that on our copies the pipes are represented falling from the hand of Athena. For (1) on the vase-painting, as we have seen, they may perhaps be regarded as falling from Marsyas's hand, though the other view agrees slightly better with their position. (2) On the marble relief the pipes have wholly disappeared, and we have only the authority of Stuart's drawing for holding that they were there originally. (3) Although it is usually said that on the coins the pipes are seen falling from Athena's hand, the traces of the pipes are apparently very slight; on the photographs of the coins in Professors Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner's work the pipes are, to my eye at least, quite invisible. Moreover, even if it were certain that in our copies the



FIG. 13.—MARSYAS (MARBLE STATUE IN LATERAN MUSEUM).

pipes were represented falling from Athena's hand, this would hardly prove anything as to the original group. For as the original group was, apparently, not a relief but in the round, the pipes could not be represented falling, but must have been represented either lying on the ground or in Marsyas's hand. But from the expression of the face and the downward turned gaze of the Lateran statue and the statuette in the British Museum, it is certain that the pipes were represented, not in Marsyas's hand, but lying on the ground. Thus it was probably open to any one looking at the original group to suppose that the pipes had fallen from the hand either of Athena or of Marsyas. The artists who made the existing copies of the group seem (though this is not certain) to have taken the former view; Pausanias adopted the latter. We are not in a position to say who was right.

See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 392 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 30 (1858), pp. 317-319; H. Brunn, 'Il Marsia di Mirone,' *ib.* pp. 374-383; *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. 6, pl. xxiii. (reproduces the Lateran statue, one of the coins, and Stuart's drawing of the relief); Fr. Wieseler, *Der Apollon Stroganoff*, p. 105 *sq.*, note; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*,[2] 2. pl. xxii., No. 239 (Stuart's drawing); *id.*,[3] 2. pl. xxii., Nos. 239 a, 239 b (vase-painting and coin); Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1862, pp. 86-94; E. Petersen, 'Myrons Satyr,' *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 23 (1865), pp. 86-93; G. Hirschfeld, *Athena und Marsyas* (Berlin, 1872) (with two plates representing the vase-painting, the Lateran statue, one of the coins, and Stuart's drawing of the relief); R. Kekulé, in *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1872, p. 282; *id.*, 'Athena und Marsyas, Marmorrelief in Athen,' *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 32 (1875), p. 93, with pl. 8 (Stuart's drawing of the relief, with a new drawing of it by Schirm); A. S. Murray, 'Marsyas,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 5 (1879), pp. 241-248, with pl. 34 and 35 (two views of the British Museum statuette); Fr. Lenormant, *ib.* p. 248 (calls attention to the head in the Barracco collection); C. v. Pulszky, 'Satyrstatue aus Bronze im British Museum,' *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 37 (1879), pp. 91-93, with pl. 8 (British Museum statuette); L. von Sybel, *Athena und Marsyas*, Marburg, 1879; *id.*, 'Zu Athena und Marsyas,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 342-345; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 291 *sq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 454, 455, 456; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 407-410; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. pp. 256-262; O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, 1, 'Marsyas'; M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 465-472; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 268-272; P. Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 1. No. 127. In the works of Collignon, Overbeck, and Rayet representations are given of five of the existing copies of Myron's work, namely the marble statue, the bronze statuette, the vase, the relief, and one of the coins. The best reproductions of the statue are given by Rayet and Collignon; the best reproductions of the statuette by Murray in the *Gazette Archéologique*, and by Rayet; the best reproduction of the vase-painting by Hirschfeld. Another painting on an ancient red-figured vase, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has been cited as reproducing the group of Athena and Marsyas (L. von Sybel, *Athena und Marsyas*, p. 15); but this is a mistake (see Conze, in *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Institutes*, 2 (1887), pp. 193-195).

24. 1. **the legendary fight of Theseus with the bull, which was called the bull of Minos** etc. Theseus's fight with the Minotaur is represented in three different ways on coins of Athens: (1) on one coin (Fig. 19) Theseus naked, holding his club in his right hand, is kneeling on the back of the Minotaur, who has sunk on his left knee. (2) On another coin Theseus, standing upright, with his club raised in his right hand and his lion's skin on his left arm, is rushing at the sinking

Minotaur. (3) On another coin Theseus and the Minotaur are both standing; Theseus raises his club in his right hand to strike the Minotaur, while he grasps the monster's right horn with his left hand. On all three coins the Minotaur is represented with the body of a man and the head of a bull. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 146, with pl. DD, iii. iv. vi.; Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 398. It is possible that one of these coin-types may be a copy of the group on the Acropolis. In 1878 a bronze statuette representing Theseus's combat with the Minotaur was found in the upper valley of the Maeander, near Aphrodisias. It represents Theseus kneeling on the back of the Minotaur very much as on the first of the coin-types described above; but instead of using his club Theseus is in the act of twisting the Minotaur's head, grasping the monster's left horn with his left hand and gripping the brute's right shoulder with his right hand. The Minotaur is represented with the body of a man and the head of a bull. The composition of the group is vigorous and skilful. The statuette, which is about a foot high, is now at Berlin. See A. Conze, *Theseus und Minotaurus* (Berlin, 1878). The combat of Theseus with the Minotaur is often represented on vase-paintings, both black-figured and red-figured. In these paintings the Minotaur regularly appears as a man with the head of a bull. He is similarly represented in one of the metopes of the so-called Theseum, the subject of which is Theseus's conquest of the monster (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, i. pl. xx., No. 106; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] i. p. 459). The same subject is also treated on Etruscan sarcophaguses, mosaics, etc. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 257 *sqq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), p. 60, with pl. x.; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 219 *sqq.*, with pl. 11.; *Gazette Archéologique*, 9 (1884), p. 1 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1788 *sqq.* It was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (iii. 18. 16).



FIG. 19.—THESEUS AND MINOTAUR (ATHENIAN COIN).

24. 2. **Phrixus —— has sacrificed the ram** etc. Pliny mentions a statue by Naucydes of a man sacrificing a ram (*N. H.* xxxiv. 80); it may have been the one here mentioned by Pausanias. The inscribed base of a statue by a sculptor Naucydes or Glaucydes (the reading is uncertain) was found on the Acropolis in 1858 to the east of the spot where the statue of Champion Athena (Athena *Promachos*) probably stood (Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 87). An ancient gem published by Panofka (*Archaologischer Commentar zu Pausanias*, ii. 24, plate ii. 1) represents a man sacrificing a ram on an altar. Otto Jahn suggested (*Archaolog. Zeitung*, 20 (1862), p. 306 *sq.*) that this gem may give us a general idea of the statue of Phrixus sacrificing the ram. The ram is lying on the altar; the man grasps it with one hand, while with the other he raises a short sword to strike. As to Laphystian Zeus, cp. ix. 34. 5 note; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*,[1] i. p. 57.

24. 2. **Hercules strangling the serpents.** On representations of this subject in ancient art, see Fr. Lenormant 'Hercule et Iphicles,'

Gazette Archéologique, 1 (1875), p. 63 *sqq.*, with pl. 14. Cp. Pindar, *Nem.* i. 50 *sqq.*; Theocritus, xxiv. 1 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, ii. 4. 8.

24. 2. **Athena rising from the head of Zeus.** Cp. note on § 5.

24. 2. **a bull set up by the Council of the Areopagus.** The bull was of bronze and seems to have been commonly known as "the bull on the Acropolis" (Hesychius, *s.v.* βοῦς ἐν πόλει; Diogenianus, iii. 67; cp. Heniochus, in Athenaeus, ix. p. 396 d). Prof. E. Curtius conjectured that the bull may have been dedicated as a thank-offering for the deliverance from the Persians, comparing Paus. x. 16. 6 (*Arch. Zeitung*, 18 (1860), p. 37 *sq.*) Some conjectures by Th. Bergk on the subject of the bull may be read in *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 3 (1845), pp. 979-987. For the dedication of other bronze bulls see v. 27. 9; x. 9. 3 *sq.* There was a large bronze ram on the Acropolis which the comic poet Plato coupled with the Wooden Horse on account of its size (Hesychius, *s.v.* κριὸς ἀσελγόκερως). Prof. O. Benndorf conjectured (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 46 *sq.*) that the ram stood beside the bull dedicated by the Areopagus, and that an epigram in which the figures of an ox and a *goat*, engraved on a silver plate, are represented railing at each other (Suidas, *s.v.* βοῦς ἐν γνάθοις φέρει), was composed with reference to the bronze statues of the bull and *ram*. This absurd conjecture has been blindly accepted and repeated by subsequent writers on the Acropolis.

24. 3. **they were the first to give Athena the surname of the Worker.** Although Pausanias does not in this passage expressly mention any image, altar, or temple of Athena the Worker (*Ergane*) it is certain that his remark as to her epithet of the Worker must have been called forth by the sight of some monument of her worship under this title. That she was worshipped under this surname on the Acropolis is proved by the discovery on the Acropolis of five inscriptions containing dedications to Athena the Worker (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1428, 1429, 1434, 1438; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 373[271], p. 205; Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 1. p. 154; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 776; Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis*, p. 60; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 138). As two of these inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. 1429; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολ. *l.c.*) were found on the terrace between the west end of the Parthenon and the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis, it is not improbable that the image, altar, or temple of Athena the Worker may have stood there. This position would fit in very well with Pausanias's route, for he has described the precinct of Brauronian Artemis (i. 23. 7) and is now proceeding eastward towards the Parthenon. The statues which he mentions between the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis and the image, altar, or temple of Athena the Worker (i. 23. 8-i. 24. 2) appear to have stood in two rows on opposite sides of the road which he followed. For after mentioning the Wooden Horse, the statues of Epicharinus, Oenobius, Hermolycus, and Phormio, and the group of Athena and Marsyas, he says (i. 24. 1) that opposite the statues which he has described are others (Theseus's battle with the Minotaur, Phrixus sacrificing the ram, etc.) But the exact position of these statues can no longer be ascertained. In the present passage Pausanias makes

mention of a temple, but as the text is defective (see Critical Note on the passage) we cannot tell whether this temple was a temple of Athena the Worker or not. The terrace between the west end of the Parthenon and the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis has been fully excavated, and no foundations of a temple have been discovered on it. But this is not absolutely conclusive against the view that a small temple may once have stood there, for the building may have been completely removed at some time. Similarly we know from Pausanias (i. 27. 2) that there was a temple of Pandrosus adjoining the Erechtheum, but no foundations of it have been discovered. The excavations of 1888-1889, indeed, brought to light the foundations of a large building on the southern part of the terrace, adjoining the Acropolis wall. But this building (a quadrangular structure with a colonnade on its northern front) cannot have been a temple. It may have been the *Chalkotheke* or 'storehouse for bronzes,' which is known from an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 61) to have stood on the Acropolis. See W. Dörpfeld, 'Chalkothek und Ergane-Tempel,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), pp. 304-313; A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 306.

Another possible site for the image, altar, or temple of Athena the Worker is to the north of the Parthenon. In favour of this site is the fact that very soon after mentioning Athena the Worker our author mentions the image of Earth praying for rain. For this image of Earth is proved by an inscription carved on the living rock to have been situated a little to the north of the Parthenon (see note on § 3, 'an image of Earth'). If the monument of Athena the Worker was situated to the north of the Parthenon, it would be natural to suppose that the monuments described by Pausanias in i. 23. 8-i. 24. 2 were situated on opposite sides of the main road which led eastward from the Propylaea to the eastern front of the Parthenon. In this case the first group of monuments (from the Wooden Horse to the group of Athena and Marsyas) probably stood on the southern, and the second group on the northern side of the road. But in any case we have no ground for supposing that the two sets of monuments were arranged symmetrically with regard to each other, each monument on the south side of the road being faced by one on the north. Pausanias indicates (i. 24. 2) that there were other statues here besides those which he has mentioned.

Athena the Worker was worshipped also at Sparta (iii. 17. 4), Olympia (v. 14. 5), Megalopolis (viii. 32. 4), Thespiae (ix. 26. 8), and Samos (Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐργάνη). She was the goddess of the arts of life (Diodorus, v. 73) and was worshipped by artizans (Plutarch, *Praecept. gerend. reipublicae*, 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* x. 97, p. 78, ed. Potter; Sophocles, *Frag.* 724, ed. Dindorf). Cp. Harpocration, *s.v.* Ὑγίεια Ἀθηνᾶ: *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἐργάνη, p. 369, line 51 *sq.*; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἐργάνη. As to her worship and temple, altar, or image on the Acropolis, see H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. pp. 148-154; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. pp. 309-328; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 386 *sq.*; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 346; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 417 *sq.*; W. Dörpfeld, 'Chalkothek und Ergane-Tempel,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), p. 304 *sqq.*

Dr. Dörpfeld holds that in the present passage Pausanias is describing the old temple of Athena which was burnt by the Persians in 480 B.C., and which, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, was rebuilt after the Persian wars and continued to subsist down to the time of Pausanias at least. The foundations of the temple were excavated in 1886. See the Appendix at the end of this volume, where Dr. Dörpfeld's theory is examined. A few more particulars as to the site and construction of the temple may be given here. They are taken from Dr. Dörpfeld's description of the remains.

The site of the temple is a rocky plateau which falls away from south-east to north-west. Hence it had to be artificially levelled with made earth in order to support the temple. The foundations of the temple were everywhere carried down to the rock; hence their depth varied greatly. At the south-east corner the stylobate lay immediately on the rock; at the north-west corner the foundations were about 9 feet deep. Of the foundations enough remains to allow us to make out the plan of the temple. The stylobate formed a quadrangle measuring 43.44 metres long from east to west by 21.34 metres wide from north to south. The temple was surrounded by a colonnade, the foundations of which are constructed of the hard reddish-grey limestone of the Piraeus. Dr. Dörpfeld estimates that this outer colonnade had six columns at each of the narrow ends and twelve columns on each of the long sides. The temple proper had a shallow portico at each of its eastern and western ends. The eastern portico led into the *cella*, which was divided by two rows of columns into three aisles. The western portico led into a chamber somewhat smaller than the *cella*, and not divided by rows of columns. Between this western chamber and the *cella* there were two small chambers lying north and south of each other; both of them probably opened into the large western chamber through doors of their own. All the foundations of the temple proper, as distinguished from the colonnade which surrounded it, are built of the hard bluish limestone of the Acropolis.

Built into the northern wall of the Acropolis, not far from this ancient temple, are some architectural fragments which Dr. Dörpfeld has identified as belonging to the outer colonnade of the temple. They include drums of columns, two Doric capitals, pieces of architraves, triglyphs, and *geisa*, all of Piraeic limestone; also some marble metopes. The part of the Acropolis wall into which these fragments are built is ascribed to the age of Cimon. Near this part of the Acropolis wall have been found two large *geisa* of a coarse-grained marble, which appear to have belonged to one of the gables of the ancient temple. From the extent to which these *geisa* project Dr. Dörpfeld infers that the gables contained sculptures. The marble metopes may once have been sculptured, though no traces of sculpture now remain on them. The Doric columns had each twenty flutings. The *echinus* of the capitals bulges a good deal. No architectural fragments have as yet been found which can with certainty be referred to the inner part of the temple (the fore-temple or *pronaos*, the *cella*, and the western chambers). The temple was raised on a single step, not on three steps like almost all other Greek temples.

24. 3. images of Hermes without limbs. Cp. iv. 33. 3. Thucydides mentions (iv. 27) the stone images of Hermes, shaped like square pillars, which were commonly placed in the doorways of private houses and of sanctuaries in Attica. Cp. H. G. Lolling, 'Altattische Herme,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 244-255.

24. 3. a man wearing a helmet, a work of Cleoetas. For the inscription on this statue, see vi. 20. 14.

24. 3. an image of Earth praying Zeus to rain on her. The situation of this image is determined by an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 166) cut in the rock about 30 feet north of the seventh column on the north side of the Parthenon (counting from the west). The inscription runs: Γῆς *καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντείαν*, "Of fruit-bearing Earth, according to the oracle." From the style of the letters the inscription seems to date from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D. The image may perhaps have represented Earth as a woman rising from the ground, her lower limbs hidden beneath it—an attitude in which she is often depicted on vase-paintings. If the image was thus planted immediately on the rock, without a pedestal, the inscription would necessarily have to be cut in the rock. See H. Heydemann, 'Eine Felsinschrift auf der Akropolis von Athen,' *Hermes*, 4 (1870), pp. 381-389; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 414 *sqq.* The impression of an Attic seal, stamped on a small clay pyramid, represents the upper part of a naked woman looking upwards and lifting up her hands in an attitude of supplication. She is in what seems to be a primitive kind of wheeled cart, the body of which is swathed in grass. A cart with wheels of the same sort appears on coins of Crannon in Thessaly, where a certain bronze chariot was kept, which was shaken when rain was needed (Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 15). Hence Prof. Furtwängler suggests that the impression on the Attic seal represents the image of the Earth Goddess being wheeled about in her cart as a rain-charm. See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 257-263. Cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 21 *sq.*

24. 3. a statue of Timotheus —— and a statue of Conon. These two statues of the father and son stood on a single, slightly curved pedestal composed of four blocks of Pentelic marble. Two of the blocks have been found on the Acropolis. They bear the inscription, which is as follows (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1360; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 66):

Κόνων Τιμ[ο]θέου. Τιμόθεος Κόνω[νος]

"Conon, son of Timotheus. Timotheus, son of Conon." The block containing the first eight letters of the inscription was found built into the foundation of an edifice, about three feet to the south of the rock-cut inscription of Earth (see preceding note), probably not far from the spot where the statues stood. See H. Heydemann, in *Hermes*, 4 (1870), p. 385 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 298.

24. 3. A group representing Procne and Itys etc. Prof. A. Michaelis proposes to identify this work with a group of two figures in Parian marble which was discovered in 1836 when the west bastion in front of the Propylaea was being taken down. It represents a woman standing quietly, clothed in long flowing robes: a naked boy is pressing close against her right knee as if to hide himself in the folds of her gown. The woman's head and right arm are gone; her left arm is raised from the elbow, but is broken off short. The style of the group points to the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth century B.C. But the work is too faulty to be the product of a great sculptor. The Alcamenes who dedicated (not made) it, need not have been the well-known sculptor of that name. See A. Michaelis, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 304-307; cp. L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. p. 108. E. Beulé explained the group as Pandrosus and Erichthonius (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 303 *sq.*) Mr. Winter argues that a female statue found on the acropolis of Pergamus is a replica of the figure which Prof. Michaelis identifies as Procne. He accepts Prof. Michaelis's identification, and infers from the style of the figures that both are original works of the fifth century B.C., and probably by the sculptor Alcamenes. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), p. 507 *sqq.*; *Jahrbuch d. archäolog. Instituts*, 9 (1894), pp. 43-48.

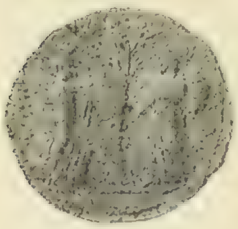


FIG. 20. — ATHENA AND POSEIDON (ATHENIAN COIN).

24. 3. Athena is represented exhibiting the olive-plant etc. This subject is represented on coins of Athens, but in two different ways: (*a*) On one set of coins (Fig. 20) the olive-tree, entwined by Athena's serpent and with her owl perched among the branches, occupies the centre of the scene. On one side of the tree stands Poseidon, holding in his raised right hand the trident which is pointed to the ground; a cloak hangs on his left arm. At his feet is a dolphin. On the opposite side of the tree stands Athena, her right hand advanced, her left hand holding her spear and shield. (*b*) On a coin of Marcus Aurelius's reign (Fig. 21) Athena is seen grasping the olive-tree with her right hand; behind her are her serpent and shield. On the other side of the tree Poseidon stands quietly, his left foot advanced and resting on a rock. In his right hand he grasps his trident, which is planted on the ground. His left hand is advanced towards Athena as if he were talking to her. The first of these groups (*a*) appears to represent a contest between the two deities; the second group (*b*) represents a peaceful colloquy. It is not improbable that the first of these groups (*a*) is a copy of the central group in the western gable of the Parthenon (see below, p. 310), and that the



FIG. 21.—ATHENA AND POSEIDON (ATHENIAN COIN).

latter (*b*) is a copy of the group here described by Pausanias. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 130 *sq.*, with pl. Z xi., xii., xiv., xv., xvi. The former group (*a*) closely resembles a representation of the same subject on a Greek vase (Fig. 22) found at Kertsch, and now at St. Petersburg (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 244 *sqq.*, see below, p. 310). The latter group (*b*) closely resembles a marble



FIG. 22.—ATHENA AND POSEIDON (VASE AT ST. PETERSBURG).

relief (Fig. 23) found at Aphrodisias in Caria, and now in the collection of the Evangelical School at Smyrna. But on the relief a winged maiden stands between Athena and Poseidon; she holds in her left hand an urn, supported on a table, while her right hand is inserted in the mouth of the urn. The urn is clearly a voting urn, and the winged figure (Iris or Victory) is drawing out the voting-pebbles. For the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the land is said to have been decided by the votes of the twelve gods (Apollodorus, i. 14, 1) or of the people (Varro, cited by Augustine, *De civitate dei*, xviii. 9; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. 1, p. 169, ed. Dindorf). See C. Robert, 'Das Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 48-58; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 422 *sq.* Beulé identified as pieces of the group described by Pausanias some marble fragments (a colossal foot and an olive-tree) which have been found on the Acropolis (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1. p. 349 *sqq.*) This group of Athena and Poseidon had an intimate mythological connexion with the image and altar of Zeus Polieus, near which it appears to have been set up (see the next §) For it was said that when Athena and Poseidon were contending, Athena begged Zeus to give his vote for her, and promised that if he did so a victim should be sacrificed on the altar to him under the title of Zeus Polieus (Hesychius, *s.v.* Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί). Hence the spot where the

contest between Athena and Poseidon was decided went by the name of 'the vote of Zeus' (Suidas, *s.v.* Διὸς ψῆφος: Apostolius, vi. 20).



FIG. 23.—ATHENA AND POSEIDON (MARBLE RELIEF AT SMYRNA).

24. 4. an image of Zeus made by Leochares, and another of Zeus surnamed Polieus. On coins of Athens an archaic figure of Zeus is represented in the act of hurling the thunderbolt. He is naked and is striding towards the right; the thunderbolt is poised in his right hand which is raised behind him, while his left arm is stretched out before him. This is supposed to be a copy of the image of Zeus Polieus, because the attitude of the figure resembles what is believed to have been the attitude of the kindred image of Athena Polias (see note on i. 26. 6). Further, on coins of Athens there appears another figure of Zeus, of a somewhat similar but more modern type. It represents the god standing naked, holding the thunderbolt in his right hand which hangs by his side; his left hand holds a saucer and is stretched over an altar. Otto Jahn conjectured that this latter type of Zeus was a copy of the image by Leochares, which may have reproduced in a modified and modernised manner the archaic image of Zeus Polieus beside which it stood. The altar represented on coins of the second type may be the altar of Zeus Polieus, which is mentioned in the present



FIG. 24.—ZEUS POLIEUS? (ATHENIAN COIN).

passage by Pausanias. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 2. pp. 19, 54 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 137 *sq.*, with pl. BB i., ii., iii.; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 423 *sq.* In the museum at Lyons there is a bronze statuette of Zeus thundering, which closely resembles the archaic figure of Zeus on Athenian coins. See E. de Chanot, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 6 (1880), pp. 79-82. The priest of Zeus Polieus had a seat assigned to him in the theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 242). A fragmentary inscription containing a dedication to Zeus Polieus was found on the Acropolis a few years ago (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 146; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 546). The image and altar of Zeus Polieus probably stood a little to the north of the eastern end of the Parthenon.

24. 4. **They set barley mixed with wheat on the altar of Zeus Polieus** etc. Cp. i. 28. 10. The ritual of this sacrifice, which bears the marks of great antiquity, is described more fully by Theophrastus, quoted by Porphyry (*De abstinentia*, ii. 29 *sq.*) His account is as follows. Cakes of ground barley (ψαιστά) and a mixture of meal, oil, and honey (πέλανος) were placed on a bronze table on the Acropolis. Oxen were then driven round the table, and the one which ate of the offerings on the table was sacrificed. Before the sacrifice the axe and knife were wetted with water brought by maidens called 'water-carriers.' The weapons were then sharpened by men, and handed by another man to the two butchers, one of whom felled the ox with the axe and the other cut its throat with the knife. The ox was then skinned and all partook of its flesh. When this was done, they stuffed the hide with straw, stitched it together, set it up, and yoked a plough to it to make believe that the animal was ploughing. Next all who had taken part in the sacrifice were put on their trial for murder. The maidens who had brought the water laid the blame on the men who had sharpened the axe and knife; the men who had sharpened the axe and knife laid the blame on the man who had handed the weapons to the butchers; he blamed the butcher who had cut the animal's throat, and the butcher blamed the knife, which was thrown into the sea. Some of the links in the chain of recrimination seem to be omitted by Theophrastus. Pausanias says here and in i. 28. 10 that it was the axe (not the knife) which was brought to trial. Aelian (*Var. Hist.* viii. 3) agrees with Theophrastus that it was the knife which was brought to trial. Perhaps both knife and axe were tried, condemned, and thrown into the sea. The sacrifice was called 'the murder of the ox' (*bouphonia*); the festival at which it took place was the *Diipolia*, *i.e.* the festival of Zeus Polieus. The day on which the sacrifice took place was the 14th of Skirophorion (June-July). See Aelian, *l.c.*; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 419, and on *Clouds*, 985; Hesychius, Suidas, and *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* βουφόνια: Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 238, line 21 *sqq.* The persons who performed the sacrifice appear to have belonged to an Attic family named the Thaulonids. See Hesychius, *s.v.* βουτύπον: Suidas, *s.v.* Θαύλων: J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 149-160. As the date of the festival seems to correspond with the close of the

threshing in Attica (W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 6[illegible]), the festival may have been a harvest celebration. The pains taken by all who had had any share in the sacrifice to shift the blame from their own shoulders, as well as the name of the sacrifice ('the murder of the ox'), point to the conclusion that the ox was originally a sacred animal, the slaughter of which was regarded as sacrilege. Varro tells us (*De re rustica*, ii. 5. 4) that to kill an ox was formerly a capital crime in Attica; but this statement may be merely an inference from the ritual of the sacrifice. On this sacrifice see J. Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit*, pp. 122-124; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 449-456; W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 58 *sqq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 304 *sqq.*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 38 *sqq.*; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 149-160; P. Stengel, 'Buphonien,' *Hermes*, 28 (1893), pp. 489-500.

24. 5. the temple called the Parthenon. The ruins of this, the most famous and beautiful of all existing Greek temples, occupy the highest part of the Acropolis, about midway between its eastern and western extremities, but much nearer its southern than its northern edge. The existing remains comprise the whole of the stylobate: the columns of the outer colonnade and the eastern and western porticoes, many of them being, however, represented by fragments only, especially the columns in the middle of the northern and southern sides: the entablature at the eastern and western ends; most of the western gable (pediment); small pieces of the eastern gable; and considerable portions of the walls, especially the walls of the western portico, and the western wall of the *cella*.

As the ground on which the temple stands falls away steeply to the south, it was necessary to prepare the site by a vast substruction, which

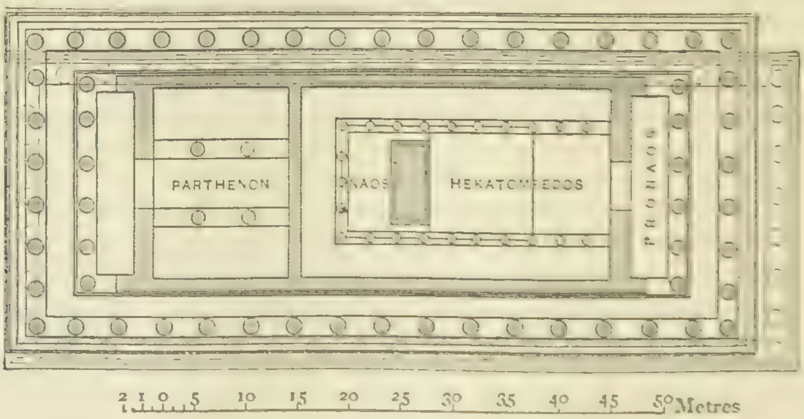


FIG. 25.—PLAN OF THE PARTHENON.

appears to have been constructed under the administration of Cimon, not very long after the Persian war. This substruction is 250 feet long by 105 feet broad. The stylobate or platform on which the temple stands is 228 feet long by 101 broad. The temple, including the stylobate, is entirely built of white Pentelic marble. It is of the Doric order

and peripteral, *i.e.* surrounded by a colonnade. The colonnade is composed of eight columns at each of the narrow eastern and western ends, and seventeen columns on each of the long northern and southern sides, the corner columns being reckoned twice. The height of these columns is about 34½ feet; their lower diameter is 6 feet 3 inches, the upper diameter 4 feet 10 inches. Most of the columns are composed of twelve horizontal sections or drums. Each column has twenty flutes. The entablature consists of a plain epistyle surmounted by a triglyph frieze. The metopes of this triglyph frieze are adorned with sculptures in high relief representing the battles of the gods and giants (east side), those of the Lapiths and Centaurs (south side), and those of the Athenians and Amazons (west side). The subject of the sculptured metopes on the northern side is uncertain, as they are much weathered and decayed. There were originally ninety-two metopes, of which forty-one still remain on the temple but in a very worn and imperfect state. Fifteen were brought to England by Lord Elgin and are now in the British Museum. Another is in the Louvre. These sixteen are all from the south side and represent fights between Centaurs and Lapiths. Above the triglyph frieze at the eastern and western ends of the temple rose the gables (pediments). The eastern gable contained sculptures representing the birth of Athena; the western gable contained sculptures representing the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the country (see below).

The temple proper, as distinguished from the colonnade which surrounded it, was adorned with the famous sculptured frieze, which ran all round the top of its outer walls. This frieze or sculptured belt is nearly 3 feet 4 inches high. The figures, carved in low relief, represent the procession at the Panathenaic festival. The greater part of the frieze was removed to England by Lord Elgin at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and now forms one of the chief treasures of the British Museum.

The interior of the temple was divided into four compartments, namely (to take them in order from east to west) the eastern portico (*pronaos*, προνήιος, πρόνεως), the eastern chamber or *cella* (*neos hekatompedos*, νεὼς ἑκατόμπεδος), the western chamber (*parthenon* in the restricted sense), and the western portico (*opisthodomos*). All these designations for the four compartments of the Parthenon occur in inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 32, 117-175, 273; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 642, 645, 652, 655, 667, 670, 675, 678, 701, 704, 708, 719, 720, 721, 727, 751, 758; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 225 c, p. 159). Considerable difference of opinion has prevailed as to the application of the three latter designations (*neos hekatompedos*, *parthenon*, and *opisthodomos*); but the applications given above may now be regarded as fairly well made out. The eastern chamber or *cella* is identified as the *neos hekatompedos* chiefly on two grounds: (1) the *cella* is just 100 Attic feet long, so that it was literally *hekatompedos* ('hundred-foot'); and (2) the *neos hekatompedos* is known from inscriptions to have contained the gold and ivory statue of Athena, which of course stood in the *cella*. See U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 89 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld,

ib. 6 (1881), p. 297 *sqq.*; *ib.* 15 (1890), pp. 171 *sq.*, 426 *sqq.*; and the Appendix to this volume, pp. 556, 560 *sqq.*

The eastern chamber or *cella* was divided longitudinally into three aisles by two rows of Doric columns. These columns have all disappeared, but some traces of the positions which they occupied can be made out on the pavement. In the central aisle, towards the western end, stood the gold and ivory statue of Athena. The spot where the base of the statue stood is still clearly marked on the floor of the temple by a quadrangular space paved with dark stone. There was no door between the *cella* and the western chamber in antiquity; the two doorways on the north and south sides of the *cella*, of which traces may still be seen on the floor, were introduced in Byzantine times when the Parthenon was converted into a church. Prof. Furtwängler's theory that Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus, the three maiden daughters of Cecrops, were worshipped in the western chamber of the Parthenon is absolutely destitute of evidence. His argument (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 172) that the name Parthenon must necessarily mean 'the chamber of the maidens,' not 'the chamber of the maiden,' has been refuted by the subsequent discovery of an inscription at Magnesia on the Maeander, in which the temple of Artemis is called her Parthenon (τὸν κατεσκευασμένον αὐτῇ [*scil.* Ἀρτέμιδι] νῦν Παρθενῶνα). See *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 122.

With regard to the history of the Parthenon, it was built to replace the temple of Athena burnt by the Persians in 480 B.C. (Herodotus, viii. 53). An examination of the substructions of the Parthenon and of the architectural fragments still existing on the Acropolis has shown that soon after the Persian war the Athenians, probably under Cimon's administration, began to build a large new temple on the site of the present Parthenon (see Dr. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 158-189). For some reason the work seems to have been discontinued. The present Parthenon, as we now know from inscriptions, was begun in 447 B.C. (See U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 35; P. Foucart, in *Bullet. de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 174 *sqq.*) In 438 B.C. it was so far ready that the gold and ivory statue of Athena was set up in it (Philochorus, quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605). In 435 B.C. the moneys of Athena and of the other gods were lodged in the western portico (*opisthodomos*) of the temple, the moneys of Athena being stored on the right-hand side, and those of the other gods on the left-hand side of the portico (*C. I. A.* i. No. 32; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 14; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 37; as to the date of the inscription see A. Kirchhoff, in *Philolog. und histor. Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1876). In the following year (434 B.C.) the votive offerings were already stored in the other three compartments of the temple (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 117, 141, 161); but the decorative details seem not to have been finished for some years afterwards, since we learn from an inscription that in 433/2 B.C. the superintendents of the work were still in office (*Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 13 (1889), p. 174 *sqq.*) The temple was built under the administration and by

the advice of Pericles; the architects were Ictinus and Callicrates, but the general superintendence of the work was entrusted to Phidias (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13; Strabo, ix. pp. 395, 396; Pausanias, viii. 41. 9). Ictinus published a book on the temple (Vitruvius, vii. praef. 12).

Although in the official language of the inscriptions the name Parthenon was restricted, as we have seen, to the western chamber of the temple, it became the popular designation of the whole temple. The first writer who is known to have used the name in this wider sense is Demosthenes. See Demosthenes, xxii. 13, p. 597; *ib.* 76, p. 617; [Dicaearchus,] *Descriptio Graeciae*, 1. (*Geogr. Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 98); *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, 7. p. 4; Strabo, ix. pp. 395, 396; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13; *id.*, *Demetrius*, 23; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* ii. 10. Another popular name for the whole temple was the Hekatompedos, which in official language was restricted, as we have seen, to the *cella* of the temple. See the fragment of Lycurgus quoted from a MS. in Patmos in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 1 (1877), p. 150; Plutarch, *Cato Major*, 5; *id.*, *De sollertia animalium*, 13; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἑκατόνπεδος: Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἑκατόμπεδον: Suidas, *s.v.* ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς. The name Hekatompedos ('hundred-foot') probably descended to the Parthenon from its predecessor, which is known from an inscription to have been called the Hekatompedos (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 137 *sqq.*; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 92 *sqq.*)

In Byzantine times the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church of the Mother of God, and considerable architectural changes were made in order to adapt the building to its new purpose. Under Turkish rule it was converted into a mosque. In spite of these changes the Parthenon was still in good preservation in 1676, when Spon and Wheler visited Athens. Two years previously, in 1674, drawings of many of the sculptures had been made by a French artist Jacques Carrey; as many of the sculptures have since perished, Carrey's drawings are of great importance. In 1687, a Venetian army under Count Königsmark, who acted as the representative of the commander-in-chief Francesco Morosini, seized Athens. The Turks retreated into the Acropolis and were besieged there. A deserter brought the besiegers word that the Turks kept their powder in the Parthenon. The fire of the Venetian batteries was accordingly directed on the temple; and on Friday, 26th September 1687, at seven in the evening, a bomb from a mortar pointed by a German lieutenant dropped into the Parthenon, exploding the powder and blowing a great part of the temple into the air. Two days afterwards the Turks capitulated. Morosini, now master of the Acropolis, attempted to remove the figure of Poseidon and the horses of Athena from the west gable of the temple, in order to carry them as a trophy to Venice; but through the unskilfulness of the workmen employed to remove them the sculptures fell to the ground and were smashed. In 1801-1803, Lord Elgin, by permission of the Turkish Government, removed a large part of the remaining sculptures to England, including the figures from the east gable, fifteen metopes, and most of the frieze. In 1816 the sculptures were bought for the nation from Lord Elgin by

the British Government and are now in the British Museum. The price paid for them was £35,000.

The chief work on the Parthenon is Prof. A. Michaelis's work *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig, 1871). The views embodied in that work are corrected in [illegible] respects by Dr. Dörpfeld ('Untersuchungen am Parthenon,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 283-302). The passages of ancient writers and inscriptions relating to the Parthenon are collected in Jahn-Michaelis, [illegible] *descriptio arcis Athenarum*. See also Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2. p. 1 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 536-573; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 2. p. 5 *sqq.*; C. Bötticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen* [illegible]; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 390 *sqq.*; L. v. Sybel, 'Parthenon,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, 2. pp. 1171-1188; F. C. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, (new ed., London, 1888); A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 110 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 51 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 67 *sqq.*; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 162 *sqq.* For references to the literature dealing specially with the sculptures of the Parthenon, see next note.

24. 5. **All the figures in the gable over the entrance —— relate to the birth of Athena. The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena.** When Carrey drew the Parthenon sculptures in 1674 the central group of the front (eastern) gable had already totally disappeared, so that we do not know how the birth of Athena was here represented. An ancient relief surrounding a *puteal* or well-head, which is now at Madrid, has been supposed to throw light on the subject. In this relief Zeus is seen seated on a throne, grasping the thunderbolt in his right hand. He is looking to the right. In front of him Athena, armed with helmet and shield, is advancing to the right. Between her and Zeus is a figure of Victory flying with a wreath to place on Athena's head. Behind Zeus is Hephaestus with his axe over his shoulder. He has just cleft the head of Zeus, and now starts back in surprise. On the right are the three Fates. See R. Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena*, pl. I. A composition of this sort seems more in harmony with the dignity of Athena as goddess of the temple than the scheme which occurs on vase-paintings and Etruscan mirrors, where Athena is represented as a tiny figure hovering over the head of Zeus. This is confirmed by Mr. B. Sauer's recent examination of the ground of the gable (pediment). It now appears that the centre of this eastern gable was occupied by two large figures of about equal size, not by a single central figure of Zeus, as it must have been if the composition had resembled that of the vase-paintings. All the figures in the two extremities of the gable which Carrey drew are still extant, except that the heads of two of them are wanting and that some other pieces have been chipped off. Indeed two torsos belonging to this gable have been found since Carrey's time. One of them is supposed to be the torso of Hephaestus, the other the torso of Victory. Of the existing figures of the eastern pediment the horses in the southern extremity of the gable represent the chariot of the rising Sun; the horses in the other extremity of the gable represent the car of the setting Moon. (One of the heads of the Moon's horses is in the British Museum; two others were found in their original position, with



FIG. 26.—BIRTH OF ATHENA (MARBLE RELIEF AT MADRID).



FIG. 27.—WEST PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON (CARREY'S DRAWING).

traces of a fourth, by Mr. B. Sauer a few years ago.) The interpretation of all the other figures is totally uncertain, and has been the subject of the most diverse hypotheses. The field of conjecture is boundless, and archaeologists have accordingly expatiated in it.

The sculptures of the western gable were comparatively intact in Carrey's time; but, as we have seen, they were mostly destroyed a few years afterwards. Accordingly Carrey's drawings are the only trustworthy source of information as to the way in which the subject of the sculptures (the contest between Athena and Poseidon) was represented. In the centre were Poseidon and Athena, starting back from each other; beside Athena were two horses; seated and reclining figures occupied the rest of the gable. A painting on an ancient Greek vase found at Kertsch and now at St. Petersburg (see above, p. 301, Fig. 22) has been supposed to be a copy, more or less free, of the group in the western gable of the Parthenon. Athena and Poseidon are represented standing on opposite sides of the olive-tree. In his right hand Poseidon has his trident raised; in his left he grasps the bridle of a prancing horse. Athena has her shield on her left arm and raises her spear in her right hand. Between the two deities is Athena's serpent, which raises its head threateningly against Poseidon. Above, floating in the air, is a winged Victory. But this vase-painting differs too much from Carrey's drawings to allow us to regard it as a faithful copy of the Parthenon sculptures. A similar group appears on Athenian coins; it may be a free copy of the group of Athena and Poseidon in the western gable of the Parthenon (see above, p. 300, Fig. 20).

As Pausanias does not mention the metopes and frieze, it would be out of place to discuss them here.

The sculptures of the Parthenon are described, and the various theories about them stated, by Prof. A. Michaelis in his work *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig, 1871). The chief contributions made to the subject since Michaelis's book was published are as follows: Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1872, pp. 1-142 (discusses the vase-painting found at Kertsch); E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias* (Berlin, 1873), p. 105 *sqq.*; O. Lüders, 'Der Westfriez der Cella des Parthenon in seinem jetzigen Zustande,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 30 (1873), pp. 31-34; H. Brunn, 'Die Bildwerke des Parthenon,' *Sitzungsberichte der philos. philolog. u. histor. Cl. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1874, Bd. 2. pp. 3-50; Fr. Lenormant, 'Tête du Fronton occidentale du Parthenon,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 1 (1875), pp. 1-5; J. de Witte, 'La dispute d'Athéné et de Poseidon,' *Monuments Grecs*, 1. No. 4 (1875), pp. 13-22; C. Robert, 'Neue Fragmente der Parthenonskulpturen,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 33 (pub. 1876), pp. 95-103; E. Petersen, 'Die neueste Erklärung der Westgiebelgruppe des Parthenon,' *ib.* pp. 115-128; H. Brunn, 'Die Petersburger Poseidonvase,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy (see above), 1876, Bd. 1. pp. 477-490; G. Loeschcke, 'Ueber Darstellungen der Athena-Geburt,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876, pub. 1877), pp. 108-119; E. Petersen, 'Peplosübergabe,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 136 *sq.*; H. Blümner, 'Ueber die Brunn'sche Deutung der Giebelfelder des Parthenon,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., 32 (1877), pp. 118-131; A. Trendelenburg, 'Iris in den Giebelgruppen des Parthenon,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), pp. 130-134; J. Overbeck, 'Analekten zur Kritik und Erklärung der Parthenonskulpturen,' *Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Cl., 32 (1880), pp. 42-55, 161-186; R. Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athena* (Wien, 1880); C. Robert, 'Der Streit der Götter um Athen,' *Hermes*, 16 (1881), pp. 60-87; Overbeck, *Geschichte d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p.

396 *sqq.*; C. Robert, 'Das Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 48-58; E. A. Gardner, 'Athene in the west pediment of the Parthenon,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), pp. 244-255; L. de Ronchaud, 'Sur le Groupe dit des Parques au fronton oriental du Parthenon,' *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. 44 (1882), pp. 173-178; E. Petersen, 'Der Streit der Götter um Athen,' *Hermes*, 17 (1882), pp. 124-133; *id.*, 'Der Streit des Poseidon und der Athena,' *Wiener Studien*, 5 (1883), pp. 42-51; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 327 *sqq.*; C. Robert, 'Die Ostmetopen des Parthenon,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), pp. 47-58; O. Rossbach, 'Die dreizehnte Südmetope des Parthenon,' *ib.* pp. 57-62; A. Michaelis, 'Die Lücken im Parthenonfries,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 43 (1885), pp. 53-70; Ch. Waldstein, 'The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1 (1885), pp. 10-17; *id.*, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 87 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, §§ 534-722; Ch. Waldstein, 'The newly-discovered head of Iris from the frieze of the Parthenon,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), pp. 1-8; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 431 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 15 *sqq*; O. Puchstein, 'Die Parthenonsculpturen,' *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Inst.* 5 (1890), pp. 79-117; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1890), p. 206 *sq.*; Bruno Sauer, 'Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 15 (1891), pp. 59-94; Furtwängler, in *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 6 (1891), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 70 *sq.* (new theory of the figures in the west gable); *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 863 *sq.*; Romain de Sèze, 'Les déesses de la Mer au Parthénon,' *Revue Archéologique*, 3me Série, 21 (1893), pp. 168-185; Bruno Sauer, 'Zwei Fragmente vom Parthenon,' *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 73-78; Ad. Michaelis, 'Peplos und Priestermantel,' *ib.* pp. 178-183; B. Staes, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1892, pp. 181-184 (on a statue found at Epidaurus, conjectured to be a copy of the figure of Athena in the west gable of the Parthenon); A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. p. 101 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Recent additions to the sculptures of the Parthenon,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-3), pp. 88-100; W. Amelung, 'Frammento del fregio del Partenone,' *Mittheil. d. archäolog. Instituts*, Romische Abtheilung, 8 (1893), pp. 76-78; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 184 *sqq.*, 223-250; G. F. Hill, 'The east frieze of the Parthenon,' *Classical Review*, 8 (1894), p. 225 *sq.*; J. Six, 'Die Mittelgruppe des östlichen Parthenongiebels,' *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 9 (1894), pp. 83-87; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), p. 1501 *sq.*; K. D. Mylonas, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, p. 187 *sq.* (on fragments of the metopes of the south side).

Though Phidias had the oversight of the construction of the Parthenon (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13), we are not told that he executed any of the sculptures with his own hand. Since the sculptures were brought to England it has been generally supposed that they were designed and partially executed by Phidias. But a few years ago Dr. O. Puchstein attempted to show that the sculptures of the gables and the frieze were not by Phidias or even by his pupils, but were executed at a somewhat later time by sculptors who had abandoned the traditions of his school and struck out a new line for themselves. One of the arguments on which he relies for the proof of this novel doctrine is the use of the running borer in the sculptures of the gables and frieze. This borer was invented by Callimachus (Pausanias, i. 26. 7), to whom Dr. Puchstein is inclined to attribute the sculptures of the gables and frieze. According to Dr. Puchstein the borer was not used in making the Ionic capitals of the Propylaea, but was used in making the Ionic capitals of the temple of Wingless Victory (Victory Athena). Hence he infers that

the borer came first into use between 437 B.C. and 430 B.C. See O. Puchstein, in *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 5 (1890), pp. 79-117; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1890), p. 206 *sq.* Considering that Pausanias speaks of Callimachus as a second-class sculptor (i. 26. 7), and that Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 92) describes him as elaborating his works till all ease and grace were lost, Dr. Puchstein's selection of this artist as the author of the most graceful sculptures bequeathed to us by antiquity seems particularly unfortunate. His theory is rightly rejected by Prof. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 72 *sqq.*)

24. 5. The image itself is made of ivory and gold etc. The gold and ivory statue of Athena by Phidias, one of the most famous statues of antiquity, was set up in the Parthenon in 438/7 B.C. (Philochorus, cited by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605). Some fragmentary inscriptions relating to the purchase of gold and ivory for the statue have come down to us; the purchases extended over at least three years (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 298, 299; *C. I. A.* iv. p. 146 *sq.*; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, p. 6 *sqq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), p. 171 *sqq.*; U. Köhler, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1889, pp. 223-225; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), p. 269 *sq.*; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 33, 34; cp. W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 220). Pausanias's description of the statue is confirmed and supplemented by the statements of other ancient writers. The gold used in making the statue could all be removed (Thucydides, ii. 13; Diodorus, xii. 40; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31); it weighed 40 talents according to Thucydides (ii. 13), 44 talents according to Philochorus (cited by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605), or 50 talents according to Diodorus (xii. 40). The height of the image (including probably the pedestal) was 26 cubits (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 18). The face, hands, and feet of the image were of ivory (Plato, *Hippias Major*, p. 290 b). The pupils of the eyes were of stone (Plato, *l.c.*), probably of precious stones. The goddess wore the aegis (Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.* xiv. 6; Aristides, *Or.* xxiv. vol. 1. p. 475, ed. Dindorf). The shield was on the left side of the goddess (Ampelius, viii. 10). On the outside of the shield was wrought in relief the battle of the Amazons and Athenians (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 18; Pausanias, i. 17. 2). In this battle-scene Phidias introduced a portrait of himself as an old bald-headed man heaving up a stone with both hands, and a portrait of Pericles fighting an Amazon, the hand which grasped his spear being so raised in front of his face as partly to conceal it (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xii. vol. 1. p. 214 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf.; Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 15. 34; Valerius Maximus, viii. 14. 6; [Aristotle,] *De mundo*, 6. p. 399 b, 33 *sqq.*; Apuleius, *De mundo*, 32). On the inside of the shield were wrought the battles of the Giants (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 18). Prof. Furtwängler thinks that they were painted, not chiselled, and that an existing vase-painting gives us an idea of the composition (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 71; cp. Max. Mayer, *Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 267-269). In her extended hand Athena held the figure of Victory (Arrian, *Epicteti Dissertationes*, ii. 8. 20). The hand in which she held the

Victory must have been the right hand; since the spear which she grasped in the other hand was apparently beside the shield (Pausanias, i. 24. 7), which was on the left side (see above). The statue wore sandals (Pollux, vii. 92), on which was wrought the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 18). On the pedestal of the statue was represented in relief the birth of Pandora in presence of twenty gods (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 19). The parts of the statue which were especially admired by connoisseurs were the Victory, the golden serpent under the shield, and the sphinx on the helmet (Pliny, *l.c.*) The figure of Victory on the goddess's right hand wore a golden crown (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 652).

These descriptions enable us to identify various reproductions of the statue which have come down to us. The most important of these reproductions are the following:

(1) The Varvakion statue. This was found at Athens beside the Varvakion gymnasium in December 1880. It is a statue of Pentelic marble 1.05 metre, or rather more than 3 feet 4 inches high, including the base. The goddess is represented standing upright, resting on the right foot, the left foot being slightly drawn back. Her features are full, rounded, and matronly; not wanting in gravity and dignity, but somewhat heavy and expressionless. On her head she wears a helmet with three crests. The central and highest crest is supported by a Sphinx; each of the other crests is supported by a winged horse or Pegasus. The cheek-pieces of the helmet are raised; they are quite plain. The goddess is clad in a long double tunic which reaches to and partly conceals her feet; the upper part of the tunic, folding over the under one, descends to below her waist, and is drawn together at the waist by a girdle, which ends in front in two intertwined serpents' heads forming the clasp. The tunic is sleeveless; the bare arms of the goddess are encircled at the wrists by serpent-bracelets. A scaly aegis, fringed with serpents, covers the breast of the goddess and falls over her back; on the front of it is the Gorgon's head, rudely sculptured. The right arm of the goddess, from the elbow downward, is extended forward, and her upturned hand supports an image of Victory with drooping wings, which faces to the goddess's left and is therefore in profile to her. The hand which holds the Victory is supported on a pillar of no particular order. The shield of the goddess is set upright on its edge at her left side, and her left hand rests on it. On the outer side of the shield is carved, in the middle, the Gorgon's head. Otherwise the shield is plain. Between it and the goddess is coiled the serpent with head erect and protruding from the rim of the shield. The head of the Victory, the head of one of the winged horses, and three fingers of Athena's left hand are wanting; otherwise the statue is almost perfect. It retains numerous traces of colour. The workmanship is extremely careful, but spiritless and mechanical; the general effect is heavy. The statue is obviously a late Roman copy; it may have been executed in the age of Hadrian.

This is on the whole the best reproduction of the statue of Virgin Athena which has come down to us. But it differs from the descriptions

of ancient writers in wanting the spear, the griffins on the helmet, and the reliefs on the shield, on the sandals, and on the pedestal.



FIG. 28.—VIRGIN ATHENA (VARVAKION STATUE).

See Am. Hauvette-Besnault, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*. 5 (1881), pp. 54-63, reprinted in *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 41 (1881), p. 41 sqq.; K. Lange, in *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 370-379; *id.*, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 56-94; *id.*, 'Zur Parthenos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), pp. 129-134; C. T. Newton, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

2 (1881), pp. 1-6; Th. Schreiber, 'Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias,' *Abhandl. d. philolog. hist. Cl. d. k. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 8 (1883), p. 546 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Neue Parthenosstudien,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 41 (1883), pp. 193-214, 277-306; Ch. Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Phidias*, p. 269 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 467; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, I. No. 467.

(2) A statuette of Pentelic marble found at Athens near the Pnyx in 1859. It is .41 metre high including the base. It is sometimes known as Lenormant's statuette, because C. Lenormant was the first to perceive that it is a reproduction of Phidias's statue. The statuette, though in perfect preservation, is unfinished and left in the rough. The chief points in which it supplements the Varvakion statue are the reliefs on the shield and the base. The reliefs on the shield represent a battle (with Amazons?); those on the base are too rough and unfinished to allow us to say whether they represent, as we should expect, the birth of Pandora. The crests of the helmet, the Victory, and the spear are all wanting.

See A. Conze, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), pp. 334-340, with tav. d' agg. OR; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. xv. 1, 1 a, 1 b; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 466; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, I. No. 128.

(3) Two gold medallions found in the tumulus of Koul-Oba near



FIG. 29.—HEAD OF VIRGIN ATHENA (GOLD MEDALLION IN HERMITAGE MUSEUM).

Kertsch in 1830, and now in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg. They were found, with other feminine jewellery, on the breast of a woman

buried beside her husband. They both represent in relief the head of Phidias's statue of Virgin Athena. The goddess wears a helmet with triple crest supported by a sphinx in the middle and two winged horses at the sides, just as on the Varvakion statue. On the cheek-pieces, which are raised, griffins are represented in relief. Thus we see that Pausanias omitted to notice the winged horses (sculptured in the round) on the helmet, but described the griffins wrought in relief on the cheek-pieces. Above the brow of the goddess is a row of animal-heads projecting over the rim of the helmet; the artist clearly intended to indicate that these animal-heads were in the round, not in relief. Mr. G. Kieseritzky, who first published the medallions with a full description, states that these animal-heads are five heads of griffins alternating with five heads of deer. On one shoulder of the goddess a portion of the shaft of her spear is seen resting, with a serpent coiled round it. On one medallion the spear is on the right, while on the other it is on the left, shoulder of the goddess. The latter is correct (see above). The goddess wears a necklace and ear-rings. Her features resemble those of the Varvakion statue, being massive, heavy, and expressionless. We have reason to believe that these medallions present us with tolerably faithful copies of the head of the original statue, so far as the details of the lavish ornaments are concerned. But we may doubt whether the owl which on the medallions is represented perching on one of the cheek-pieces was in the original or not; it may perhaps have been inserted by the artist of the medallions to fill up space. The grave in which the medallions were found is thought by Mr. Kieseritzky to be not later than the middle of the fourth century B.C.; and he considers that the medallions, from their style, must be somewhat older. In that case, it would seem, they were copied direct from the original statue not very many years after its completion.

See G. Kieseritzky, 'Athena Parthenos der Ermitage,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 291-315; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 468, 469; F. Studniczka, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), pp. 101-1[illegible].

(4) A fine intaglio in red jasper signed by the engraver Aspasius, now at Vienna, reproduces in profile the head of the statue almost as it appears on the gold medallions. We see the central crest supported by the Sphinx, one of the side crests supported by a winged horse, one of the ear-rings, the necklace, and the aegis with the Gorgon's head. But over the brow of the goddess, instead of the row of heads of griffins and deer, there is a row of the foreparts of horses at full gallop. See *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 3 (1888), pl. 10, No. 10; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 542 *sq.*



FIG. 30.—VIRGIN ATHENA (INTAGLIO BY ASPASIUS).

(5) A marble head of the goddess, found on the site of the Gardens of Sallust at Rome and now in the Berlin Museum, is clearly a Roman copy of the head of Phidias's

statue; for the helmet, though mutilated, reproduces the winged horses, the galloping steeds, and the raised cheek-pieces. But the features have been modernised to suit the taste of the day. It is a sweet girlish face as different from the matronly fulness and gravity of Phidias's Athena as the Madonna in the "Holy Family" of Reynolds is different from the saintly Madonnas of the great Italian masters (Ruskin, *Selections*, 1. p. 272 *sq.*) See *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, Berlin, No. 76 A, p. 39 *sq.*; Collignon, *op. cit.* 1. p. 544.

(6) Coins of Athens reproduce sometimes the entire statue, sometimes the head only. On some of those which reproduce the entire statue, the goddess is represented holding the spear, as well as the shield, in her left hand. On some of those which represent the head alone there is a row of the foreparts of horses on the helmet immediately over the brow of the goddess. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pp. 126-128, with pl. Y xviii.-xxv.



FIG. 31. — VIRGIN ATHENA (ATHENIAN COIN).

(7) The Strangford shield in the British Museum. This is a marble shield found at Athens; about a third of it is lost. On the outer side of the shield is carved in relief a battle between Greeks and Amazons. A comparison with the reliefs on the Lenormant statuette (see above No. 2) proves that the shield is a more complete, though still rough, copy of the shield of Phidias's statue. In the centre of the shield is the Gorgon's head. Immediately below the Gorgon's head are the two figures which Plutarch describes as portraits of Phidias and Pericles (see above, p. 312). See Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. xv. 34; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. No. 302. Other copies of the shield, most of them fragmentary, have come down to us. See above, note on i. 17. 2, p. 157.

The above reproductions of Phidias's statue of Virgin Athena leave a few points connected with the statue in doubt: (*a*) It is uncertain whether the row of animals on the helmet, immediately over the brow of the goddess, were the foreparts of horses or of griffins and deer alternately; but it is probable that they were the foreparts of horses, since horses appear universally on the coins, and griffins and stags only on the gold medallions. (*b*) It is uncertain whether the spear was grasped in the left hand of the goddess or rested on her shoulder. The coins are in favour of the former view; the gold medallions are in favour of the latter. Pausanias's evidence coincides with that of the coins. (*c*) It is uncertain whether the right hand of the statue, which held the Victory, rested on a pillar or not. The pillar does not appear on the Athenian coins; but on a Cilician coin (Fig. 32) of the fourth century, which seems to reproduce the statue, the hand of the goddess rests on a stump of a tree, which the dye-engraver has apparently substituted for the pillar (P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. x. 28; Imhoof-Blumer and



FIG. 32. — VIRGIN ATHENA (CILICIAN COIN).

Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, pl. Y xxii. ; *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 10 (1882), p. 152 ; A. von Sallet, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), p. 61 *sq.*) Moreover the pillar appears on a bad token of Athens, which reproduces the statue in question (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 10 (1882), p. 152 *sq.*), and on an Attic relief of the fourth century which represents a priestess crowned by the figure of Victory which Athena holds in her right hand (Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. xv. 7). It is obvious that in all these cases the artist had no motive for inventing the pillar, if it did not exist in the original. The evidence of these works of art, taken in connexion with that of the Varvakion statue (the most exact of all the reproductions of the original), makes it highly probable that the right hand of the goddess was supported on a pillar. Such a support was probably rendered necessary by the weight of the Victory, which was (as Pausanias tells us) about 4 cubits or 6 feet high. It has been suggested that this pillar was the *stele* on which the name of Phidias, as the sculptor of the statue, was recorded (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 13). But I doubt whether *stele* (στήλη) ever means a supporting pillar ; its usual, if not invariable, meaning is an inscribed or sculptured slab of stone or metal.

The statue of the Virgin Athena seems to have remained in the Parthenon till at least 429 A.D., the year when Proclus visited Athens, but to have been removed before Marinus wrote his life of Proclus towards the end of the same century (Marinus, *Life of Proclus*, 30). From a passage in the *Passio S. Philippi Episcopi Heracleae* Mr. Führer has inferred that the statue perished in a conflagration between 429 and 485 A.D. (J. Führer, 'Zur Geschichte des Elagabaliums und der Athena Parthenos des Pheidias,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.*, Römische Abtheilung, 7 (1892), pp. 158-165 ; cp. W. Gurlitt, in *Analecta Graeciensia* (Graz, 1893), p. 101 *sqq.*)

On Phidias's statue of Virgin Athena and its reproductions see (in addition to the references already given) Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 266-284 ; Th. Schreiber, 'Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias,' *l.c.*, pp. 545-642 ; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 350 *sqq.* ; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 308 *sqq.* ; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 116 *sqq.* ; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 162 *sqq.* ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 445 *sqq.* ; M. Collignon, *Phidias*, p. 22 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 536 *sqq.* The passages of ancient authors referring to the statue are collected by Michaelis, *l.c.* ; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 645-690 ; Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*, p. 14 *sqq.* For other references to the statue in Pausanias, see i. 17. 2 ; i. 25. 7 ; v. 11. 10 ; x. 34. 8.

24. 5. **I will tell the story of the sphinx** etc. See ix. 26. 2-4. On the sphinx in ancient art see A. Milchhöfer, 'Sphinx,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 45-78.

24. 6. **Aristeas of Proconnesus says in his poem that these griffins fight for the gold** etc. For the story of the griffins guarding the gold in the far north of Europe, while the one-eyed race of Arimaspians endeavoured to steal it from them, see Herodotus, iii. 116, iv. 13 and 27 ; Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 802 *sqq.* ; Solinus, xv. 22 *sq.* ; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ταρκυνία. The griffins were said to mine as well as guard the gold (Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 10, xxxiii. 66 ; Mela, ii. 1).

The legend of the griffins and the gold was transferred by Ctesias from the north of Europe to India (Ctesias, *Indica*, 12, ed. Bähr; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 48, vi. 1; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* iv. 27). The griffins are described as animals with the bodies of lions and the heads of eagles by Servius (on Virgil, *Eclog.* viii. 27) and Isidore (*Origines*, xii. 17). Three golden griffins were found by Schliemann in the pre-historic graves at Mycenae (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 177); and one of the sword-blades found at Mycenae is adorned with rows of griffins inlaid in the metal (C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 268). The conception of the griffin was perhaps borrowed by the Greeks from the Semitic East; the name is identical with the Hebrew 'cherub' (*Krûb*) (E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, 1. § 200). The cherub was a winged animal (Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, *s.v.* 'Cherubim'). On the griffin in ancient literature and art see L. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1864, p. 50 *sqq.* A rationalistic but somewhat far-fetched explanation of the legend of the griffin-guarded gold is offered by the Siberian traveller Adolph Erman. He thinks it may have originated in the discovery of gold-sand under formations of earth filled with the fossil bones of 'antediluvian' animals. Gold-sand, he says, is often found under such formations at the present day in the Ural Mountains (A. Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, 2. p. 87 *sq.*) Others have identified the griffins with the ants which are said to have dug up the gold in the regions to the north of India (Herodotus, iii. 102-105), and these ants again have been identified with a species of marmot which to this day lives in large communities on the sandy table-lands of Tibet. See Stein, on *Herodotus*, iii. 102, iv. 13; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3. p. 13 *sq.*; W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 66 *sq.* Aristeas of Proconnesus was an early Greek writer who seems to have travelled into the north of Europe and to have embodied in a poem the facts and fables collected by him on his travels. See Herodotus, iv. 13-15; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀριστέας: W. Tomaschek, 'Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden. i. Über das Arimaspische Gedicht des Aristeas,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. histor. Cl. d. k. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Vienna), 116 (1888), pp. 715-780. The few notices and fragments of Aristeas's poem are collected by G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 243 *sqq.*

24. 7. **a serpent, which may be Erichthonius.** See note on i. 18. 2 "Athena put Erichthonius in a chest," etc.

24. 7. **On the pedestal of the image is wrought in relief the birth of Pandora.** There seems to have been a close connexion in mythology and ritual between Pandora and Athena. According to one account Pandora was a daughter of Athena's nursling Erechtheus (Suidas, *s.v.* παρθένοι). The antiquary Philochorus tells us that whoever sacrificed an ox to Athena was obliged to sacrifice a sheep to Pandora (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐπίβοιον: *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 358, *s.v.* ἐπίβοιον). Moreover the priestess of Athena wore a woollen robe called *protonion* because Pandora with her sisters was the first to make garments of wool; this robe was placed by the priestess upon the

man who slaughtered the victims (Suidas, *s.v.* *προτόνιον*). A mutilated relief found at Pergamus is supposed by Dr. Puchstein to be a copy of the relief representing the birth of Pandora on the pedestal of Virgin Athena. See *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäol. Instituts*, 5 (1890), p 113 *sqq.* According to Hesiod (*Theogony*, 561 *sqq.*; *Works and Days*, 47 *sqq.*) Pandora, the first woman, was created out of earth by Hephaestus at the command of Zeus to be a source of sorrow and suffering to mankind, because Prometheus had stolen fire from heaven and conveyed it to men. The story that all the ills which flesh is now heir to were once safely bottled up in a jar, and that Pandora was the means of scattering them broadcast over the world by removing the lid of the jar and allowing them to fly abroad (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 90 *sqq.*), has its parallels in other lands. The ancient Peruvians believed that pestilence and sickness in the form of butterflies were shut up in a casket which was sent by the Creator to the Inca Huyana-Capac by the hands of a black messenger, and that the box being opened all the diseases were diffused among men (Ad. Bastian, *Die Culturländer des alten America*, 1. p. 475). Some Indians of Canada told Father Brebeuf that a certain savage had once received from a powerful being named Messou the gift of immortality in a small packet, accompanied by a warning not to open it. So long as he kept the packet tied up, he was immortal. But his wife, curious to know what it contained, undid the packet, the precious contents escaped, and men have been mortal ever since (*Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, p. 13, Canadian reprint).

24. 7. the Emperor Hadrian. An inscribed pedestal of a statue of Hadrian has been found on the Acropolis between the Parthenon and the Propylaea (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 488).

24. 7. a statue of Iphicrates. This statue was of bronze (Demosthenes, xxiii. 130, p. 663). It was set up in 372/1 B.C. (Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *De Lysia judicium*, 12). According to Aeschines (iii. 243) the honours bestowed on Iphicrates were a reward for his services in cutting to pieces a Spartan regiment in 392 B.C. (see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 5. 10 *sqq.*) Iphicrates himself mentioned the statue in a fragment of a speech which is preserved by Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, ii. 23, p. 1397 b).

In the Parthenon there were also painted portraits of Themistocles (Paus. i. 1. 2) and Heliodorus Halis (Paus. i. 37. 1). The silver-footed seat on which Xerxes sat watching the battle of Salamis was preserved in the Parthenon (Harpocration, *s.v.* *ἀργυρόπους δίφρος*).

Pausanias makes no mention of a temple of Rome and Augustus near which he must have passed on quitting the Parthenon. The foundations of the temple were excavated a few years ago 25 metres (82 feet) east of the Parthenon. The temple was a small circular edifice of white marble, 7.15 metres (23 feet 5 inches) in diameter, surrounded by a colonnade of nine Ionic columns. The dedicatory inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 63), engraved on two pieces of the architrave, states that the temple was dedicated by the people to the goddess Rome and Augustus Caesar in the archonship of Areus. As the emperor is here called by his title of Augustus, the inscription cannot be earlier than 27 B.C.

See Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 472; Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 255; Baedeker,[3] p. 78.

24. 8. **Locust Apollo.** The Aeolic Greeks of Asia sacrificed to Locust Apollo (Strabo, xiii. p. 613). Apollo was styled Mouse Apollo (Sminthian Apollo) for a similar reason. See note on x. 12. 5. Prof. Furtwängler argues that this statue of Locust Apollo was by the supposed elder Praxiteles, pupil of Phidias, and that in the fourth century B.C. the sculptor Leochares reproduced the general type of the Locust Apollo in a new statue, of which the Apollo Belvedere is a faithful Roman copy. See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 659-671. As to the Apollo Belvedere see note on x. 23. 1.

25. 1. **a statue of Pericles.** The statue seems to have stood, not to the east of the Parthenon (the point which Pausanias has now reached), but near the Propylaea, on the north side of the Acropolis. See i. 28. 2. The statue may have been the one by the sculptor Cresilas which Pliny mentions (*N. H.* xxxiv. 74). What appears to be part of the pedestal of this statue was found in excavating the rubbish beside the south wall of the Acropolis in 1889. It is a fragment of a pedestal of Pentelic marble and bears the mutilated inscription:

[Περ]ικλέος
[Κρεσ]ίλας ἐποίε

"[Of Per]icles. [Cres]ilas made (it)." See *C. I. A.* iv. p. 154, No. 403 a; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, pp. 35-37. Three ancient busts of Pericles have come down to us, all copies of one original: the best is in the British Museum. Prof. Furtwängler conjectures that they may have been copied from Cresilas's statue of Pericles. They represent Pericles in the prime of life, bearded and helmeted, with curly locks escaping from under the rim of the helmet. The face is serene and noble, worthy of the character of the man. See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 270-274. As to Cresilas see note on i. 23. 3, 'statue of Diitrephes.'

25. 1. **one of Xanthippus.** A curious memorial of this Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, was found on the Acropolis a few years ago. It is a fragment of a black-figured vase inscribed with the name 'Xanthippus, son of Arriphon' (Ξάνθιππος Ἀρρίφονος). See *C. I. A.* iv. No. 570, p. 192 *sq.*; *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. archäolog. Instituts*, 2 (1887), p. 161. As the name is written right across the remains of the figures drawn on the vase, it clearly did not belong to the vase originally. We know that Xanthippus was banished by ostracism (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 22), and that the votes for banishment were recorded on potsherds. This potsherd was doubtless one of those used in the voting on the banishment of Xanthippus. Another potsherd that had been used for the same purpose, inscribed with the name 'Xanthippus, son of Arri[phon],' was found at Athens near Piraeus Street in 1891 (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 571; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1891, p. 21). Pausanias is mistaken in describing the battle of Mycale as a sea-fight; it was fought on land. Xanthippus commanded the Athenian contingent of the Greek

force on that occasion (479 B.C.) See Herodotus, ix. 98-106, 114; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 3.

25. 1. **Anacreon.** A statue of Anacreon, formerly in the Villa Borghese at Rome but now in the Jacobsen Collection at Copenhagen, represents the poet as a bearded man in the prime of life, standing and playing on the lyre (the arms are rightly restored in this attitude). He is naked except for a short cloak thrown over his shoulders. His head is slightly inclined to one side and his lips are parted as if in song. The expression of the face is refined, gentle, and pleasing. The original seems to have been a fine work of the fifth century B.C., and must have been famous, for at least four replicas of the head exist. The best of these replicas is at Berlin. Another, found at Rome in 1884, is inscribed with Anacreon's name and thus enables us to identify the statue, which has no inscription. Prof. Kekulé assigns the original statue to Cresilas; Prof. Furtwängler assigns it to Phidias. Both Prof. Kekulé and Prof. Furtwängler are of opinion that the original statue, whether by Cresilas or Phidias, was the one on the Acropolis which Pausanias here describes. Against this view it must be said that, whereas the statue seen by Pausanias represented Anacreon as drunk, the statue at Copenhagen represents him as perfectly sober. See P. Wolters, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 42 (1884), pp. 149-153, with pl. 11; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1305; R. Kekulé, 'Anakreon,' *Jahrbuch d. archäolog. Instituts*, 7 (1892), pp. 119-126; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 92 *sq.*

25. 1. **Dinomenes.** Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 50) mentions a sculptor Dinomenes who flourished in Ol. 95 (400-397 B.C.) The inscribed base of a statue by a sculptor Dinomenes has been found on the Acropolis, but the inscription seems to be not much earlier than the Augustan age (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1648; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 233).

25. 1. **the transformation of Io into a cow, and of Callisto into a bear.** Cp. iii. 18. 13; viii. 3. 6 note.

25. 2. **At the south wall are figures —— dedicated by Attalus** etc. These were doubtless dedicated by Attalus I. King of Pergamus, in commemoration of his victories over the Gauls (see note on i. 4. 5). Plutarch tells us (*Antonius*, 60) that the figure of Dionysus in the group at Athens representing the battle of the Giants was blown by a hurricane from its place and fell down into the theatre. This group mentioned by Plutarch was doubtless one of the four sets of figures dedicated by Attalus and here described by Pausanias. Plutarch's statement shows that the figures were in the round, not in relief: for of course a single figure could not be detached from a relief by a storm. It also confirms Pausanias's statement that the figures were at the south wall of the Acropolis; for since the figure of Dionysus was blown down into the theatre the group must have stood immediately above the theatre, on or beside the southern wall of the Acropolis.

In the museums of Europe there are preserved no less than ten ancient marble statues which have been identified, with great probability, as having formed part of the groups dedicated by Attalus on the Acropolis or at all events as being contemporary copies of them. This

identification is due to the sagacity of the late Prof. H. v. Brunn of Munich. The grounds for it are (1) the size of the statues, which is about half that of life, agreeing with Pausanias's statement that the figures were 2 cubits or about 3 feet in size; (2) the subjects of the statues, namely fighting, wounded, or dead Gauls and Persians, a dead Amazon, and a dead Giant, answering to Pausanias's description of the four groups; and (3) the nature of the marble, which is thought by experts to be either Asiatic or quarried in *Furni*, a small island between Samos and Icaria.

The ten statues are as follows: five statues of Gauls (three at



FIG. 33.—DEAD GAUL (STATUE AT VENICE).

Venice, one at Paris, one at Naples), three statues of Persians (one at Naples, one at Rome, one at Aix), one Giant (at Naples), one Amazon (at Naples). Thus they all represent the vanquished. From this we might have inferred that only the vanquished were represented in the groups. But Plutarch's statement, cited above, shows that Dionysus figured in the battle with the Giants; from which it follows that in this group the victorious gods were represented as well as the vanquished



FIG. 34.—DEAD GIANT (STATUE AT NAPLES).

Giants. And if the victors were represented in one group, they were probably represented in all.

Archaeologists are not agreed as to whether the existing statues are

the originals set up by Attalus or only contemporary copies. As most of them preserve their original bases, and these bases are not pieces of one large base, but separate plinths each shaped so as to fit the position of the statue, it seems more probable that they are copies. Some think, from the modelling of the figures, that the originals were in bronze. If copies, these statues seem to have been executed in Pergamus contemporaneously with the originals; for the marble appears to be Asiatic, and the style of the sculptures is not Roman. In point of style they closely resemble two famous ancient statues of dying Gauls, namely the so-called Dying Gladiator in the Capitol Museum at Rome, and the Gaul and his wife in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 1408-1410). Hence, as the marble of these two latter statues is said to be the same as that of which the ten statues dedicated by Attalus are composed, it may be inferred that the so-called Dying Gladiator and the Gaul and his wife are also Pergamene works, executed to commemorate Attalus's triumph over the Gauls; but they are probably copies, for the originals appear to have been of bronze (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 84). Prof. v. Brunn thought that the groups dedicated by Attalus at Athens were probably copies of similar groups, on a larger scale, set up at Pergamus. He believed that the existing specimens of these Athenian groups bear marks of being reduced copies of larger originals. The so-called Dying Gladiator and the Gaul and his wife are life-size, and therefore do not belong to the set of ten statues enumerated above, which are only half the size of life.

As to the sculptor of these votive offerings of Attalus, there are some grounds for believing, with Prof. Michaelis and Mr. S. Reinach, either that some of the figures in them (especially the dead Amazon at Naples) were by Epigonus or at all events that they are copies more or less free of bronze originals which Epigonus executed for Attalus at Pergamus. The evidence for this is briefly as follows. Epigonus is known from three inscriptions at least and probably from five (Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, i. Nos. 12, 22, 29, 31, 32; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 154, 157, 157 a, 157 b) to have executed statues at Pergamus, including apparently two which certainly commemorated victories of Attalus over Antiochus and the Gauls respectively (Fränkel, *op. cit.* Nos. 22, 29). Moreover, Pliny tells us (*N. H.* xxxiv. 88) that Epigonus distinguished himself by a statue of a trumpeter and by a statue representing a baby caressing its slain mother. Now we know, both from a contemporary account and from an old drawing in the library at Bâle, that the statue of the dead Amazon at Naples had, at the date of its discovery in 1514, the figure of a baby clinging to its right breast; the figure of the babe has disappeared, but traces of its attachment can still be seen on the right side of the statue. It is therefore a fair conjecture that the dead Amazon at Naples is either the statue by Epigonus which Pliny mentions, or at all events that it is a more or less free copy of it. It may be added that the other statue of Epigonus mentioned by Pliny, namely the statue of the trumpeter, has been plausibly identified as the original of the so-called Dying Gladiator, who is represented

reclining with his trumpet under him. Probably the bronze originals of this famous statue and of the Gaul and his wife formed part of a group of life-size statues set up by Attalus at Pergamus to commemorate his victory over the Gauls. The actual pedestal which supported this trophy has perhaps been found at Pergamus (Fränkel, *op. cit.* Nos. 21-28; Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 154); marks on the flat upper surface of the pedestal show that the statues which it supported were of bronze. In Pliny's list of the sculptors who commemorated by their art the battles of Attalus and Eumenes with the Gauls (*N. H.* xxxiv. 84) it is highly probable that the name of Epigonus should be substituted for that of the otherwise unknown Isigonus.

See H. v. Brunn, 'I doni di Attalo,' *Annali del Instituto*, 42 (1870), pp. 292-323; O. Benndorf, 'Zu den Galliern des Attalos,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 167-171; A. Michaelis, 'Die attalischen Weihgeschenke,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 5-15; *id.*, 'Der Schöpfer der attalischen Kampfgruppen,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 8 (1893), pp. 119-134; A. Milchhöfer, *Die Befreiung des Prometheus* (Berlin, 1882), p. 24 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 234 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 566 *sqq.*; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 1403-1413; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 379 *sqq.*; P. Wolters, 'Zum attalischen Weihgeschenk,' *Jahrbuch d. k. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1 (1886), pp. 85-87; W. Malmberg, 'Ueber zwei Figuren aus dem Weihgeschenke des Attalos,' *ib.* pp. 212-214; A. Trendelenburg, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1241 *sqq.*; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 278 *sqq.*; S. Reinach, 'Le guerrier de Délos et le Gaulois blessé du Louvre,' *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), pp. 113-130; *id.*, 'Les Gaulois dans l'Art Antique,' *Revue Archéologique*, 3me série, 12 (1888), pp. 273-284; *id.*, *ib.* 13 (1889), pp. 11-22; *id.*, 'L'ex-voto d'Attale et le sculpteur Épigonos,' *Revue des Études Grecques*, 6 (1894), pp. 37-44; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 474 *sqq.*; O. Bie, *Kampfgruppe und Kämpfertypen* (Berlin, 1891), p. 126 *sqq.* Schubart asserted that the groups dedicated by Attalus at Athens were reliefs (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 14 (1868), p. 162 *sqq.*; *ib.* 18 (1872), p. 170; *ib.* 21 (1875), p. 413 *sq.*; *ib.* 22 (1876), p. 393 *sq.*); but there is no ground whatever for this assertion, which is refuted by Prof. A. Michaelis (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst.* 2 (1877), p. 5 *sqq.*)

25. 2. **the giants who once dwelt about —— Pallene.** Cp. viii. 29. 1 note.

25. 4. **The cities that joined them were** etc. A list of the Greek states that took part in the Lamian war (323-322 B.C.) is given by Diodorus (xviii. 11) and is partially preserved in an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 184; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 133; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 118).

25. 5. **when Alexander would have banished to Persia all the Greek mercenaries** etc. Cp. viii. 52. 5.

25. 6. **a Macedonian garrison —— occupied Munychia.** This happened on the 20th of Boedromion (19th September) 322 B.C. See Plutarch, *Phocion*, 28; *id.*, *Demosthenes*, 28; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] ii. 1. p. 79.

25. 6. **Olympias —— put Aridaeus to death.** Cp. viii. 7. 7.

25. 6. **Cassander —— handed her over to the multitude.** Cp. ix. 7. 2.

25. 6. **the fortress of Panactum in Attica.** It was on the borders of Boeotia, and was captured in 322 B.C. by the Boeotians, who dis-

mantled it (Thucydides, v. 3 and 42). Cp. Demosthenes, xix. 326, p. 446. Cassander put a garrison into it; but Demetrius Poliorcetes recaptured the place and restored it to the Athenians (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23). Panactum was mentioned by Androtion in the third book of his *Atthis* (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πάνακτον). The French surveyors identified Panactum with some ancient ruins on the hills to the south of the plain of *Skourta*, about two miles to the south of the village of *Derveno-Sialesi*. The hills on which the ruins stand form a ridge connecting Mt. Cithaeron with Mt. Parnes. Cp. Leake, *Athens and Attica*, 2. p. 128 *sq.*

25. 7. Lachares. On the tyranny of Lachares (296/5 B.C.) see Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 8. pp. 9-11; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] ii. 2, pp. 251-253.

25. 7. he had taken down golden shields from the Acropolis. Cp. i. 29. 16. After the battle of the Granicus Alexander the Great sent 300 Persian shields to Athens to be dedicated to Athena (Arrian, *Anabasis*, i. 16. 7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16). They may have been gilded.

25. 7. stript the very image of Athena of all the ornaments that could be removed. A comic poet said that Lachares "had made Athena naked" (Athenaeus, ix. p. 405 e). Cp. Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 71. All the golden parts of the great image of Virgin Athena by Phidias were so contrived that they could be taken off at any time. See above, p. 312.

25. 8. having fortified what is called the Museum etc. That Demetrius placed a garrison on the Museum hill is mentioned also by Plutarch (*Demetrius*, 34). The Museum is the hill to the south-west of the Acropolis. It is 147.4 metres (384 ft.) high. The monument on the hill which Pausanias mentions is still a conspicuous landmark in the south-western quarter of Athens. It stands on the summit of the hill, facing north-east toward the Acropolis. About two-thirds of the façade remain; when Cyriacus of Ancona visited Athens in 1436 and 1447 the monument seems to have been entire. It is built of Pentelic marble on a platform of Piraeic limestone. When entire the façade consisted of a curved or slightly concave wall about 40 feet high and 30 feet in breadth, measured along the chord of the curve. It had two stories, if they may be called so, divided from each other by a cornice; the lower story was about 10 feet high, the upper story occupied the rest of the façade. This upper story consisted of three compartments between four Corinthian pilasters, the central compartment being larger than the two others. In each compartment there was a niche containing a statue; the central niche was semicircular and rounded at the top, the other two niches were quadrangular. The north-western part of the façade is gone; but the central and south-eastern parts with their niches remain; and the statues, though headless and otherwise imperfect, are still in the niches. Under each of the three statues was a Greek inscription giving the name of the person represented. Under the central statue, doubtless a portrait of the person in whose honour the monument was erected, is the inscription Φιλόπαππος Ἐπιφάνους Βησαιεύς, "Philopappus of the township of Besa, son of Epiphanes." Under the statue to the spectator's

left is the inscription Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου, "King Antiochus, son of King Antiochus." Under the statue to the spectator's right (now gone) was the inscription (now gone also) Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος Ἀντιόχου Νικάτωρ, "King Seleucus Nicator, son of Antiochus." Besides these three inscriptions under the three statues there were two other inscriptions, carved one on each of the two Corinthian pilasters which enclosed the central niche. The one on the pilaster to the spectator's left still exists. It is in Latin and runs thus: *C. Julius C. f(ilius) Antiochus Philopappus, co(n)s(ul), frater arvalis, allectus inter praetorios ab Imp(eratore) Caesare Nerva Traiano Optumo Augusto Germanico Dacico*, *i.e.* "Caius Julius Antiochus Philopappus, son of Caius, consul, arval brother, admitted to praetorian rank by the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Optumus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus." On the Corinthian pilaster to the spectator's right was the following inscription (now gone): Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Φιλόπαππος βασιλέως Ἐπιφάνους τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, *i.e.* "King Antiochus Philopappus, son of King Epiphanes, son of Antiochus." From the titles given to the emperor Trajan in the Latin inscription Th. Mommsen decides that the inscription was carved between 114 and 116 A.D.; this then gives us the date of the monument. The person to whom the monument was erected was an Athenian citizen named Philopappus, of the township of Besa; his statue occupied the central niche. He filled the office of archon at some time between 90 and 100 A.D. (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 78, 1020). King Antiochus, whose statue occupied the niche to the left, was probably Antiochus IV., last king of Commagene, grandfather of Philopappus. King Seleucus, whose statue occupied the niche to the right, was the founder of the Syrian dynasty of the Seleucids; Philopappus was descended from him, his great-grandfather Mithridates, whom Augustus made king of Commagene, having married a wife Laodice of the Seleucid house. The two inscriptions on the pilasters to the left and right of the statue of Philopappus give Philopappus's Roman and Syrian titles respectively. On the one hand he was a Roman citizen and had risen to the dignity of consul, etc.; on the other hand as a descendant of the kings of Commagene he took the title of king, though his grandfather Antiochus IV. had been in reality the last king of Commagene. For in 72 A.D. Samosata the capital of Commagene was captured by the Roman general Paetus, and Antiochus the last king retired with his wife and daughter to Cilicia. His sons, however, Epiphanes (father of Philopappus) and Callinicus fought an indecisive battle with the Romans, but being afterwards deserted by their soldiers they took refuge with Vologeses king of Parthia (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 16. 7, vii. 7. 2). Epiphanes father of Philopappus seems to have been afterwards pardoned and admitted to the Roman citizenship, since in the Latin inscription quoted above his son calls him Caius. Philopappus, son of Epiphanes and grandson of Antiochus, lived at Athens as an Athenian citizen, and must have been very popular, else so magnificent a monument on so conspicuous a site would hardly have been erected to him. It commemorated him in his three capacities as a descendant of the kings of Commagene, as a Roman citizen and consul, and as a simple citizen of Athens. That he was

allowed by courtesy to retain the title of king is shown by a passage of Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.* i. 10. 1). Plutarch addressed one of his treatises to Philopappus under the title of Antiochus Philopappus (*De adulatore et amico*, 1). On the lower story of Philopappus's monument, under the niches containing the statues, is a relief representing Philopappus as consul driving in a four-horse car preceded by lictors. Traces of the quadrangular mausoleum may be discerned at the back of the façade.

See Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 3 (London, 1794), ch. v. pp. 35-38, with eleven plates (the fullest publication of the monument); Leake, *Athens and Attica*, 1. pp. 494-497; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 457-461; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 557 (the inscriptions); Th. Mommsen, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 36 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 146, 159 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 80 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 94; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 477 *sq.*

25. 8. **where they say that Musaeus —— was buried.** Diogenes Laertius (i. 1. 3) says that Musaeus was buried at Phalerum, and he quotes the epitaph on his tomb.

26. 1. **Olympiodorus —— led them —— against the Macedonians.** This revolt, which is mentioned by Plutarch (*Demetrius*, 46), appears to have taken place in 288 B.C. See Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] ii. 2. p. 300. Thirteen of the men who fell in the assault on the Museum hill were buried in the outer Ceramicus (i. 29. 13). An interesting light is thrown by two inscriptions on this exploit of the Athenian arms. It appears that before advancing to the assault on the hill the Athenians made proclamation inviting the soldiers in the garrison to come over to the side of freedom. One private soldier, Strombichus by name, answered to the call, joined the Athenians, and stormed the fortress with them. Thenceforward he remained a loyal soldier in the service of Athens, approving himself brave in the field and obedient to his officers. For these services he received the thanks of the State and was crowned with a golden wreath, and he and his descendants after him were made citizens of Athens. See *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 317, 318; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, Nos. 144, 145. From another inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 316; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 346) we learn that the Museum, after its recovery from the Macedonians, was garrisoned by the Athenian lads (*epheboi*). Spartocus IV., king of Bosporus, and Audoleon, king of Paeonia, appear to have supported the Athenians in their revolt, if we may judge from Athenian decrees in their honour (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 311, 312; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 157, 159).

26. 3. **at Eleusis there is a painting to his memory.** Pliny mentions (*N. H.* xxxv. 134) that the painter Athenion of Maronea in Thrace painted a picture of a cavalry general (*phularchos*) in the temple at Eleusis. This may have been the portrait of Olympiodorus. Cp. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 294 *sq.*

26. 3. **the Phocians of Elatea dedicated a bronze statue of him at Delphi** etc. Cp. x. 18. 7; x. 34. 3.

26. 4. **a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryenian.** Cp. iii. 18. 9. Artemis took this title from Leucophrys, a town in the valley of the Maeander, near which there was a sandy lake of warm water; Xenophon says that her sanctuary there was very holy (*Hellenica*, iii.

2. 19, iv. 8. 17). The temple of Leucophryenian Artemis at Magnesia on the Maeander, to which Pausanias alludes, was a magnificent Ionic structure built by the architect Hermogenes, who published a book about it (Vitruvius, iii. 2. 6, vii. praef. 12). Strabo says (xiv. p. 647) that it was the third largest temple in Asia, and that, though inferior to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus in respect of size and of the number of its votive offerings, it was far superior to it in the harmony and finish of its architecture. The remains of the temple were excavated in 1891-1893 for the German Archaeological Institute by Messrs. Humann, Heyne, and Kern. The temple was built of white marble on a foundation of limestone. The entrance was from the west, contrary to the usual arrangement of Greek temples. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), p. 513; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), pp. 987 *sqq.*, 1117 *sqq.*, 1340 *sqq.*; *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894); *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, pp. 76 *sqq.*, 122 *sqq.* Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] i. 331. On Magnesian coins of imperial date the image of Leucophryenian Artemis is figured; it resembles the image of Artemis at Ephesus, wearing the *polos* on the head, the body resembling a pillar, and with pendent fillets hanging from the outstretched hands. On coins of Athens there appears an Artemis of an Eastern character, holding a bowl and a bow in her outstretched hands. If this, as has been suggested, is a copy of the image of Leucophryenian Artemis, which the sons of Themistocles dedicated on the Acropolis, it will follow that that image was not an exact copy of the image at Magnesia. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comment. on Pausanias*, p. 139, with pl. BB v. vi. Cp. B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 502.



FIG. 35.—LEUCOPHRYENIAN ARTEMIS? (ATHENIAN COIN).

26. 4. **the Magnesians, whom the king gave to Themistocles to govern.** The king was Artaxerxes. See Cornelius Nepos, *Themistocles*, 10; Diodorus, xi. 57; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 29. Cp. Paus. i. 1. 2.

26. 4. **the murder of Calus.** See i. 21. 4 note.

26. 4. **a seated image of Athena by Endoeus** etc. Although Pausanias has just said that Endoeus was an Athenian, there are grounds for believing that he was an Ionian Greek. Two inscribed bases of statues by him have been found in Athens. On one of them the inscription, a couplet in Ionic Greek, records that the statue was that of a lady who died far from her native land (*C. I. A.* i. No. 477; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 8). On the other base, a fluted pillar of Pentelic marble found on the Acropolis in 1888, the sculptor's name is carved in what seems to be the Ionic alphabet, at least the four-stroke sigma (Σ) is Ionic (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 208 *sq.*) Moreover, Endoeus made images for temples in Ionia, including the image of Artemis at Ephesus (Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 17, p. 78, ed. Otto; Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 214, where Sillig's emendation *Endoeon*

for *eandem con* should be accepted) and the seated image of Athena at Erythrae (Paus. vii. 5. 9). Endoeus's date is determined approximately by the style of the two inscriptions referred to above; they belong to the latter part of the sixth century B.C., the age of Pisistratus. At this period, therefore, it would seem that Endoeus, an Ionian sculptor, had settled or at least was at work in Athens. The Callias for whom he made the image of Athena may have been the Callias who opposed Pisistratus (Herodotus, vi. 121 *sq.*) Probably the only ground for connecting Endoeus, as Pausanias does, with the mythical Daedalus was the archaic style of his statues. He made the ancient image of Athena at Tegea (Paus. viii. 46. 1 and 5).

The seated image of Athena by Endoeus which Pausanias saw on the Acropolis has been conjecturally identified with a marble statue of Athena which was found at the northern foot of the Acropolis at Athens, and is now in the Acropolis museum. It portrays the goddess seated, clad in a long tunic, the folds of which are minutely represented: her long curls hang down on her breast; her right foot rests lightly on the ground, the toes are carefully articulated; on her breast is the aegis. The head and lower arms are wanting. The style of the statue, though very archaic, shows considerable mastery of the sculptor's art. The pose resembles that of the famous archaic statues which lined the sacred road at Branchidae near Miletus and are now in the British Museum (see note on vii. 5. 4). This is a reason for ascribing the Athenian statue to an Ionian sculptor like Endoeus, who, as we have seen, executed an image of Athena in a similar attitude for Erythrae. But the Athenian statue marks a great advance in truthfulness and realism on the Branchidae statues, with their rigidly symmetrical, lifeless attitudes and almost foldless garments. The marble of which the statue is made is not Attic, but comes from the islands (G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, p. 70, No. 21). Strabo tells us (xiii. p. 601) that many ancient images of Athena represented the goddess seated: such images were to be seen, he says, in Phocaea, Marseilles, Rome, Chios, and many other cities. Homer plainly conceived of the Trojan image of Athena as seated (*Iliad*, vi. 90 *sqq.*, 302 *sq.*)

See O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, pp. 3-5; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, ed. Reinach, p. 51, Mon. fig. pl. 2. i.; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 338, with fig. 355; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 479 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 181 *sqq.*; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 83 *sq.*; Collignon *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 337 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 90-92, 191 *sq.* The supposed image of Athena by Endoeus is also represented in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités*, 1. p. 102, fig. 140. As to Endoeus, cp. also L. Stephani, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 4 (1846), pp. 1-3; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 98-101; *id.*, 'Zur Chronologie der altesten griech. Künstler,' *Sitzungsberichte d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Munich), Philos. philolog. Cl., 10 June 1871, p. 544 *sq.*; G. Loeschcke, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 305 *sq.*; W. Klein, in *Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 5 (1881), p. 88 *sq.* (Prof. Klein argues that Endoeus was a Cretan).

26. 5. **a building called the Erechtheum.** The temple which we call the Erechtheum, though the ancients perhaps restricted that

name to the western half of it, was a double temple containing a shrine of Athena Polias (*i.e.* of Athena Guardian of the City) and a shrine of Erechtheus. It seems to have been the oldest temple on the Acropolis, for Homer mentions in one passage (*Il.* ii. 549-551) that Erechtheus was worshipped by the Athenian youths with sacrifices of bulls and lambs in the temple of Athena; and in another passage (*Od.* vii. 78-81) he says that Athena, after an expedition to Scheria, "went into the house of Erechtheus," as if that were her home. These passages seem to show that in the Homeric age Athena and Erechtheus were worshipped on the Acropolis in a single joint temple, which might be called the temple of Athena or the house of Erechtheus, according as the speaker regarded Athena or Erechtheus as the original inmate of the temple. Hence, as the oldest temple on the Acropolis, the Erechtheum is referred to as "the old temple," "the old temple of Athena," "the old temple of Athena Polias," or "the old temple of the Polias," in inscriptions and by classical writers (*C. I. A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C. I. A.* iv. p. 1 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Syll. Ins. Gr.* No. 384; *C. I. A.* i. No. 93; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 74, 163, 464, 672, 733, 758; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1; Strabo, ix. p. 396; see the Appendix to this volume, p. 564 *sqq.*) It was burnt by the Persians when they sacked Athens in 480 B.C. (Herodotus, viii. 53-55). After lying in ruins for many years the temple was rebuilt in the finest style of Greek architecture towards the end of the fifth century B.C. We do not know when the restoration was begun; but from an inscription containing a report of commissioners on the state of progress of the new temple we learn that it was far advanced, but still unfinished, in 409 B.C. (*C. I. A.* i. No. 322; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Pt. i. No. xxxv.; Choisy, *Études Épigraphiques sur l'Architecture Grecque*, p. 88 *sqq.*) Inscriptions have also come down to us containing specifications of the work done by individual masons on the new temple, together with the sums of money paid to each mason for his work (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 321, 323, 324; *C. I. A.* iv. pp. 148-151; Choisy, *op. cit.* p. 100 *sqq.*; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 87 *sqq.*; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 8 (1888), pp. 1257-1260). From a consideration of these inscriptions Prof. A. Michaelis concludes that the new Erechtheum was probably completed in the summer of 408 B.C. (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), pp. 349-366). Two years later, in 406 B.C., the new temple was accidentally burnt (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1). The political events of the following years (the siege and capture of Athens by the Peloponnesians, the tyranny of the Thirty, and the civil war) seem to have delayed its restoration; it appears to have been still incomplete in 495 B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 829), but must have been finished before 376 B.C., for an inscription of that year (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 672) makes mention of a piece of gold plate which was kept in "the old temple," *i.e.* in the Erechtheum. In Christian times the temple was turned into a church; and the Turks used it as a dwelling-house.

The Erechtheum stands near the north edge of the Acropolis, about midway between its western and eastern extremities. The form of the

temple is peculiar and indeed unique. The main structure is a quadrangle measuring about 71 feet (including the eastern portico) from east to west, by about 37 feet from north to south. The temple is of the Ionic order, and is built of Pentelic marble except the frieze, which is on a ground of dark Eleusinian marble. At its eastern end it had a portico of six Ionic columns. At the western end of its northern side it had a spacious porch, the roof of which was supported by six Ionic columns, four in the front and one behind each of the corner columns. At the western end of the southern side of the temple there was another smaller porch, the roof of which was supported by six sculptured maidens (Caryatids), somewhat larger than life, standing on a wall 8½ feet high, which encloses the porch. Four of the Caryatids stand in the front of the porch, and one behind each of the corner Caryatids. The western front of the temple was adorned with four engaged Ionic columns standing on a wall about 12½ feet high. Both the eastern and the western front of the temple had a gable, as we learn from one of the inscriptions (*C. I. A.* iv. pp. 149-151). The northern and southern walls of the temple were unadorned with columns. Round the temple, above the architrave, ran a frieze of dark Eleusinian marble adorned with white marble figures in relief. The Erechtheum had four doors, (1) one in the eastern portico, (2) a lofty and richly-adorned doorway in the northern porch, (3) a small door in the western wall, and (4) a door opening into the Caryatid porch. The approach to this last door was through a narrow opening at the north-east corner of the Caryatid porch, from which a flight of steps led up to the door. Moreover, the northern portico projected beyond the western wall of the temple, and in the south-west corner of this projection there was a doorway opening into the enclosure at the west end of the temple.

A remarkable feature of the Erechtheum is that its southern and eastern sides stand on a higher level than its northern and western sides: the difference of level amounts to about 9 feet. A flight of twelve marble steps descended along the outside of the north wall of the temple to the rocky plateau on which the north porch is built (see C. Bötticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, p. 213 *sqq.*)

The existing remains of the temple comprise five columns of the eastern portico with their architrave and some blocks of the frieze (the column at the north corner was carried off by Lord Elgin and is now in the British Museum); the porch at the north-west corner with its columns and part of the entablature; the Caryatid porch with its entablature (one of the Caryatids—the second from the west on the front—was carried off by Lord Elgin and is replaced by a terra-cotta copy; the hinder one at the east side is restored); and great portions of the south, north, and west walls. A few figures of the sculptured frieze are in existence, but not enough to enable us to determine with certainty the subjects represented. The frieze as a whole was probably designed by one artist, but the individual figures were executed by separate stonemasons, as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 324), which mentions the sums paid to each mason for his work. In point of style the Erechtheum was one of the most perfect specimens of Greek

architecture: all the details of the masonry and ornamentation are wrought with the most exquisite finish. Especially conspicuous for

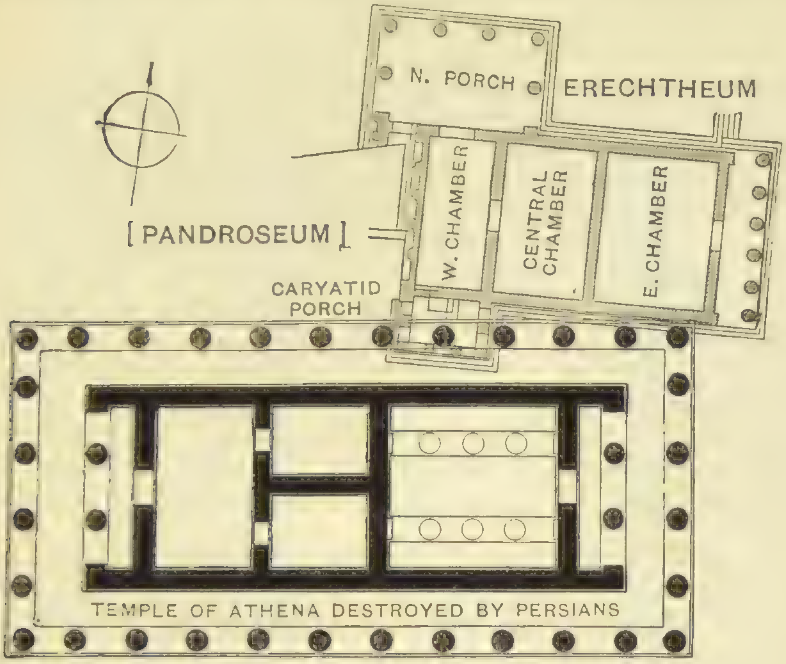


FIG. 36.—PLAN OF THE ERECHTHEUM AND OF THE TEMPLE DESTROYED BY THE PERSIANS.

their beauty are the Caryatid porch and the great doorway in the north porch, though some parts of this doorway, if Mr. R. W. Schultz is right, belong to a somewhat later restoration.

While much of the exterior of the Erechtheum remains, very little is left of the ancient interior, the arrangement of which has consequently been much disputed. It appears to have been as follows. The temple was divided into three chambers, an eastern, a central, and a western, of which the eastern and central were about equal, but the western was much smaller. The eastern chamber was at a higher level than the other two; it was entered through the eastern portico. It was divided from the central chamber by a cross wall, but traces on the inner side of the south wall make it probable that the eastern chamber was connected with the central chamber by a staircase placed against the south wall and descending from a doorway in the south end of the partition wall. The central chamber seems to have been divided from the western chamber merely by a row of columns supporting an entablature. Under the western chamber there is a large ancient cistern stretching across the whole breadth of the temple. This cistern is partly hewn in the solid rock and was evidently constructed with great care. It was originally covered over with massive blocks of marble, parts of which are still to be seen projecting over the edge of the cistern. At a later time the cistern was covered over with a brick vault which rose higher than the threshold of the great north door. A small part of this brick

vaulting still remains. High up on the south wall of the western chamber there is a large niche about 3.40 metres high by 1.72 metre long and .36 metre deep. The purpose of this niche has not been explained. The western wall of the temple between the engaged columns was pierced with three windows, which, however, seem to have been insertions of the fourth century A.D. Almost the whole of this upper part of the wall, with its engaged columns on the outside and corresponding pilasters on the inside, was blown down during a storm in 1852. Under the north porch there is a small crypt; it was entered from the central chamber by a small door in the north wall of the temple. The door to the crypt still exists; a flight of steps must have led down to it from the floor of the central chamber. The floor of the crypt is composed of the native rock, in the surface of which there are certain conspicuous indentations. In the marble pavement of the north porch there seems to have been an opening about 1.31 metre square, exactly over these indentations, so that they must have been visible to any one standing in the porch and looking down the aperture. This aperture may possibly have been covered with a grating. In the north-west corner of the crypt is a small round cistern, not very deep, which is now choked up.

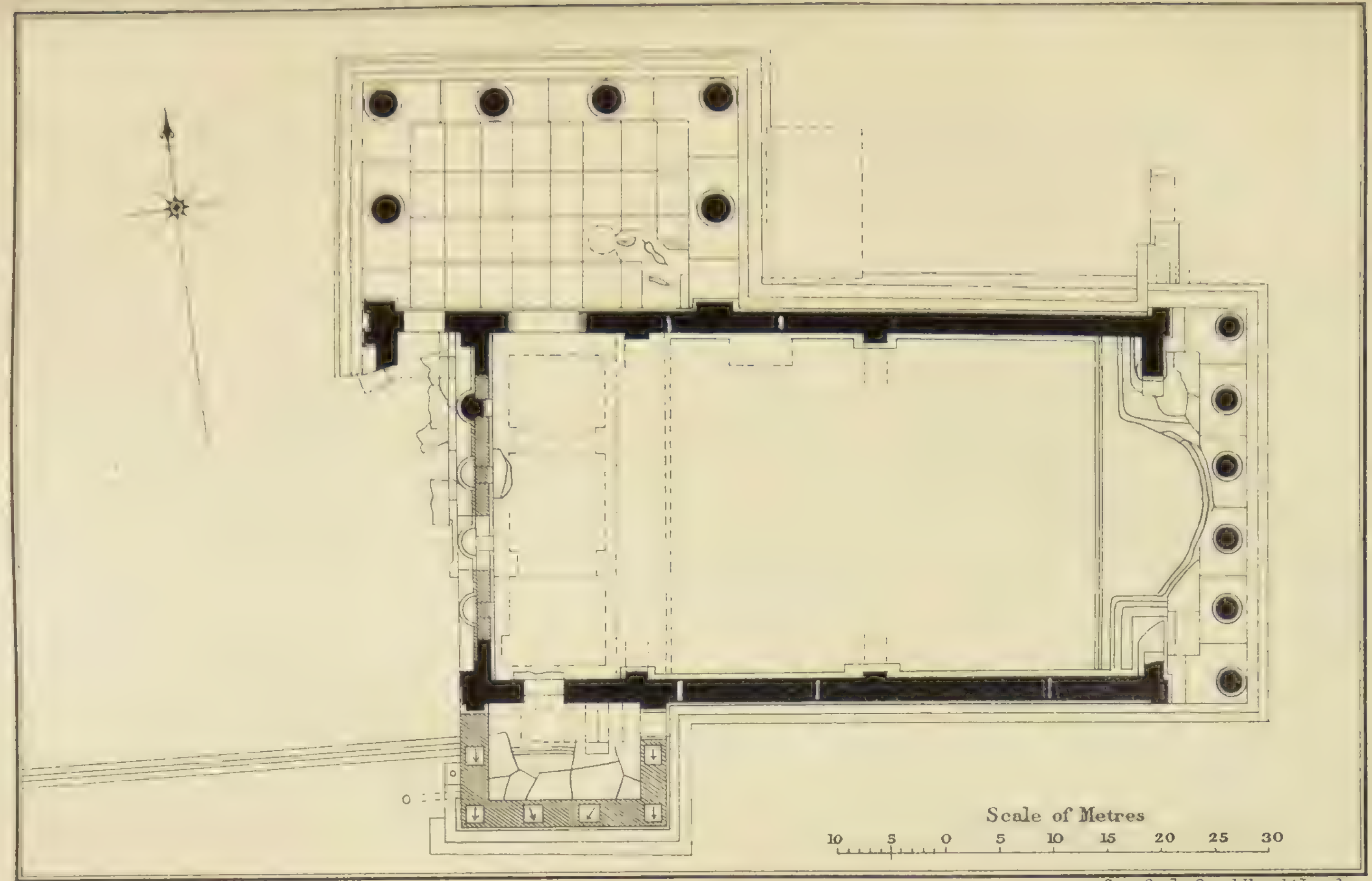
West of the Erechtheum is an enclosure bounded on the south by a terrace wall about 10 feet high and on the north by another wall of which the foundations have been traced westward for about 150 feet. These two walls, bounding the enclosure on the north and south, converge westward. A small building of some sort seems to have stood in the south-east corner of this enclosure, abutting on the south end of the west wall of the Erechtheum. For the wall here is rough in places and the steps which run along the foot of the wall to the north of the doorway are not continued to the south of it. Moreover, at the south end of the wall there is a gap about 10 feet long and 10 feet high in the ancient masonry. This gap extends partly under the Caryatid porch and is filled up with modern masonry. It is spanned by an enormous ancient block about 15 feet long by 5 deep.

So much for the existing remains of the Erechtheum and for its original plan, so far as that plan can be inferred from the remains. We have now to identify the various parts of the building with the descriptions of it bequeathed to us by ancient writers and especially by Pausanias. Pausanias's description of the temple falls into three parts. First he describes the Erechtheum (i. 26. 5), by which he seems to have designated, not the whole, but a part of the temple: second, he describes the shrine of Athena Polias (i. 26. 6-i. 27. 1); and, third, he mentions the temple of Pandrosus, which adjoined the Erechtheum, and the abode of the maidens called Arrephoroi, which was not far from it (i. 27. 2 *sq.*)

The shrine of Athena Polias must have been the principal part of the temple, since Athena Polias was a far more important figure in Attic religion than Erechtheus; indeed she was the chief deity of Athens (cp. the Appendix to this volume, p. 570 *sqq.*) Hence in antiquity the temple as a whole seems to have been designated, not as the Erechtheum or shrine of Erechtheus, but as a temple of Athena.

GROUND PLAN OF ERECHTHEUM (EXISTING REMAINS)

Vol. II. To face page 334.



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being distinguished from the Parthenon, which was also a temple of Athena, as "the old temple of Athena" (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1), or "the old temple of the Polias" (Strabo, ix. p. 396), or "the old temple of Athena Polias" (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 464), or simply "the temple of Athena Polias" (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 332; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xxii. 451, p. 1279), or "the temple of the Polias" (Philochorus, *De Dinarcho judicium*, 3; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* i. 357, p. 1423; cp. Lucian, *Piscator*, 21). On the other hand when the ancients spoke of "the Erechtheum" or "the shrine or temple of Erechtheus" they appear to have referred, not to the temple as a whole, but only to that part of it which was devoted to the worship of Erechtheus. In the present passage of Pausanias the name Erechtheum is better interpreted (as we shall see presently) of a part of the temple than of the whole. Apparently the only other passage in an ancient writer where the name Erechtheum occurs is in the *Life of Lycurgus* by the pseudo-Plutarch, p. 843 e, where it is said that a genealogical table of the priests of Poseidon was dedicated in the Erechtheum. As Poseidon was identified with Erechtheus (see below) a genealogical tree of his priests must of course have been dedicated in that part of the temple which was devoted to his worship. Hence it is probable that by the name 'Erechtheum' the pseudo-Plutarch here means, not the temple as a whole, but only the shrine of Erechtheus in it. Herodotus (viii. 55) speaks of the temple or *cella* (*naos*) of Erechtheus. Hesychius (*s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν) says that the sacred serpent, which was identified with Erichthonius, dwelt "in the sanctuary of Erechtheus." Dionysus of Halicarnassus, in a passage quoted by Jahn-Michaelis (*Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*, p. 28) but which I have not been able to find, mentions the sacred olive "in the chapel (*sēkos*) of the earth-born Erechtheus." Himerius (*Ecl.* v. 30) speaks of "the precinct of Poseidon" as adjoining the temple or *cella* (*naos*) of the Polias, evidently meaning by "the precinct of Poseidon" the shrine of Erechtheus. Cicero mentions the shrine (*delubrum*) of Erechtheus at Athens (*De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 49). These, with Homer's somewhat ambiguous mention of "the strong house of Erechtheus" (*Od.* vii. 81), appear to be all the references in classical writers to the shrine of Erechtheus. It is never mentioned in inscriptions.

But whether we understand these references to apply to the temple as a whole or only to the part of it in which Erechtheus was worshipped there can be no doubt that, as I have said, the shrine of Athena Polias was the most important part of the Erechtheum. We should therefore expect to find it occupying the principal chamber of the temple. Which was the principal chamber? The eastern chamber, apparently; since the eastern chamber alone has a portico extending across its whole front. The eastern chamber, then, was probably the shrine of Athena Polias. This is what we should expect, since in Greek temples the image of the deity regularly faced eastward. Dio Cassius, indeed, says expressly (liv. 7) that the image of Athena on the Acropolis faced east; but he might be referring to the gold and ivory image in the Parthenon. The evidence of the antiquary Philochorus is also in favour of identifying

the eastern chamber of the temple with the shrine of Athena Polias (see below, p. 338).

If, then, the eastern chamber of the temple was the shrine of Athena Polias, the Erechtheum proper or shrine of Erechtheus must be sought in the western part of the temple. Now Pausanias tells us in the present passage that the Erechtheum was 'double.' This expression has sometimes been understood to mean that the Erechtheum had two stories, one above the other, and the Greek is certainly susceptible of this meaning (cp. Lysias, i. 9 *οἰκίδιόν ἐστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω*). But, in the first place, the architectural evidence adduced to prove this turns out on close inspection to be illusory: and, in the second place, whenever Pausanias elsewhere applies the expression 'double' to a building, the context always proves that he means two chambers beside each other, whether placed back to back (ii. 25. 1; viii. 9. 1) or opening the one into the other (ii. 10. 2; vi. 20. 3). Moreover he tells us elsewhere (iii. 15. 10) that a temple at Sparta was the only temple he knew of which had an upper story. But if the Erechtheum had had an upper story, he would not have been likely to forget it. Now we have seen that the western half of the Erechtheum consists of two chambers, namely a small western chamber and a larger inner chamber opening off it. It is probable, therefore, that Pausanias refers to these two chambers when he says that the Erechtheum was double. In the outer of the two chambers he seems to have seen the altars of Poseidon (Erechtheus), Butes, and Hephaestus. These altars, then, presumably stood in the small western chamber. In the inner of the two chambers he seems to have been shown the salt well of Poseidon or 'sea of Erechtheus,' as it was also called (Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1; Herodotus, viii. 55; cp. Paus. viii. 10. 4), and the mark of Poseidon's trident in the rock (cp. Strabo, ix. p. 396). Probably the salt well or 'sea of Erechtheus' was the ancient rock-hewn cistern under the pavement of the Erechtheum (see above), and the mark of the trident was the indentations in the rock already mentioned, which might not unnaturally be regarded as produced by the stroke of a gigantic trident. It is true that neither the cistern nor the indentations in the rock were in the inner chamber; the cistern was under the outer or western chamber, and the indentations were in the crypt under the north porch. But both were apparently reached from the inner chamber: a staircase certainly led down from the inner chamber into the crypt, and probably a sight of the cistern was afforded to the curious through an opening at the foot of the staircase. Thus Pausanias might very well describe the salt well and the trident-mark as being in the inner chamber. That the indentations in the rock under the north porch were pointed out as the mark of Poseidon's trident is made highly probable by the fact that there was an aperture in the pavement of the porch immediately above them. For such an aperture, it would seem, could only have been left in the marble floor in order to allow people, standing in the porch, to see some famous object in the crypt below. Those who wished to examine the marks more closely had to descend into the crypt by the flight of steps in the inner or central chamber of the temple.

Lastly, the Pandrosium or sanctuary of Pandrosus was the enclosure immediately to the west of the temple. This is made certain by the inscriptions relating to the Erechtheum. For one of these inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. No. 322) speaks of "the pillars on the wall which looks toward the Pandrosium" (τῶν κιόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς Πανδροσείου). Now the only wall of the temple which had pillars in it was the west wall, on which at a height of about 12½ feet stood four engaged columns. Therefore the Pandrosium must have been to the west of this wall. This follows also from a distinction made by another inscription (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 149 *sqq.*) between "the eastern gable" and "the gable looking towards the Pandrosium" (τοῦ πρὸς ἕω ἀ[ιετοῦ] . . . ἐπὶ τὸ[μ πρ]ὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου ἀιετόν). The temple of Pandrosus mentioned by Pausanias therefore stood in this enclosure, and as Pausanias says (i. 27. 2) that it was contiguous to (συνεχής) the Erechtheum, we may conjecture that the small building which seems to have abutted on the south end of the west wall of the Erechtheum (see above, p. 334) was the temple of Pandrosus.

One of the inscriptions relating to the Erechtheum (*C. I. A.* i. No. 322) speaks of the Caryatid porch as "the porch beside the Cecropium," and mentions an angle of the temple as "the angle toward the Cecropium." Hence it has been supposed that there was a Cecropium or sanctuary of Cecrops at the south-west corner of the Erechtheum, at the point where, with Prof. Michaelis, I have conjectured that the temple of Pandrosus may have stood. It was doubtless in the Cecropium that Cecrops was said to be buried (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter; Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, vi. 6; Theodoretus, *Graec. Affect. Curatio*, viii. p. 908, ed. Schulze, vol. 4. p. 1017, ed. Migne). As Pandrosus was a daughter of Cecrops, it is possible that 'the Cecropium' and 'the temple of Pandrosus' may have been different names for a single small shrine or chapel abutting on the south-west corner of the Erechtheum. The great gap in the ancient wall which is here spanned by a lintel composed of a single gigantic block (see above, p. 334) may possibly have contained the tomb of Cecrops. This last suggestion is due, I believe, to Dr. Dörpfeld. Mr. Penrose has suggested that this gap was the den of the sacred serpent (see note on i. 18. 2). But this seems less probable. So huge a block would be a more suitable roof for the tomb of a hero than the den of a serpent. In the Pandrosium or sacred precinct of Pandrosus, though probably not in her temple, grew the sacred olive-tree (see i. 27. 2 note).

As Pausanias describes the shrine of Erechtheus before the shrine of Athena Polias, he must have entered the Erechtheum either by the south porch (Caryatid porch) or by the north porch. But there seems to have been no public entrance through the south porch. For the opening at the north-east corner of the porch is narrow, the step up to it from the outside is very high (20 inches), and "the delicate mouldings which run round the base of the building and are continued under this opening would be worn by almost every step that was taken up to it or down from it, as in fact they are now being worn by visitors who, with

an effort, get up to the opening" (A. S. Murray). Hence the entrance through the south porch was probably a private one, reserved for the priests. The regular public entrance must have been through the spacious north porch and the lofty and richly-adorned doorway to which it served as a vestibule. Through the north porch, accordingly, Pausanias entered the Erechtheum. Hence the altar of Supreme Zeus, which he describes as situated before the entrance to the Erechtheum, must have stood either close to or actually in the north porch. The altar is mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (viii. 2. 3), but not, at least under this name, by any other ancient writer. It may possibly be identical with the "altar of the *Thuēchoos*" (τοῦ θυηχοῦ) which stood in the north porch, as we learn from an inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 322; it is also mentioned in *C. I. A.* i. No. 324). The *Thuēchoos* was a priest who offered sacrifices (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* θυηχόοι). He had a seat reserved for him in the theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 244). From the shrine of Erechtheus our author seems to have ascended by the inner staircase to the shrine of Athena Polias; after which he probably descended the outside staircase along the north wall of the temple and passing through the north porch entered the Pandrosium by the door in the south-west corner of the porch.

It remains to notice a famous passage of the antiquary Philochorus, which has often been cited as evidence of the arrangement of the Erechtheum. As quoted verbally by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Dinarcho judicium*, 3) it runs thus: "On the Acropolis the following portent took place. A bitch entered the temple of the Polias, and, having gone down into the Pandrosium, ascended the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard which stands under the olive-tree, and there lay down. Now it is an old established custom with the Athenians that no dog shall ascend the Acropolis." In the light of the foregoing discussion it is easy to follow the course taken by this celebrated dog. It entered the eastern chamber or shrine of Athena Polias through the eastern portico, went down the stairs into the shrine of Erechtheus, and thence passed out into the Pandrosium, probably through the door in the western wall of the temple, but possibly by the door in the south-west corner of the north porch. Arrived in the open precinct of the Pandrosium the dog jumped up on the altar under the sacred olive-tree, and there lay down.

On the Erechtheum see Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2 (London, 1787), ch. ii. pp. 16-22, with 20 plates; K. O. Müller, 'Minervae Poliadis sacra et aedes in arce Athenarum,' *Kunstarchäologische Werke*, 1. pp. 86-147; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 574-592; Th. Bergk, 'Der Fries des Erechtheums,' *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 3 (1845), pp. 987-991; Fr. Thiersch, 'Ueber das Erechtheum,' *Abhandlungen d. philos. philolog. Cl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 5 (1849), 3te Abtheilung, pp. 81-185; *id.*, *ib.* 6 (1852), pp. 101-250 (this article is on the growth of Greek architecture in general); *id.*, *ib.* 8 (1858), pp. 335-425 (this article contains an important report on the existing remains of the Erechtheum by a commission of Greek archaeologists, together with valuable plans and drawings of the ruins); J. M. Tetaz, 'Mémoire explicatif et justificatif de la restauration de l'Érechtheion d'Athènes,' *Revue Archéologique*, 8 (1851), pp. 1-12, 81-86; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 2. pp. 216-294; Ch. Petersen and C. Bötticher, 'Zur Kenntniss des Erechtheion,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 13 (1855), pp. 65-78; Ch. Petersen

'Das Erechtheum und die Quellen der Akropolis,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 14 (1856), pp. 193-202; C. Bötticher, 'Das Prostomiaion und die Parastas der Bauinschrift am Tempel der Athena Polias zu Athen,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 16 (1858), pp. 117-128; *id.*, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 189-317; P. W. Forchhammer, 'Das Erechtheion,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 5 (1859), pp. 186-189; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 414 *sqq.*; P. W. Forchhammer, 'Das Erechtheum und der Tempel der Athena Polias,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), pp. 106-108; A. Michaelis, 'Pausanias Wanderung durch den Tempel der Polias,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 15-37; L. Julius, *Ueber das Erechtheion* (München, 1878); A. S. Murray, 'The Erechtheum,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1870), pp. 224-227; J. Ferguson, 'Stairs to Pandroseum at Athens,' *ib.* 2 (1881), pp. 83-89; R. Borrmann, 'Neue Untersuchungen am Erechtheion zu Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 372-392; A. R. Rangabé, 'Das Erechtheion,' *ib.* 7 (1882), pp. 258-273, 321-334; E. Petersen, 'Zum Erechtheum,' *ib.* 10 (1885), pp. 1-10; H. N. Fowler, 'The Erechtheion at Athens,' *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1 (1885), pp. 215-236; A. Choisy, *Études épigraphiques sur l'architecture Grecque*, pp. 85-166; L. Julius, article 'Erechtheion' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 484-491; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 214-235; F. C. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (ed. 1888), pp. 88-97; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. pp. 58-64; Baedeker,[2] pp. 74-77; H. G. Lolling, 'Athen,' pp. 349-352; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 483-496; C. Robert, 'Zum Fries des Erechtheion,' *Hermes*, 25 (1890), pp. 431-445; R. W. Schultz and E. A. Gardner, 'The North Doorway of the Erechtheum,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), pp. 1-16; S. H. Barnsley, 'The North Doorway of the Erechtheum,' *ib.* pp. 381-383; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. p. 231 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 471-480; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 192-200.

26. 5. **they sacrifice no living thing** etc. Cp. viii. 2. 3. There was an altar at Delos called "the altar of the Pious" at which no animal was sacrificed (Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 28). Plato says (*De legibus*, vi. p. 782 C):—"We hear of men who did not even dare to eat beef, and whose offerings to the gods were not animals but cakes and fruits moistened with honey and such like holy offerings; they abstained from flesh, deeming it impious to eat it and to stain the altars of the gods with blood. So they led a sort of Orphic life in those days, partaking only of what had no life, and abstaining from all living creatures." Porphyry says that men of old neither ate nor sacrified animals; their offerings to the gods consisted of the fruits of the earth (*De abstinentia*, ii. 27-29). Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 245 *sqq.* Such legends are plausibly explained by W. Robertson Smith as reminiscences of a primitive pastoral age in which the herds are sacred (*Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 300 *sqq.*) Many pastoral tribes in Africa at the present day neither kill nor eat the cattle which they breed.

26. 5. **they lay cakes on it —— they are forbidden by custom to make use of wine.** On sacrificial cakes, see K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, § 25, 13. On wineless libations, see note on v. 15. 10.

26. 5. **one of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus.** Erechtheus was in fact identified with Poseidon by the Athenians (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς). Athenagoras says "the Athenian sacrifices to Erechtheus Poseidon" (*Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 1). An inscription found at the Erechtheum contains a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus (*C. I. A.* i. No. 387). His priesthood was called the priesthood

of Poseidon Erechtheus ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 b c : *C. I. A.* iii. No. 805). The priest had a seat reserved for him in the theatre; the inscription on the seat calls him "the priest of earth-holding Poseidon and Erechtheus" (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 276). Erichthonius, who was identical with Erechtheus (see note on i. 18. 2), was said to be buried in the Erechtheum (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 6). Apollodorus only says (iii. 14. 7) that Erichthonius was buried in the precinct (*temenos*) of Athena.

26. 5. **the hero Butes.** Butes was said to be either a twin brother of Erechtheus (Apollodorus, iii. 14. 8) or a son of Poseidon (Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* i. 1. p. 13; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 209 *sq.*, *s.vv.* Βουτάδαι and Βουτίδης). A fragment of a marble seat bearing the inscription "of the priest of Butes" (ἱερέως Βούτου) has been found in the Erechtheum (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 102).

26. 5. **On the walls are paintings of the family of the Butads.** The ancient family of the Butads, or Eteobutads (*i.e.* 'the true old Butads') as they were also called, furnished both the priests of Poseidon Erechtheus and the priestesses of Athena Polias (Aeschines, ii. 147; Harpocration and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἐτεοβουτάδαι; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 b c e). The statesman and orator Lycurgus belonged to this family, and wooden statues of him and his sons, executed by Timarchus and Cephisodotus the sons of Praxiteles, were dedicated in the Erechtheum, together with a genealogical tree tracing the descent of the family from Erechtheus ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 e). On the Butads or Eteobutads see K. O. Müller, *Kunstarchäologische Werke*, 1. pp. 96 *sqq.*, 132 *sqq.*; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 113 *sqq.*

26. 5. **sea-water in a well** etc. See above, pp. 333 *sq.*, 336. Hegesias, quoted by Strabo (ix. p. 396), mentioned "the mark of the enormous trident" on the Acropolis.

26. 6. **an image of Athena in what is now called the Acropolis, but what was then called the city.** This remark is evidently intended to explain the epithet Polias (from *polis*, 'city') which was the regular title of the Athena of the Erechtheum (see the Appendix to this volume, p. 573 *sqq.*) Thucydides says (ii. 15) that in the early days of Athens the Acropolis was the city. In inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. this antique phraseology is retained, the Acropolis being spoken of as the *polis* or city (*e.g.* *C. I. A.* i. 1; *C. I. A.* iv. p. 139). The very ancient image of Athena Polias which stood in the Erechtheum was made of olive-wood (Schol. on Demosthenes, xxii. 13, p. 597; Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 17). That it was of wood is testified by other writers (Plutarch, *De daedalis Plataeensibus*, in the Didot ed. of Plutarch, vol. 5, p. 20; Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6). Tertullian speaks of it as if it were little more than a shapeless log (*Apologeticus*, 16). It was said to have been set up by the aborigines (Plutarch, *l.c.*) or by Cecrops (Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* x. 9. 15) or by Erichthonius (Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6). Philostratus mentions it (*Vit. Apollon.* iii. 14) as one of the most ancient images in Greece. The Athenians appear to have saved the image by taking it on shipboard with them when

they evacuated Athens at the approach of the Persians (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10).

As to the type of the image, the goddess seems to have been represented standing and armed (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 826-831; cp. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 80, 258 *sq.*, where a suppliant is represented clasping the image in his arms, which suits better with a standing than a seated image). She held a round shield on which was the Gorgon's head (Euripides, *Electra*, 1254-1257; cp. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 634, p. 1704). The antique image of Athena, constantly depicted on the vases which, filled with sacred oil, were given as prizes at the Panathenaic festival (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1005), was most probably copied from the wooden image of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum. It represents the goddess in a stiff attitude, the left foot advanced, the right hand raised and grasping the spear, with which she is making a thrust; she wears a crested helmet and holds in her left hand a round shield. See L. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1876, pp. 5-108; J. de Witte, 'Vases Panathénaïques,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 49 (1877), pp. 294-332; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1151-1154. The attitude of the Dresden statue of Athena seems to have been similar, though the head and arms are wanting; down the front of her robe runs a perpendicular stripe adorned with the battles of the gods and giants (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. x. No. 36; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 256; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 694). This last feature of the Dresden statue renders it highly probable that we possess in it a copy of the wooden image of Athena Polias, since the robe periodically woven for the goddess and placed on her old image was similarly adorned with inwoven scenes of the battles between the gods and giants (Schol. on Plato, *Republic*, i. p. 327 a; Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3. p. 343, ed Dindorf; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566; Schol. on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 467, 468; that the robe was worn by the old image is proved by Hesychius, *s.v.* πραξιεργίδαι; cp. the Appendix to this volume, p. 574 *sqq.*) The archaic helmeted head of Athena on coins of Athens may be a copy of the head of the ancient image in the Erechtheum. On the type of this image see O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, p. 10 *sqq.*

26. 6. *sq.* **a golden lamp** etc. Strabo mentions (ix. p. 396) the perpetual lamp in the Erechtheum. The lamp was tended by elderly widows; during the siege of Athens by Sulla it was allowed to go out for lack of oil (Plutarch, *Numa*, 3; *id.*, *Sulla*, 13). On the custom of maintaining a perpetual lamp or fire, see note on viii. 53. 9, 'the Common Hearth of the Arcadians.'

26. 7. **Carpasian flax.** This was doubtless asbestus, a fibrous mineral of the hornblende family with elastic and flexible fibres, resembling flax, but incombustible. The ancients found it in Cyprus and at Carystus in Euboea, and they wove it into napkins, head-dresses, etc. In particular they made wicks out of it which burned with oil perpetually without being consumed. They called it *asbestos*, *amiantos*, and Carystian stone. See Sotacus, quoted by Apollonius, *Histor. Mirab.* 36 (*Scriptores*

rerum mirabilium Graeci, ed. Westermann, p. 111 *sq.*); Strabo, x. p. 446; Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 43; Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, v. 155. In India the Brahmins wore incombustible garments made out of it (Hierocles, quoted by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Βραχμᾶνες). Like Pausanias, Pliny (*N. H.* xix. 19 *sq.*) fell into the mistake of regarding it as a rare and valuable sort of flax. Carpasia was a town in Cyprus (Strabo, xiv. p. 682), near which the mineral was presumably found. But the place in Cyprus where it was found in great abundance was between Gerandrus and Soli (Sotacus, *l.c.*) On asbestus and its use in antiquity, see especially J. Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, p. 356 *sqq.*; cp. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*,[2] p. 500 *sq*: Blümner, *Technologie*, 1. p. 194.

26. 7. **Callimachus —— though inferior to the best artists** etc. The date of this artist is not positively known; but as it seems probable that he made the golden lamp for the new Erechtheum at the time of its completion about 408 B.C., he may have flourished at the end of the fifth century B.C. With this it would agree that Callimachus was said to have invented the Corinthian capital (Vitruvius, iv. 1. 9); for the Corinthian order is first known to have been employed in buildings of the fourth century B.C., as in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Paus. viii. 45. 4 *sq.*), the Rotunda at Epidaurus (as to the date, see P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 15 *sq.*), and the monument of Lysicrates at Athens (see note on i. 20. 1). If this was Callimachus's date, he cannot have invented the stone-drill, as Pausanias said he did: since the drill is known to have been used in the gable sculptures of the temple at Aegina and the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Blümner, *Technologie*, 3. p. 195; see, however, above, p. 311 *sq.*) Perhaps Callimachus may have used the borer in a way unknown to his predecessors, as for the making of fine grooves and deep undercuttings in imitating the folds and creases of drapery and the wavy ripples of hair, where the chisel could not have answered his purpose. We learn from Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 92) that the epithet 'Refiner away of Art' was applied to Callimachus on account of his excessive fastidiousness which impelled him to touch and retouch his work without end. Pliny mentions as an instance a group of dancing Laconian girls by Callimachus: the work was free from any technical faults, but so over elaborated that all ease and grace were lost. Vitruvius says (iv. 1. 9) that the title in question was bestowed on Callimachus by the Athenians on account of "the elegance and subtlety" of his work in marble. He made a seated image of Hera at Plataea (Paus. ix. 2. 7). Cp. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 251-255; J. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 500-502; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 200-206.

27. 1. **a folding-chair.** The folding-chairs of the ancients were like what we call camp-stools. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1650 *sq.* Aelian, describing the luxury of the ancient Athenians, says that they used to be attended by slaves carrying camp-stools in case they might wish to sit down anywhere (*Var. Hist.* iv. 22).

27. 1. **spoils taken from the Medes** etc. Pericles reckoned the Persian spoils among the available wealth of the Athenian state

(Thucydides, ii. 13; Diodorus, xii. 40). A certain Glaucetas, when acting as one of the treasurers, stole some of the Persian spoils from the Acropolis, including "the silver-footed chair and the sword of Mardonius, which weighed 300 darics" (Demosthenes, xxiv. 129, p. 741; the daric weighed 130 grains troy, see W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 6 *sq.*) This silver-footed chair was said to be the one on which Xerxes sat watching the battle of Salamis; according to Harpocration it was kept in the Parthenon (Harpocration, *s.v.* ἀργυρόπους δίφρος; Suidas, *s.v.* ἀργυρόπεζα; cp. Schol. on Demosthenes, iii. 25, p. 35). But it seems likely that the chair would be kept with the other Persian spoils in the Erechtheum; Harpocration may have been mistaken. Dio Chrysostom says (*Or.* ii. vol. 1. p. 27 ed. Dindorf) that the sword of Mardonius and the shields taken from the Spartans at Pylus were far nobler offerings than the Propylaea and the Olympieum. The Persian sword (*akinakes*) had a short, straight blade (Josephus, *Antiquit. Jud.* xx. 8. 10).

27. 1. **the corselet of Masistius.** It was of gold, wrought to resemble fine scales. Masistius fell while heading a charge of the Persian cavalry on some Athenian infantry (not cavalry, as Pausanias says). There was a fierce struggle over his body, but it finally remained in the hands of the Athenians. See Herodotus, ix. 20-24.

27. 1. **Mardonius —— fell by the hand of a Spartan.** The name of this Spartan was Aimnestus (Herodotus, ix. 64).

27. 2. **the olive.** Pausanias does not say where this sacred olive-tree was; but from Philochorus (quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Dinarcho judicium*, 3) we learn that it was in the Pandrosium and that an altar of Zeus of the Courtyard stood under it. Apollodorus also says (iii. 14. 1) that the olive was in the Pandrosium. We have seen (p. 337) that the Pandrosium was the enclosure immediately to the west of the Erechtheum. In this enclosure, about 40 feet or so to the west of the temple, there is a levelled area about 8 feet square, where the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard may have stood; "and close to it, towards the west, is a large and deep natural fissure in the rock where the roots of the olive-tree would have found nourishment" (Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, p. 96, ed. 1888). As Pausanias, immediately after mentioning the olive, mentions the temple of Pandrosus, he would seem to have found the tree in close proximity to the temple, presumably in the Pandrosium. Herodotus says (viii. 55), "On the Acropolis there is a temple of the earth-born Erechtheus, in which is the olive and the sea, which are said by the Athenians to have been adduced as evidence by Poseidon and Athena in their contest for the land." From this we should infer that the olive-tree was within the walls of the Erechtheum; but Herodotus may mean no more than that it was within the precincts of the temple. Pliny (*N. H.* xvi. 240) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 164) speak of this famous olive-tree as still existing on the Acropolis in their time. Cicero (*De legibus*, i. 1. 2) refers to "the eternal olive on the Acropolis" at Athens. It was called "the citizen olive" (Pollux, ix. 17; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀστὴ ἐλαία; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* i. 4, p. 1383); or "the bent olive"

(Hesychius, *l.c.* and *s.v.* πάγκυφος ; Pollux, vi. 163). The olives of the Academy were said to be derived from the one on the Acropolis (see i. 30. 2 note). On the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis, see further C. Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 107 *sqq.* ; L. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1872, p. 5 *sqq.*

27. 2. **after being burned down it sprouted the same day to a height of two cubits.** Herodotus's account is not quite so marvellous : he says (viii. 55) that on the day after it was burnt (δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος) the olive was found to have sprouted about a cubit.

27. 2. **a temple of Pandrosus** etc. As to Pandrosus, see i. 18. 2 : as to the probable situation of her temple, see above, p. 337. The Athenian lads (*epheboi*) sacrificed to Athena Polias and to Pandrosus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 481). An inscription on a pedestal which had supported a statue of one of the girls called Arrephoroi (see below) declares that in this capacity the girl had served Athena Polias and Pandrosus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 887 ; cp. *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1390). Thallo, one of the personifications of the Seasons, was worshipped by the Athenians along with Pandrosus (Paus. ix. 35. 2).

27. 3. **Two maidens —— Arrephoroi.** What we know of these Arrephoroi from other sources does not amount to much. Ancient writers generally call them Arrephoroi, but Hesychius (*s.v.* Ἐρρηφόροι) and Moeris (*s.v.* Ἐρρηφόροι, p. 130, ed. Koch) call them Errephoroi, and this form of the name is supported by the inscriptions in which the verb *errēphorein* is regularly used to designate the functions performed by the maidens (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1379-1385, 1390, 1391, 1392 ; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 887, 916, 917, 918). The noun occurs in the singular (*Errephoros*) in one inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 902). On the other hand the verb occurs in the form *arrēphorein* in two inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 453 b, p. 418 ; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 822 a, p. 505). The account given of the Arrephoroi by writers other than Pausanias is as follows. They were four girls of noble birth between the ages of seven and eleven, chosen by the magistrate called the king. They wore white robes, and if they put on gold ornaments these became sacred. Cakes of a special kind called *anastatoi* were baked for them. Two of the Arrephoroi began the weaving of the sacred robe which was periodically presented to Athena. See Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 641 *sq.*, with the Scholiast : Harpocration, *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν ; Hesychius, *s.vv.* ἀρρηφορία, ἐρρηφόροι : Suidas, *s.vv.* ἀρρηφορεῖν, ἀρρηφορία, and ἐπιώψατο : *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 149 *s.v.* ἀρρηφόροι and ἀρρηφορεῖν : Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, pp. 202, 446, *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν. According to Moeris (*s.v.* ἐρρηφόροι, p. 130, ed. Koch) the Arrephoroi carried dew to Herse, one of the three daughters of Cecrops (Paus. i. 18. 2). They had a court for ball-play on the Acropolis, probably within the Pandrosium : a bronze statue of Isocrates, represented as a boy riding, stood in the court ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 839 b). The festival at which the Arrephoroi performed the ceremony described by Pausanias was called Arrephoria ; it was in honour of Athena and was held in the month of Scirophorion (June-July) (*Etymol. Magnum*, p. 149 *s.v.* ἀρρηφόροι). It seems to have been a common practice to set up on the Acropolis

statues of girls who had been Arrephoroi; the inscribed bases of a number of these statues have come down to us (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1378-1385, 1390, 1391, 1393; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 887, 916, 917, 918). Two of the inscriptions on these pedestals declare that the girl acted as Arrephoros to Athena (or Athena Polias) and Pandrosus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1383, cp. No. 1390; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 887). This is practically all that is known of the Arrephoroi; everything beyond this is pure speculation. Cp. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 443 *sqq.*; C. Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*,[2] p. 567 *sqq.*; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 210 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. xxxiii. *sqq.* We hear of a girl who was Errephoros to Demeter and Proserpine (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 919); and of Hersephoroi (*sic*) of "Earth surnamed Themis," and of "Ilithyia in Agrae" (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 318, 319).

27. 3. **Aphrodite in the Gardens.** See i. 19. 2.

27. 4. **a well-wrought figure of an old woman** etc. This is probably the Lysimache who was priestess of Athena for sixty-four years and whose statue was made by Demetrius (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 76). The statuette here mentioned by Pausanias may have been the one made by Demetrius, though its small size is remarkable. Lysimache seems to have been famous; Plutarch (*De vitioso pudore*, 14) tells an anecdote of her. Pausanias's remark that the statuette purported to be that of Lysimache (*φαμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχη*) implies that he is giving the substance of the inscription on the pedestal (see note on ii. 2. 5). The inscription was probably in verse, and the expression 'handmaid' (*διάκονος*) instead of the ordinary 'priestess' (*ἱέρεια*) was probably borrowed by Pausanias from the inscription. The somewhat unusual and poetical adjective translated 'well-wrought' (*εὐῆρις*) may perhaps also be derived from the same source. It occurs in a metrical inscription quoted by Pausanias elsewhere (iv. 12. 4, *εὐήρεα τείχη*). Prof. O. Benndorf has conjectured that a round base of Pentelic marble which now stands to the west of the Parthenon may have supported Demetrius's statue of Lysimache. The base is about a foot high and 2 feet wide; and on its upper surface is the print of a left foot 20 centimetres (7.87 inches) long. The statue appears to have been of bronze. On the base is a mutilated inscription, the purport of which seems to be that the statue represented a woman who had been priestess of Athena for many years. See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1376; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. *43; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 64; O. Benndorf, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 47. On the statue of Lysimache, cp. also Benndorf, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1. (1876), pp. 48-50; Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 26 (1880), pp. 116-119. See Critical Note on this passage. The sculptor Demetrius seems to have been chiefly remarkable for the life-like fidelity of his portraits; he was a realist who cared more to produce a good likeness than a beautiful work of art (Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 18-20; Quintilian, xii. 10. 9). Two fragmentary pedestals bearing the name of the sculptor Demetrius have been found on the Acropolis; from the style of the inscriptions it is inferred that the sculptor flourished in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos.

62, 63). This tallies with a conclusion as to Demetrius's date arrived at from other data. See H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 255 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 503 *sq.* (who, however, dates him about 460-420 B.C.)

This statue of Lysimache was no doubt only one of a series of statues of priestesses of Athena which stood near the Erechtheum, probably in the Pandrosium. Inscribed bases of some of these statues have been found (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1377, 1378, 1386, 1392 b, p. 350). Perhaps the long series of archaic female statues which were excavated in February 1886 between the Erechtheum and the north wall of the Acropolis are statues of priestesses of Athena. They date from before the Persian war, were doubtless thrown down and broken by the Persian invaders in 480 B.C., and carefully buried by the Athenians afterwards. They now form one of the most interesting features of the Museum on the Acropolis. The statues are life-size and wrought of Parian and other island marbles. They all represent women standing in the same attitude, and draped in long robes, with ringlets falling down on their breasts and over their backs. The features have the familiar archaic smile. These statues can hardly represent Athena, since they have none of her attributes (helmet, shield, spear, aegis, serpent, owl). Though the figures are somewhat stiff and conventional in style, the details are finished with much care and skill and exhibit great mastery of the sculptor's art. The bright and varied colouring of the statues is particularly remarkable: the colours used are green, red, blue, and grey. The hem of the robes is painted in stripes and a maeander pattern of red and green: the surface of the dress is adorned with palmette- and rosette-shaped decorations; the hair is painted reddish; and the eyes were coloured. See P. Cavvadias, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 73 *sqq.*, with pl. v.; *Les Musées d'Athènes*, 1[e] livr. (Athens, 1886), pl. ii.-viii.; H. Lechat, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 14 (1890), pp. 301-362, 552-586; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 154 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 340-357; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 192 *sq.*; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 247-251; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 174. It seems to have been a common custom to set up statues of priestesses in front of the temple where they had served. See ii. 17. 3 note; ii. 35. 8; vii. 25. 7. However, the discovery at Delphi of a female torso and of two archaic female heads wearing the *polos* has made it probable that the similar female statues found on the Acropolis were, as Mr. A. S. Murray had independently suggested, Caryatids, *i.e.* that they served as architectural supports in a building. See Mr. Homolle's report in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 22 (1894), pp. 206-208. The priestess of Athena on the Acropolis received a measure of barley, a measure of wheat, and an obol (a penny farthing) for every death and every birth (Aristotle, *Oecon.* ii. p. 1347 a, 14 *sqq.*) She was forbidden to eat fresh cheese unless it was made abroad or in the island of Salamis (Strabo, ix. p. 394 *sq.*)

27. 4. **bronze figures of men confronting each other for a fight —— Erechtheus and —— Eumolpus** etc. Cp. i. 5. 2; i. 38. 3.

According to Apollodorus (iii. 15. 4) it was Eumolpus, not his son Immaradus, who was slain by Erechtheus. A scholiast on Euripides (*Phoenissae*, 854) agrees with Apollodorus in saying that Eumolpus was slain by Erechtheus, but adds that Immaradus, a son of Poseidon, was also slain by Erechtheus in the same war. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 46) Eumolpus was slain by Erechtheus, and Erechtheus was himself killed by Jupiter with a thunderbolt. Apollodorus (*l.c.*) calls Eumolpus's son Ismarus instead of Immaradus. See J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 40 *sqq.* Mr. Töpffer holds that Pausanias has preserved the original form of the legend, according to which Ismarus or Immaradus (the two names being equivalent), not Eumolpus, was the adversary of Erechtheus. Elsewhere (ix. 30. 1) Pausanias mentions a statue of Erechtheus by Myron at Athens as the most remarkable of all that sculptor's works. Prof. A. Michaelis has conjectured that Pausanias is there referring to the present group of Erechtheus and Eumolpus on the Acropolis (*Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 85-87). There was also a statue of Erechtheus in the market-place (i. 5. 2). Prof. Furtwängler conjectures that a bearded head in the Museo Chiaramonti is a copy of Myron's Erechtheus, but rather of the statue in the market-place than of the fighting Erechtheus on the Acropolis (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 393 *sq.*)

27. 5. **Tolmides.** With the following account of Tolmides cp. Thucydides, i. 108 and 113; Diodorus, xi. 84, xii. 6; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 18. The battle of Coronea in which Tolmides fell was fought in 447 B.C. He and his men were buried in the outer Ceramicus (i. 29. 14).

27. 6. **Cycnus fighting with Hercules.** Cp. Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis*, 345 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 389 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7; Diodorus, iv. 37. The subject was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (iii. 18. 10), and is depicted on many existing Greek vases. See H. Heydemann, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 52 (1880), pp. 78-100; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 805 *sq.*

27. 8. **Aegeus deposited boots and a sword under a rock** etc. Cp. ii. 32. 7; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3 and 6; Diodorus, iv. 59; Apollodorus, iii. 16. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 37. The subject of Theseus lifting the rock and finding the tokens of his birth under it is represented on coins of Athens and some other ancient monuments. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1786; Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 397 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 146, with pl. DD ii.; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 522. A story very like that of the birth of Theseus was told about the birth of Basilus, son of Lyrcus and Hemithea (Parthenius, *Narr. Amat.* 1).

27. 9. **a representation of another exploit of Theseus** etc. On Theseus's capture of the Marathonian bull, see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14; Diodorus, iv. 59; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. The subject was treated of in detail by Callimachus in his poem *Hecale*, of which some fragments, dealing with this exploit of Theseus, have been recently discovered and published in the Rainer collection of Vienna (see the text of the fragments in *The Classical Review*, 7 (1893), p. 429 *sq.*) Pausanias says (§ 10) that Theseus sacrificed the bull to Athena; Plutarch and

Diodorus (*ll.cc.*) say that he sacrificed it to Apollo. The capture of the Marathonian bull by Theseus is represented on one of the metopes of the so-called 'Theseum' at Athens (Muller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xx. No. 107), and on a fine red-figured vase in the British Museum (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), p. 64, with pl. x.) On some coins of Athens a man is portrayed driving a bull; this may be Theseus driving the Marathonian bull to Athens (Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 398 *sq.*; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 146, pl. DD vii. viii.; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 522).

27. 10. **the Labyrinth at Cnosus.** Diodorus (i. 61) and Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 90) say that in their time the Labyrinth was no longer to be seen. In the mountains behind Gortyna there is a Labyrinth consisting of many chambers hewn in the rock and connected with each other by tortuous passages. During the revolution of 1822-1828 the Christian villagers of the neighbourhood lived in it for months. Some have supposed that this was the Labyrinth in which the Minotaur was fabled to have dwelt. It appears to be a subterranean quarry. See Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant* (Amsterdam, 1718), 1. p. 26 *sq.*; T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete* (London, 1865), 2. pp. 43-56; Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, 2. p. 566; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 475.

28. 1. **a bronze statue of Cylon.** It may perhaps have been set up as an expiatory offering for the massacre of Cylon's accomplices, which had been perpetrated in defiance of promises given to them in sanctuary on the Acropolis. See Herodotus, v. 71; Thucydides, i. 126; Plutarch, *Solon*, 12. Similarly the Lacedaemonians dedicated two bronze statues of Pausanias to Athena as an expiation for having violated her sanctuary by dragging Pausanias from it (Thucydides, i. 134; Paus. iii. 17. 7). Cp. A. Schäfer, in *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 24 (1866), p. 183. Cylon's Olympic victory was won in Ol. 35 (640 B.C.), according to Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 198, ed. A. Schöne).

28. 2. **a bronze image of Athena** etc. This is the image which Demosthenes calls "the great bronze Athena": he says it was set up as a trophy of Athenian valour in the Persian war out of money contributed by the rest of the Greeks (Demosthenes, xix. 272. p. 428). In later times the image was known as Champion (*Promachos*) Athena to distinguish it from the other two famous images of Athena on the Acropolis, the image of Virgin Athena in the Parthenon and the image of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum (Schol. on Demosthenes, xxii. 13. p. 597; *C.I.A.* iii. No. 638), and the epithet Champion (*Promachos*) has generally been given to it by modern archaeologists. Aristides calls it simply "the bronze Athena" (*Or.* l. vol. 2. p. 556, ed. Dindorf). Elsewhere (*Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 288, ed. Dindorf) he refers to it as "the Marathonian image," implying that it was erected, as Pausanias and the scholiast on Demosthenes (*l.c.*) say, out of the spoils of the battle of Marathon. This view is irreconcileable with the statement of Demosthenes cited above. Probably the image was set up after the close of the Persian war, as a scholiast on Aristides (vol. 3. p. 320, ed. Dindorf) says. The Athenians seem to have been led by

patriotic pride to refer to the battle of Marathon trophies which were the fruit of the Persian war in general (see Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 162 *sqq.*; K. O. Müller, 'De Phidiae vita et operibus,' *Kunstarchäologische Werke*, 2. p. 13 *sqq.*)

Pausanias's statement as to the distance at which the point of the spear and the crest of the helmet were visible has sometimes been interpreted to mean that they could be seen from Cape Sunium. But this is impossible, as Mt. Hymettus (about 3000 feet high) lies between Cape Sunium and Athens. All that Pausanias says is that the point of the spear and the crest of the helmet were visible at sea somewhere between Sunium and the port of Athens. To a vessel coasting along from Sunium the Acropolis does not come into sight till after Cape Zoster is passed. Pausanias's statement has further been made the base of a false calculation of the height of the statue. It was supposed that the tip of the spear and the crest of the helmet must have been seen from the sea projecting above the Parthenon, and consequently that the statue must have been taller than the Parthenon or about 70 feet high. But it has been pointed out that the statue, standing between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea (see below), would have been seen from the sea to the left of, and not hidden by, the Parthenon, so that there is no need to suppose that it was higher than the Parthenon. What the object was which interposed so as to hide the lower part of the statue from a spectator out at sea, we do not know. A clue to the real size of the statue is furnished by Pausanias's statement elsewhere (ix. 4. 1) that the image of Warlike Athena at Plataea was not much smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis at Athens. As we have no reason to suppose that the temple of Warlike Athena at Plataea was of other than moderate dimensions, her image was probably not more than 20 feet high. We may suppose, then, that the bronze Athena on the Acropolis was about 25 feet high or, with the pedestal, about 30 feet. The calculation is that of Prof. A. Michaelis (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 89 *sq.*) It has been strikingly confirmed by a discovery recently (1893) made by Mr. W. Gurlitt, who has shown good grounds for believing that the statue was preserved at Constantinople down to 1205 A.D., and that it is described in detail by the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniata. His argument is briefly this. The rhetorician Aristides mentions together in a single passage (*Or.* l. vol. 2. p. 556, ed. Dindorf), "the ivory Athena at Athens, the bronze Athena, and the Lemnian Athena" as masterpieces of art. He obviously refers to the three statues of Athena by Phidias on the Acropolis, namely the gold and ivory statue of Virgin Athena, and the two statues mentioned by Pausanias in the present section. Now a scholiast on this passage of Aristides (vol. 2. p. 710, ed. Dindorf) has a note on "the ivory Athena" mentioned by Aristides. It consists of a quotation from Arethas, a writer of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., and runs as follows :—"It seems to me that this is the statue standing in the market-place (forum) of Constantine at the portal of the Council-House which they now call the Senate. Opposite it on the right as you enter the portal stands an image of Thetis, her head crowned with crabs." From this scholium we should

infer that the gold and ivory statue of Virgin Athena stood in the market-place (forum) of Constantinople as late as the time of Arethas. But it seems incredible that a statue made of such precious materials should have been left standing for centuries in the open market-place exposed to the weather and thieves. It seems more probable that the scholiast on Aristides should have applied to the gold and ivory statue of Athena a remark of Arethas which really referred to the bronze Athena mentioned by Aristides in the same passage. That a statue or statues by Phidias stood in the market-place at Constantinople as late as the twelfth century A.D. is stated by Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, viii. 339). The two statues described by Arethas as standing in the market-place at Constantinople are also described by the Byzantine historian Cedrenus as follows (vol. 1. p. 565, ed. Bekker): "In the street of the market-place there stand two images; on the west is the image of Lindian Athena with a helmet and the Gorgon's head and snakes coiled round her neck; on the east is Amphitrite with the claws of a crab on her temples. The latter image was also brought from Rhodes." It is clear that the Amphitrite of Cedrenus was identical with the Thetis of Arethas, and that the Lindian Athena of Cedrenus was the image which Arethas believed to be by Phidias. The epithet Lindian which Cedrenus gives to the Athena seems to be due to the writer's having confused the statue in question with a statue of Athena from Lindus which stood at the entrance to a different Senate-house in Constantinople (Zosimus, v. 24). Finally, the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniata tells how a superstitious mob in 1203 A.D. destroyed a bronze image of Athena which stood in the market-place of Constantinople, and he has left us a minute description of the statue (pp. 738-740, ed. Bekker). It can hardly be doubted that this statue is the one mentioned by Arethas and Cedrenus and attributed by the former to Phidias. From Nicetas's description, which is preserved in two somewhat different forms in two manuscripts, we learn the following particulars about the statue. It was of bronze, 30 feet high. The goddess was portrayed standing upright, clad in a tunic which reached to her feet and was drawn in by a girdle at the waist. On her breast was a tight-fitting aegis with the Gorgon's head. On her head she wore a helmet with a nodding plume of horse-hair. Her tresses were plaited and fastened at the back of her head, but some locks strayed over her brow from beneath the rim of the helmet. With her left hand she lifted the folds of her garment; her right hand was stretched out in front of her, and her face was turned in the same direction as if she were beckoning to some one. There was a sweet look, as of love and longing, in the eyes; and the lips seemed as if about to part in honeyed speech. The ignorant and superstitious mob smashed the statue because, after the first siege and capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, they fancied that the outstretched hand of the statue had summoned the host of the invaders from out of the West (cp. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lx.)

We know from Pausanias that the bronze Athena of Phidias was equipped with spear and shield. If the statue in the market-place of Constantinople was indeed the bronze Athena of Phidias, it must have

lost both spear and shield in the time of Nicetas, for he mentions neither of them. The spear was probably held in the extended right hand: the shield may have rested on the ground at the goddess's left side and may have been lightly supported by her left hand which held the folds of her robe. The shield was similarly placed in Phidias's statue of Virgin Athena. On some coins of Athens a figure of Athena is represented which K. Lange considered to be a copy of the great bronze Athena of Phidias. It agrees fairly well with Nicetas's description of the statue at Constantinople, except that on the coins the goddess carries her shield on her left arm. Other Athenian coins (Fig. 38) give a view of the Acropolis with the colossal statue of Athena standing between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. However, little reliance can be placed on these latter coins as copies of the bronze Athena, since on some of them the type of the statue is clearly that of the Virgin Athena with the figure of Victory resting on her outstretched right hand. On others, which do not reproduce the type of the Virgin Athena, the goddess is portrayed standing at rest with her spear held upright in her right hand. She is not represented in the act of charging.



FIG. 37. — CHAMPION ATHENA? (ATHENIAN COIN).



FIG. 38. — VIEW OF ACROPOLIS (ATHENIAN COIN).

From these coins we learn, however, what we should have inferred from the order of Pausanias's description, that the great bronze Athena stood somewhere between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea. A quadrangular platform cut in the rock of the Acropolis about 30 yards east of the Propylaea has been conjecturally identified as the site of the statue; it seems to have been prepared for the reception of a pedestal about 18 feet in diameter. Prof. A. Kirchhoff formerly conjectured that a fragmentary inscription in elegiac verse (*C. I. A.* i. No. 333) was part of the inscription on the pedestal of the colossal bronze Athena; but he has since withdrawn his conjecture (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 40).

According to the scholiast on Aristides (vol. 3. p. 320, ed. Dindorf) the great bronze Athena was not by Phidias, but by Praxiteles. Prof. Furtwängler accepts this statement, and argues that the Praxiteles in question was the supposed elder sculptor of that name (see note on i. 2. 4). Prof. Furtwängler conjectures that the statue was made in 445-440 B.C. as a memorial of the peace with Persia, which was concluded in 445 B.C. He argues that a headless statue of Athena, known as the 'Torso Medici,' in the École des Beaux Arts at Paris, is a copy of the statue in question, and that a colossal head in the Jacobsen collection at Copenhagen is a copy of the head of the statue.

See Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 349 *sqq.*, 631 *sq.*; K. O. Müller, 'De Phidiae vita et operibus,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 1. p. 13 *sqq.*; O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, p. 16 *sq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 437 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 541 *sq.*; F. Adler, 'Athena Promachos aus Athen,' *Archaeolog. Zeitung*, 31 (1874), pp. 96-99; A. Michaelis, 'Die Promachos,'

Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen, 2 (1877), pp. 87-95; K. Lange, 'Die Athena Promachos des Phidias,' *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 39 (1881, pub. 1882), pp. 197-206; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 208; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 128 *sq.* with pl. Z i.-vii.; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 111 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 522 *sq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 133 *sq.*; M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 523 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 347 *sq.*; W. Gurlitt, 'Die grosse eherne Athena des Pheidias,' *Analecta Graeciensia* (Graz, 1893), pp. 101-121; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 45 *sqq.*, 133 *sqq.*

28. 2. **wrought by Mys, but designed —— by Parrhasius.** Athenaeus mentions Mys among the artists who were famous for chasing or working in relief on metal, and says that he had seen a cup adorned with a representation of the sack of Troy wrought in relief, with an inscription stating that the design was by Parrhasius and the workmanship by Mys (Athenaeus, xi. p. 782 b). This confirms Pausanias's statement that Parrhasius supplied Mys with designs for all his work. Pliny also includes Mys among the artists renowned for working in relief on metal, and tells us that in the temple of Bacchus in the city of Rhodes there were cups adorned with Silenuses and Cupids by the hand of Mys (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii. 155). Mys is mentioned by Propertius (iv. 9. 14, ed. Paley) and repeatedly by Martial (viii. 34 and 51; xiv. 95). As a contemporary of Parrhasius he must have flourished in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The adornment of the shield of the colossal bronze Athena may have been carried out after Phidias's death; but it is not impossible that Phidias, too busy to do it himself, may have entrusted the work to Parrhasius and Mys, then probably very young men. Cp. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. pp. 97, 409 *sq.*

28. 2. **a bronze chariot** etc. About 507 B.C. the Athenians defeated the Boeotians near the Euripus and took 700 of them prisoners. On the same day, after their victory, the Athenians crossed into Euboea, defeated the Chalcidians in battle and captured some of them. All the prisoners, Boeotian and Chalcidian, were kept in chains till they were ransomed, when the fetters were hung up on the Acropolis. These fetters were still to be seen there in Herodotus's time hanging on a smoke-blackened wall. Out of the tithe of the ransom the Athenians made a four-horse chariot of bronze, which in the time of Herodotus stood on the left as you entered the Propylaea with an inscription in two elegiac couplets, setting forth the occasion of erecting the trophy and alluding to the iron chains with which the prisoners had been bound. See Herodotus, v. 77; Diodorus, x. 24; *Antholog. Palat.* vi. 343. A fragment of the original inscription (*C. I. A.* iv. 334 a. p. 78) was found in 1886 or 1887 a few steps to the north-east of the Propylaea. It is engraved on a block of Eleusinian marble in letters which belong to the last part of the sixth sixtury B.C. Another fragment of the inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 334: Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 27) has been found on the Acropolis engraved on a block of Pentelic marble in letters which apparently belong to the time soon after the middle of the fifth century B.C. From this we infer that the original chariot, set up about 507 B.C., was destroyed or carried off by

the Persians in 480 B.C., and that soon after 450 B.C., perhaps immediately after the conquest of Euboea in 446 B.C., the Athenians restored the trophy, setting up a new chariot on a new pedestal. It was this new chariot which Herodotus (as well as Pausanias) saw and described. That Herodotus had before him the new pedestal is proved by the fact that in the new inscription, as we learn from the surviving fragment of it, the two hexameter lines were transposed, and Herodotus (as well as Diodorus and the Anthology) quotes the inscription with the lines in the new order. See A. Kirchhoff, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin) for 1887, pp. 111-114.

In Herodotus's time it would seem that the chariot stood immediately in front of the Propylaea on the left of the spectator as he ascended the slope; at least this is the most natural interpretation of Herodotus's words. On the other hand, we gather from the order of Pausanias's description that in his time the chariot stood inside of the Propylaea, at some point between it and the Erechtheum, but nearer to the Propylaea. If this is so, the position of the chariot must have been changed between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias. It has been suggested that in Herodotus's time the chariot stood in the position afterwards occupied by the monument of Agrippa (see above, p. 254 *sq.*), in which case it may have been moved inside the Propylaea when the monument of Agrippa was built. Or Herodotus may mean that the chariot was actually in the Propylaea, where it is possible that Pausanias found it. In this case it probably stood in the northern half of the inner or eastern portico of the Propylaea. The objection to this view, that there was no room here for a chariot, is not fatal; for the chariot need not have been of full size, it may have been a comparatively small model. The question of the exact position of the chariot seems, as our knowledge stands at present, incapable of a definitive solution. It has greatly exercised archaeologists.

See C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I. pp. 150, 547; *id.*, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbucher*, 25 (1879), pp. 18-24; P. Weizsäcker, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (1876), p. 46 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 32 (1886), pp. 12, 27; E. Curtius, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (1876), p. 53 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, 'Der Standort des ehernen Viergespannes,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 95-106; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 208; H. G. Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 343; *id.*, in *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, p. 193 *sq.*; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 14 *sq.*; W. Miller, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 503-509.

28. 2. **a statue of Pericles.** See note on i. 25. 1.

28. 2. **an image of Athena, surnamed Lemnian.** Lucian agreed with Pausanias in regarding this as the most beautiful of all the works of Phidias. In his dialogue *Imagines* (§ 4) one of the characters asks, "Which of the works of Phidias did you praise most?" and the other answers, "What but the Lemnian (Athena), on which Phidias designed to carve his name?" In the same dialogue (§ 6) it is proposed to fashion a perfect image of feminine beauty by selecting the most perfect features from all the most famous statues; and the Lemnian Athena is to furnish "the outline of the whole face, and the tenderness of the

cheeks, and the shapely nose." Aristides classes the Lemnian Athena along with the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the statue of the Virgin Athena, and the great bronze Athena, as masterpieces of art which delighted the beholder (Aristides, *Or.* l. vol. 2. p. 554, ed. Dindorf). Pliny probably refers to the Lemnian Athena when he says (*N. H.* xxxiv. 54) that Phidias made a bronze Athena of such surpassing beauty that the statue took its surname from its beauty (what the surname was he does not say). Himerius says (*Or.* xxi. 5) that Phidias did not always portray Athena as armed, "but he adorned the maiden by shedding on her cheek a rosy tinge by which, instead of a helmet, he meant to veil the beauty of the goddess." If Himerius here refers to the Lemnian Athena, that statue would seem to have represented the goddess as unarmed and without a helmet. The statue is perhaps referred to in two epigrams in the Anthology (Appendix Planudea, 169 and 170).

Prof. Furtwängler has argued that we possess copies of the Lemnian Athena in two marble statues of Athena at Dresden, another at Cassel, and a head of the goddess at Bologna. The Dresden statues and the Bologna head are certainly close copies of a common original: the Cassel statue is a much freer reproduction of it. The goddess is represented standing in a peaceful attitude, her weight resting on her right foot. On her breast is the aegis, fastened on the right shoulder and drawn somewhat to the left side. Her head is turned to the right and is bare, except for a fillet round her hair, which is short and tied in a knot at the back. In both the Dresden statues the arms are broken off short, but enough remains of the left arm to show that it was stretched out straight from the shoulder; probably in her left hand Athena grasped the spear. The upper part of the same statue appears to be copied on a gem, from which it would seem that in her right hand the goddess carried her helmet. The Dresden statues and the Bologna head, according to Prof. Furtwängler, are in the style of Phidias and are copies of a bronze original. Hence he infers that they are copies of the Lemnian Athena, since that statue appears to have been in bronze and to have represented Athena in a peaceful attitude without her helmet on her head. He agrees with Prof. Löschcke that the statue was probably dedicated by the Athenian colonists in Lemnos before they set out from Athens; and as the Athenian colony in Lemnos seems to have been planted between 451 B.C. and 447 B.C., he infers that the Lemnian Athena was made by Phidias in one of these years, just before he set about making the statue of Virgin Athena for the Parthenon. See A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 5 *sqq.*, with plates i. ii. iii. xxxii. 2. Prof. Furtwängler's identification has been accepted by Prof. Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*.[4] 1. p. 349 *sq.*) The Bologna head is reproduced by Prof. Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. griech. Plastik*, pl. i. p. 1 *sq.*, who strangely mistook the head for that of a young man. As to the Cassel statue see Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 447. Prof. Studniczka had formerly conjectured that two Athenian reliefs, which represent Athena without a helmet, leaning in an easy attitude on her shield, were copies of the

Lemnian Athena (Fr. Studniczka, *Vermutungen zur griech. Kunstgeschichte*, pp. 5-17).

28. 3. **The whole of the wall which runs round the Acropolis etc.** The southern wall of the Acropolis was built out of the produce of the spoils which the Athenians under Cimon won in battle from the Persians, especially at the great victory of the Eurymedon (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13; *id.*, *Comp. Cim. et Luc.* 1; Cornelius Nepos, *Cimon*, 2; cp. Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 7). The circuit-wall of the Acropolis is still standing, though in some parts the ancient masonry is hidden by a mediaeval or modern casing. At the south-east corner a piece of Cimon's wall may be seen standing to a height of 29 courses or 45 feet. It is not quite perpendicular, but batters, that is, slopes back, about 2 feet in the whole height. Westward of this point Cimon's wall has been almost entirely cased in mediaeval and recent times, and it is further supported by nine buttresses, which seem to be mediaeval. However, Cimon's wall can be traced under the casing all along to the Propylaea, wherever the casing is broken. The north wall of the Acropolis is ancient Greek work, and probably dates from Cimon's time; since pieces of the colonnade of the old temple which the Persians burnt in 480 B.C. are built into it. The eastern wall of the Acropolis appears to have been entirely rebuilt on the old foundations in the middle ages. The existing buttresses on the north and east walls of the Acropolis seem, like those on the southern wall, to be mediaeval. See Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (ed. 1888), p. 2.

Besides these extensive remains of Cimon's wall, there exist at various points of the circuit of the Acropolis pieces of a much older fortification-wall. A well-preserved piece of this ancient wall, 20 feet thick, has long been visible at the south-western corner of the Acropolis; it extends from the Propylaea to the southern circuit wall. Other pieces of this ancient wall were discovered in the course of the excavations conducted within recent years; they exist especially at the south-east corner of the Acropolis and to the south-west of the Parthenon. This ancient wall is built of polygonal and almost unhewn blocks of the bluish-grey limestone of the Acropolis; the blocks measure from 3 to 4½ feet in length. Though isolated fragments of this ancient wall alone remain, it is probable that originally it ran all round the edge of the Acropolis; since there is hardly any part of the natural rock which might not be climbed or escaladed by active and resolute men. This ancient and indeed prehistoric wall is doubtless the Pelasgic wall to which Pausanias refers in the present passage. Other writers of antiquity speak of this Pelasgic or Pelargic wall which the Pelasgians, or Pelargians, were said to have built round the Acropolis (Herodotus, vi. 137; Myrsilus, cited by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 28; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πελαργικόν; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 832 and 1139; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 659, *s.v.* Πελαργικόν; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 299, line 16 *sqq.*) Contemporary with this Pelasgic fortification-wall were probably the ancient houses, of which some roughly built foundations were discovered a few years ago near the Erechtheum resting on the rock at a depth of 45 feet below the surface.

Two groups of these foundations are distinguished. Those to the east of the Erechtheum are built of larger blocks and in a more careful style. They are conjectured to be the remains of a royal palace similar to, and contemporary with, the prehistoric palaces at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Troy. This conjecture is confirmed by the discovery of potsherds of 'Mycenaean' style among the foundations and in graves to the south of the Parthenon. See E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 45 *sqq.*; H. G. Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 337; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 536 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, 'Der Königspalast auf der Burg und die pelasgische Mauer,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sachs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl., 39 (1887), pp. 399-405; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 419 *sqq.*

The Pelasgic fortress appears to have had nine gates (Suidas, *s.v.* ἄπεδα; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 419, line 27 *sqq.*; Polemo, cited by Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 489). As these nine gates could hardly be distributed round the circuit-wall of the Acropolis, it has been supposed that they were arranged within each other at the entrance to the Acropolis on the western slope of the hill, so as to form a strong defence at this, the weakest point of the Acropolis. We can scarcely suppose that there were here nine fortification-walls, one within the other, each with its gate; but the road up to the Acropolis may have run between two walls and been barred at different points of the ascent by nine separate gates.

However this may have been, it appears that the Pelasgic fortress subsisted at least till 510 B.C.; for we read that in that year the tyrant Hippias was besieged "in the Pelasgic fortress" by the Athenians and Spartans conjointly (Herodotus, v. 64; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 19; *Parian Marble*, 45). It was doubtless dismantled, along with the other fortifications of Athens, by the Persians in 480 B.C. (Herodotus, viii. 53, ix. 13), if indeed the Athenians themselves had not already pulled down the gloomy old fortress which had been the tyrant's castle. But though its massive battlements no longer frowned on the lower city from the slope and summit of the hill, a space at the north-western foot of the Acropolis, which had probably been enclosed by the elaborate and extensive out-works of the ancient fortress, continued down into late Roman times to bear the name of the Pelasgicum or, more correctly, Pelargicum, a memorial of the earliest days of Athenian history. Thucydides tells us (ii. 17) that the Pelargicum was at the foot of the Acropolis. Its situation at the north-western foot of the hill is made certain by a statement of Lucian that the cave of Pan (see note on § 4 of this chapter) was a little above the Pelargicum. It must have been close under the wall of the Acropolis, since Lucian represents Philosophy sitting on the top of the wall and letting a fishing-line down into the city to catch hungry philosophers, while Parrhesiades asks her if she intends to fish up the stones from the Pelargicum (Lucian, *Piscator*, 47). That the Pelargicum did not extend very far in either direction appears to follow from another passage in the same dialogue of Lucian (c. 42) in which Parrhesiades, looking down from the Acropolis, sees the needy philosophers swarming up on all sides from the lower city to receive a

promised dole. He exclaims, "Bless me! the ascent is full of them jostling each other. Others have planted ladders and are swarming up, some at the Pelasgicum, others at the sanctuary of Aesculapius, still more at Talus's grave, and some at the Anaceum (the sanctuary of the Dioscuri)." This passage proves that the Pelargicum was one of many points lying at the foot of the Acropolis and not (as Prof. E. Curtius supposes) a narrow belt stretching all round it. And taken in conjunction with the preceding passage of Lucian which proves that the Pelargicum was at the north-western foot of the hill, immediately under the cave of Pan, the present passage of the same writer shows that the Pelargicum did not extend so far east as the sanctuary of the Dioscuri about the middle of the north side of the Acropolis (see note on i. 18. 1) nor further west than the saddle which divides the Areopagus from the Acropolis, since the philosophers who clambered up from the Pelargicum are distinguished on the one hand from those who came up from the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, and on the other hand from those who came up from the Areopagus. Hence we conclude that the Pelargicum occupied the space at the north-western foot of the Acropolis, between the sanctuary of the Dioscuri on the east and the saddle of the Areopagus on the west. It cannot, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, have extended all along the western front of the Acropolis, since in that case the philosophers coming up by the regular entrance on the western side and those coming up from the Areopagus would not have been distinguished from those who were coming up from the Pelargicum; they would *all* have been coming up from the Pelargicum. Still less can it have extended, as Dr. Dörpfeld believes, not only along the western front of the Acropolis, but along its southern side as far as the sanctuary of Aesculapius; for in that case the philosophers coming from the sanctuary of Aesculapius would not have been distinguished from those coming from the Pelargicum. In fact, on Dr. Dörpfeld's theory that the Pelargicum extended from Pan's cave all the way round to the sanctuary of Aesculapius, all the philosophers mentioned by Lucian, with the exception of those ascending from the grave of Talus (see i. 21. 4) and the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, must have been coming from the Pelargicum. This passage of Lucian, therefore, disposes of Dr. Dörpfeld's theory.

Another theory of Dr. Dörpfeld's about the Pelargicum, namely that it continued to subsist as a fortress down to the days of Herodes Atticus in the second century A.D. (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), p. 65 *sq.*), has been refuted by Prof. J. Williams White (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, p. 25 *sqq.*), who proves conclusively that it no longer existed as a fortress in the second half of the fifth century B.C. The fortress had been entirely dismantled by the Persians (Herodotus, ix. 13), and no mention of its restoration occurs in any classical writer or inscription. On the contrary, the evidence of Thucydides (ii. 17), who expressly distinguishes it from the enclosed places of the city, and of an inscription (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 27 b, p. 59, see below) which affixes a penalty for the offence of taking stones or earth from the Pelargicum, proves that in the second half of the fifth century B.C. the Pelargicum was an open space, not a fortified enclosure.

It was forbidden, under penalty of a curse, to inhabit the Pelargicum, the prohibition being enforced by a Delphic oracle which declared that the Pelargicum was better unused ; but in the Peloponnesian war, when the city was crowded with fugitives from the country, the prohibition was disregarded (Thucydides, ii. 17). The prohibition perhaps originated in the hatred with which the spot was regarded as a memorial of the tyrants. There were sanctuaries and altars in the Pelargicum ; for a law, dating apparently from early in the second half of the fifth century B.C., ordained that "the king (*i.e.* the magistrate who bore the royal title) shall fix the boundaries of the sanctuaries in the Pelargicum ; and for the future altars shall not be built in the Pelargicum without the consent of the Council and the people ; nor shall stones be cut in it, nor earth or stones exported from it ; but if any one break any of these rules he shall pay 500 drachms, and the king shall report him to the Council" (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 27 b, p. 59 *sqq.* ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 13). Officers called *paredroi* were charged with the duty of watching that no man cut grass or dug within the limits of the Pelargicum : the penalty for such an offence was three drachms (Pollux, viii. 101). That as late as the second century of our era the Pelargicum was littered with blocks of stone, the ruins perhaps of the ancient fortress, appears from the passage of Lucian (*Piscator*, 47) cited above. At the Panathenaic festival the ship with the new robe of Athena fluttering at its mast was wheeled past the Pelargicum on its way from the Eleusinium (see i. 14. 1 note) to the Pythium (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 7 ; as to the Pythium see i. 19. 1 note). It is needless to do more than mention the theory of Welcker and Göttling that the Pnyx (see below, p. 375 *sqq.*) was the Pelargicum.

See Leake, *Athens,* 1. pp. 309-315 ; Göttling, 'Das Pelasgikon in Athen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 4 (1846), pp. 321-345 ; F. G. Welcker, 'Der Felsaltar des Höchsten Zeus oder das Pelasgikon in Athen, bisher genannt die Pnyx,' *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1852, pp. 266-339 ; *id.*, 'Pynx oder Pelasgikon?' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 10 (1856), pp. 31-76 ; *id.*, 'Ueber C. Bursian's "Athenische Pnyx,"' *ib.* pp. 591-610 ; L. Ross, *Die Pnyx und das Pelasgikon in Athen* (Brunswick, 1853) ; *id.*, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1 (1855), pp. 181-185 ; C. Bursian, 'Die athenische Pnyx,' *Philologus*, 9 (1854), pp. 631-645 ; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athène*, 1. p. 80 *sqq.* ; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, pp. 111-114 ; C. Bötticher, *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, pp. 217-220 ; *id.*, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), pp. 337-339 ; C. Wachsmuth, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 23 (1868), pp. 60-62 ; *id.*, *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 24 (1869), pp. 46-51 ; *id.*, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 1. pp. 289-295 ; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 447-450 ; G. F. Unger, 'Pelasgikon,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. u. hist. Cl. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1874, pp. 303-351 (Unger wrongly holds that the Pelargicum was on the south side of the Acropolis) ; C. Robert, in v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's *Aus Kydathen*, p. 173 *sqq.* ; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 198 *sq.* ; E. Curtius, 'Eleusinion und Pelargikon,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin) for 1884, pp. 499-512 (republished in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 435-450) ; *id.*, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 47 *sq.*, 159 ; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 56 *sqq.* (who accepts Prof. Curtius's view) ; Ed. Meyer, in *Philologus*, 48 (1889), p. 469 *sqq.* (reprinted in Meyer's *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, p. 6 *sqq.*) ; H. G. Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 337 *sq.* ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 535-538 ; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 419 *sqq.* (who accept Curtius's view) ; W. Miller, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), pp. 481-492 ; J. W. White, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, pp. 25-62.

28. 3. **the Pelasgians who once dwelt at the foot of the Acropolis.** Herodotus says (vi. 137) that the Pelasgians received from the Athenians a district at the foot of Hymettus (not of the Acropolis) as a reward for having built the fortification-wall round the Acropolis. Strabo relates (ix. 401) that the Pelasgians, being expelled from Boeotia, came to Athens, where the Pelasgicum (Pelargicum) was named after them; but, like Herodotus, he says that they dwelt at the foot of Mt. Hymettus. Pausanias perhaps inferred that the Pelasgians dwelt at the foot of the Acropolis because the Pelargicum was there. On the tradition of a Pelasgian settlement in Attica, see K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos*,[2] p. 433 *sqq.*; Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, 1. p. 6 *sqq.* (Prof. Meyer holds that the tradition originated in a simple misunderstanding of the name Pelargicum, which he believes to have no connexion with Pelasgian.)

28. 3. **Agrolas and Hyperbius.** Pliny says (*N. H.* vii. 194) that Euryalus and Hyperbius, two brothers, were the first to introduce lime-kilns and houses at Athens; previously men had dwelt in caves.

28. 4. **below the portal, you come to a spring of water.** Pausanias has now completed his circuit of the Acropolis, and passing out through the Propylaea turns to the right and descends a staircase to the spring called the Clepsydra. We know from Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 911 *sqq.*) that this spring was outside the sacred precinct of the Acropolis. From the scholiasts on Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 911 and 913) and Hesychius (*s.v.* Κλεψύδρα) we learn that the spring was on the Acropolis, near the sanctuary of Pan; that its original name was Empedo, but that it was called Clepsydra ('hiding the water') because, though it sometimes overflowed, it sometimes ran dry; and that its waters were supposed to flow underground to Phalerum. The historian Ister (quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1694) informs us that, like the Nile and the spring at Delos, the water of the Clepsydra rose when the Etesian winds began to blow, and sank when they ceased; and he says that a blood-stained cup, which had fallen into the spring, reappeared in the bay of Phalerum, twenty furlongs off. The scholiast adds that the spring was said to be bottomless, and that its water was brackish. When Mark Antony, after wintering at Athens, was about to take the field against the Parthians, he was induced by an oracle to fill a vessel full of the water of the Clepsydra and carry it with him; he also took with him a branch of the sacred olive (Plutarch, *Antonius*, 34).

The spring is situated on the north-western face of the Acropolis rock, and is reached by a narrow flight of sixty-nine steps which descends from the back of the pedestal of Agrippa, at the north-west corner of the Propylaea. The upper steps are modern; the lower are ancient and are cut in the rock. The first part of the staircase is arched by the natural rock; lower down the vault is of modern masonry, though the walls are hewn in the rock. The staircase ends in a little underground chapel of the Holy Apostles, in the floor of which is a well-shaft about 30 feet deep, enclosed by ancient blocks of marble. At the bottom of the shaft may be seen the water of the Clepsydra, which is drawn up in buckets and is said by C. Bötticher to be clear and sweet,

though Beulé found it brackish. By letting down burning tapers to the surface of the water, C. Bötticher perceived that it flowed sluggishly westward. The spring, though it decreases in the height of summer, never runs dry. The apse and the vaulted roof of the chapel are of masonry. The rest of the walls are hewn roughly out of the rock; they were formerly coated with stucco and retain some faded paintings of saints. A dim light falls into the little chapel from a small round hole in the roof immediately over the well.

In September 1822 the Greek general Odysseus enclosed the spring within the fortifications of the Acropolis by erecting a bastion outside of it. He did this in order to secure a supply of water in case he should be besieged in the Acropolis by the Turks. This bastion, known as the bastion of Odysseus, was taken down in 1888. In classical antiquity the spring cannot have been included within the fortification-line of the Acropolis; for Cylon and his conspirators, being besieged on the Acropolis, suffered from want of water (Thucydides, i. 126); and Aristion, in similar circumstances, was forced by thirst to capitulate to the Romans (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14). But the analogy of the spring, or rather reservoir, similarly situated just outside the citadel at Mycenae, and reached from it by a similar staircase (see note on ii. 16. 5), makes it probable that, in the days when the Athenian Acropolis was the fortified seat of a princely house, the head of the staircase that leads down to the spring was always within the castle walls. It was only when the Acropolis ceased to be a fortress that direct access to the spring could be dispensed with.

On the Clepsydra see Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 69 *sq.*; E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, I. pp. 153-156; C. Bursian, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 10 (1856), p. 501 *sq.*; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 165 *sq.*; C. Bötticher, *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, p. 221 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 22 (1867), p. 71 *sqq.*; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 442 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I. p. 248; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 22 with pl. ix. 4; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 208; Baedeker,[3] p. 60; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 55 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 538 *sq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 36, 47, 49.

28. 4. **near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave** etc. Euripides has told how Apollo met Creusa in a cave on the northern cliffs of the Acropolis, and how Creusa exposed the infant Ion, the fruit of the amour, in the same cave (Euripides, *Ion*, 10 *sqq.*, 283 *sqq.*, 492 *sqq.*, 936 *sqq.*, 1398 *sqq.*, 1482 *sqq.*) The poet seems to imply that the cave was sacred to Pan; for he makes Creusa say (*v.* 936 *sq.*), "Doest know the northern cave, the Cecropian cliffs which we call Long?" To which the slave answers (*v.* 937), "I know, 'tis where there are shrines of Pan and altars near." Some modern writers suppose this to mean that near the cave where Apollo met Creusa there was a cave of Pan with altars. But Euripides apparently means that the cave where the lovers met was a shrine of Pan and that there were altars of Pan near the cave. This is confirmed by *vv.* 500 *sqq.*, where it is said, "Whene'er, O Pan, thou pipest in thy caves, where a maiden exposed the babe she bore to Phoebus," etc. Through a defect in the

text of Pausanias it is uncertain whether he distinguished the cave of Pan from the cave of Apollo or regarded them as the same. The cave in which he supposed Apollo to have met Creusa, and which, if I am right, was also sacred to Pan, is most probably the high-arched but shallow cave immediately to the east of the Clepsydra. It fronts to the north-west and is a conspicuous feature in the face of the rock as viewed from the town below. The walls of the cave are studded with niches for the reception of votive-offerings, proving the veneration in which the grotto was held. Beside this cave, immediately to the east of it and further from the Clepsydra, is a twin cave of similar shape and dimensions, which has sometimes been identified as the cave of Pan. But it contains no niches or other vestiges of religious worship. Moreover the evidence of Aristophanes and his scholiast is in favour of the view that the cave of Pan was immediately beside the spring Clepsydra; for Aristophanes makes Cinesias propose to Myrrhina that after giving him a meeting in the sanctuary of Pan she shall bathe in the Clepsydra (*Lysistrata*, 911 *sqq.*), and the scholiast on the passage says that the Clepsydra was near the sanctuary of Pan. Some modern writers (including Göttling, C. Bötticher, Prof. A. Milchhöfer, and Mr. A. Bötticher) identify as Apollo's cave a third grotto situated somewhat apart from the other two, immediately above the Clepsydra, about 30 feet higher up the slope. It was formerly enclosed, together with the Clepsydra, by the bastion of Odysseus. It is a shallow arch-shaped hollow in the face of the cliff. In the back wall of the grotto are cut some niches for votive-offerings.

There is nothing unusual in the conjunction of the worships of two deities in the same cave; indeed such a conjunction seems to have been common (L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 77). The grotto at *Vari* on Mt. Hymettus appears, from the inscriptions cut in it, to have been sacred both to Pan and Apollo as well as to the Nymphs and the Graces (see note on i. 31. 1).

Apollo seems to have been worshipped in the cave under the title of "Apollo under the Heights" (ὑπακραῖος or ὑπ' ἄκραις), for three inscriptions have been found containing dedications to him under this title (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 91, 92; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 144); one of the inscriptions (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 91) is said to have been found at the entrance to the Clepsydra (*Rheinisches Museum*, 7 (1850), p. 5). Dr. Dörpfeld is of opinion that the Apollo of this cave was the Pythian Apollo (see note on i. 29. 1).

The story which Pausanias here tells of the institution of the worship of Pan at Athens is told also by Herodotus (vi. 105), who adds that "the Athenians founded a sanctuary of Pan under the Acropolis and propitiate him with annual sacrifices and a torch-race." Cp. Paus. viii. 54. 6. Lucian defines the situation of the sanctuary more exactly; he says that it was a cave under the Acropolis, a little above the Pelargicum (*Bis accusatus*, 9), and he represents the god as grumbling at the Athenians for their shabby treatment of him. "However," he admits grudgingly, "they do come up twice or thrice a year and sacrifice a rank he-goat; then they feast on the flesh, after making me a witness

of their mirth and honouring me with mere applause. But their laughter and merry-making have a certain charm for me" (Lucian, *Bis accusatus*, 10). Elsewhere Lucian represents Pan as boasting to Hermes of "the grotto under the Acropolis" which he had received from the Athenians as a reward for the gallant service he had rendered them at the battle of Marathon (*Dial. Deorum*, xxii. 3). The scholiast on Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter) repeats the story of the institution of Pan's worship at Athens, describing his cave as situated "above the Areopagus," and stating that the Athenians annually sacrificed a he-goat to him. In the Anthology (*Anthol. Planud.* 259) there is an epigram on a statue of Pan made of Parian marble, which the Athenians placed on the Acropolis (in the cave ?). There is another epigram, attributed to Simonides, on a statue of Pan which was set up by Miltiades (*Anthol. Planud.* 232 ; *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. Bergk,[3] 3. p. 1163). In 1888 a marble relief was found in the bastion of Odysseus ; it represents Pan with a shepherd's crook in his left hand and a skin hanging from his left shoulder (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, p. 183 *sq.*)

The cave of Pan and Apollo is represented on coins of Athens which give a view of the Acropolis (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 128 *sq.* with pl. Z iii.-vii. ; see above, p. 351).

On the cave or caves of Apollo and Pan see Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 1. p. 303 *sq.* ; Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 169 *sq.* ; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 68 *sq.* ; Göttling, 'Die Apollogrotte der Akropolis von Athen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 7 (1850), pp. 1-15 ; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 165 ; C. Bötticher, *Bericht über die Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, p. 222 *sq.* ; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 22 (1865), p. 69 *sqq.* ; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 445 *sq.* ; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 248 *sqq.* ; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 22 *sq.*, with pl. ix. 4 ; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 208 *sq.* ; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 54 *sq.* ; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 39 *sq.* ; Baedeker,[3] p. 60 ; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 538 *sq.*

28. 5. **the Areopagus.** The situation of the Areopagus or Hill of Ares (Mars' Hill), as the ancients interpreted the name, is determined by the statement of Herodotus (viii. 52) that it was the hill opposite the Acropolis which the Persians occupied when they laid siege to the Acropolis. Aeschylus, too, says (*Eumenides*, 685 *sqq.*) that when the host of the Amazons came to Athens, they occupied the Areopagus as a counter-work (namely to the Acropolis, the seat of their foe Theseus). The vicinity of the Areopagus to the western end of the Acropolis is attested by Lucian, who represents Pan sitting in his cave at the north-west corner of the Acropolis (see the preceding note) and listening daily to the speeches made in the neighbouring court of the Areopagus (*Bis accusatus*, 12). Hence the Areopagus has long been rightly identified with the rocky height (377 feet high) to the west of the Acropolis, from which it is separated by a depression. On the west it is divided by another hollow from the so-called Nymphaeum or hill of the Nymphs, which is crowned by the modern Observatory. The north-east side of the Areopagus is precipitous ; the other sides slope gently to the plain. A flight of fifteen or sixteen steps cut in the rock but now ruinous leads up from the south-eastern side of the hill to a small, artificially levelled

platform on the top of the hill, where there are some remains of rock-hewn seats. It was on this platform, probably, that the court of the Areopagus met; for we are told that the court sat in the open air (Pollux, viii. 118) on a high hill (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 253, line 26 *sqq.*) Lucian says that the court met in the dark night (*Hermotimus*, 64; *De domo*, 18). Down to Roman times there was an ancient building roofed with mud on the Areopagus (Vitruvius, ii. 1. 5); what it was used for, we do not know. A pillar or slab of stone or metal was set up on the hill with the laws relating to homicide engraved on it (Lysias, i. 30). The ruins of a small church of Dionysius the Areopagite at the foot of the height, on the north-eastern side, confirm the identification of this hill with the Areopagus. Tradition runs that in this church St. Paul preached to the Athenians (*Acts of the Apostles*, xvii. 19 *sqq.*) Prof. E. Curtius supposes that the writer of the *Acts of the Apostles*, *l.c.*, meant to say that St. Paul was taken, not to the Areopagus hill, but to the Council of the Areopagus seated in front of the Royal Colonnade (i. 3. 1) in the market-place.

See Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 165, 356; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 62 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 118; Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, 1. p. 284; U. Köhler, 'Der Areopag in Athen,' *Hermes*, 6 (1872), pp. 92-112; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 451 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 76 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 58; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 330 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 554 *sqq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 262 *sq.*; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 527 *sqq.*

28. 5. **because Ares was the first to be tried there** etc. See i. 21. 4. Euripides agrees with Pausanias in saying that Ares was the first to be tried on the Areopagus (*Electra*, 1258 *sqq.*) Cp. Demosthenes, xxiii. 66, p. 641; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 444, line 7 *sqq.* According to Hellanicus (cited by the scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1648 and 1651), Ares was the first to be tried on the Areopagus; next, three generations afterwards, Cephalus was tried there for the murder of his wife Procris; then, three generations later, Daedalus was tried there for the murder of his nephew Talus; then, after three more generations, Orestes was tried there for the murder of his mother Clytaemnestra. For the trial of Orestes on the Areopagus, see Aeschylus, *Orestes*, 566 *sqq.*; Demosthenes, *l.c.* According to Aeschylus, the Areopagus was so called because the Amazons there sacrificed to Ares when they encamped on the hill (*Eumenides*, 685 *sqq.*) The place called the Amazonium, where the Amazons encamped and where some of them were buried (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27; Diodorus, iv. 28; Harpocration and Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀμαζόνειον), was probably on or near the Areopagus. Modern writers (C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 428 note 2; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 425 note 4) have suggested that Areopagus (*Areios pagos*) means 'the hill of cursing,' the first part of the name being derived from *ara* 'a curse' and the reference being to the Furies who had a sanctuary on the side of the hill (see below), and were sometimes known as Arai, *i.e.* 'the curses' (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 417); cp. E. Rohde, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 50 (1895), p. 16 *sq.* Mr. R. A. Neil informs me that the derivation of *areios* from *ara*, though

exceptional, is supported by old forms like *aulaios* (from *aulē*), *Kuthereia* (from *Kuthera*), as well as by younger forms such as *numpheios* and *mouseion*. The regularly formed adjective from *ara* would be *araios*, which was actually in use. The explanation of the name Areopagus as 'the hill of cursing' derives support from the fact that solemn oaths by the Furies and other deities were taken on the hill, and that a man who forswore himself in taking such oaths was supposed to incur "all the curses in the city" (Dinarchus, i. 46 *sq.*) As to the sanctuary of Ares see i. 8. 4 note.

28. 5. **an altar of Warlike Athena.** The Athenians appear to have sworn by the Sun, Ares, and Warlike Athena in concluding a treaty of alliance (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 333), and so did the people of Pergamus (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. No. 13). Warlike Athena was also worshipped at Plataea (ix. 4. 1).

28. 5. **the stone of Injury and the stone of Ruthlessness.** Theophrastus (cited by Zenobius, iv. 36) says that there were altars of Injury and Ruthlessness at Athens; he probably refers to these stones, which may have been altar-shaped blocks. According to Cicero (*De legibus*, ii. 11. 28) the Athenians, after expiating the Cylonian massacre, erected a shrine of Contumely and Impudence, by which Cicero means the altars or stones of Injury and Ruthlessness. Xenophon alludes to the stone of Ruthlessness when he says (*Convivium*, viii. 35) that the Lacedaemonians esteemed Ruth (*aidōs*, *i.e.* 'pity,' 'reverence') a goddess, not Ruthlessness (*anaideia*). Euripides refers to the two stones when he makes Orestes say (*Iphig. in Tauris*, 961 *sqq.*) that on coming to the Areopagus to be tried he occupied one pedestal or seat (*bathron*), while the eldest of the Furies (his accusers) took the other. On a cameo and a vase-painting which represent the acquittal of Orestes, the accused is seen with his right foot planted on a rough stone, probably the stone of Injury (Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, 1. p. 398 *sq.*, figs. 491 and 493). Some have fancied they could identify the two stones with two blocks standing on the platform on the top of the hill. Wordsworth says: "Immediately above the steps, on the level of the hill, is a bench of stone excavated in the limestone rock, forming three sides of a quadrangle, like a triclinium: it faces the south: on its east and west side is a raised block; the former may perhaps have been the tribunal, the two latter the rude stones which Pausanias saw here" (*Athens and Attica*, p. 62).

Perhaps the two stones were used to swear on, the accuser and accused standing on them as they took their oaths. We have seen (note on i. 3. 1) that in the Royal Colonnade at Athens there was a stone which was used for a like purpose. The custom of swearing on a stone is not uncommon among primitive peoples. See W. Munzinger, *Sitten und Recht der Bogos*, p. 33 *sq.*; *Asiatick Researches*, 3. p. 30 *sq.* (8vo ed.); Martin's 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 3. pp. 628, 646, 657; Miss Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 167.

28. 6. **a sanctuary of the goddesses whom the Athenians call the Venerable Ones** etc. As to this euphemistic name for the Eumenides

or Furies, cp. ii. 11. 4. Helladius (quoted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 535 a 4 *sqq.*, ed. Bekker) says: "All the ancients, but most of all the Athenians, were careful not to use ill-omened words; so they called the prison 'the chamber,' and the executioner 'the public man,' and the Furies (Erinyes) they called 'Eumenides' ('the kindly ones') or 'the Venerable Goddesses.'" The sanctuary of the Furies at Athens was said, according to one account, to have been founded by Epimenides the Cretan (Diogenes Laertius, i. 10. 112), doubtless at the time when he purified Athens after the affair of Cylon. But probably the sanctuary was much older. According to one account it was founded after the trial of Orestes (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 804 *sqq.*; Dinarchus, i. 87; Schol. on Thucydides, i. 126). The sanctuary must have been in the depression between the Areopagus and the Acropolis; for here, as we are expressly told by Valerius Maximus (v. 3. Ext. 3), was the grave of Oedipus, and we know from Pausanias (§ 7 below) that the grave was within the sacred enclosure of the Furies. This situation agrees with the narrative of the massacre of Cylon's fellow-conspirators; as they were coming down from the Acropolis some of them took refuge at the altars of the Furies, where they were despatched (Thucydides, i. 126; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 12). These altars are mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (vii. 25. 2). Euripides says that the disappointed Furies, after the acquittal of Orestes at the Areopagus, disappeared down a chasm in the earth close beside the hill (*Electra*, 1270 *sqq.*) This chasm is doubtless the deep fissure at the foot of the low precipice on the north-eastern side of the hill; it is approached through a chaos of huge blocks of rock and contains a pool of black water. Wordsworth was told by a woman, whom he found filling her pitcher here, that the spring flows during summer and is esteemed for its medicinal virtues. It is a sunless and gloomy spot. Two of the three images of the Furies were of Parian marble, works of Scopas; the third, standing between the other two, was a work of Calamis (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 41, ed. Potter; Schol. on Aeschines, i. 188, p. 282, ed. Schultz). Oaths were taken by the Furies and other deities at the Areopagus (Dinarchus, i. 47, cp. 64), and prayers were offered to them on behalf of the state (Aeschines, i. 188; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 57 b, p. 403). The worship of the Furies was conducted by a family called the Hesychids (Ἡσυχίδαι) who traced their descent from a certain Hesychus ('the quiet One'). They sacrificed to the Furies and headed the procession in their honour. The family of the Eupatrids had no share in the sacrifice. Before sacrificing to the goddesses, the Hesychids sacrificed a sacred ram to their ancestor Hesychus whom they called a hero and who had a shrine "beside the Cylonium, outside the Nine Gates," as Polemo described the situation (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 489; Polemo, ed. Preller, Frag. 49; on the Hesychids, see J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 170-175). The 'Cylonium' was probably a shrine of some sort erected as an expiation on the spot where some of Cylon's fellow-conspirators had been cut down, close to the altars of the Furies (see above). "The Nine Gates" was probably the old fortified outwork on the western face of the Acropolis (see above, p. 356). Hence the sanctuary of Hesychus was most prob-

ably in the hollow between the Acropolis and the Areopagus. The priestesses of the Hesychid family burnt honey cakes to the Furies (Callimachus, quoted by the scholiast on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 489), and milk was offered to them in earthen vessels (Schol. on Aeschines, i. 188, p. 282, ed. Schultz). Polemo tells us that persons who had been wrongly supposed to be dead and for whom funeral rites had consequently been performed were not allowed to enter the sanctuary of the Furies (Hesychius, *s.v.* *δευτερόποτμος*; Polemo, ed. Preller, Frag. 50).

On the sanctuary of the Furies or Eumenides, see Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. [illegible]; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 65-67; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 118; Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland*, 1. p. [illegible]; C. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, Suppl. 3 (1867), p. 333 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 1. pp. 251-253; Lolling, 'Athen,' p. 330; Baedeker,[3] p. [illegible]; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 557 *sqq.*

28. 6. **whom Hesiod in the Theogony calls the Furies.** Hesiod, *Theog.* 185.

28. 6. **Aeschylus was the first to represent them with snakes in their hair.** See Aeschylus, *Choephori*, 1049 *sq.*

28. 6. **there is nothing terrible in their images.** On a votive relief in the Church of St. John, half an hour to the east of Argos, the Furies are portrayed as three maidens of mild aspect clad in long robes, each of them with a serpent in her right hand and a flower in her left. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 152 *sq.*, with pl. ix.; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. pp. 1330, 1332 *sqq.* The images of the Furies at Athens were by Scopas and Calamis (see above, p. 365).

28. 7. **the tomb of Oedipus.** Valerius Maximus says (v. 3. Ext. 3) that the bones of Oedipus were buried between the Areopagus and the Acropolis, and were worshipped as those of a hero, an altar being erected to him. The grave of Oedipus seems to have been regarded as a talisman which secured the safety of the state (Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1518-1534, 1760-1765; Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 230, ed. Dindorf). Originally the situation of the grave appears to have been kept as a state secret, which was only communicated by a high magistrate (probably the titular king) to his successor when he was about to die or lay down his office (Sophocles, *ll.cc.*), just as the knowledge of the grave of Dirce at Thebes was a secret communicated only by the general of cavalry to his successor (Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 5; see note on ix. 17. 6). But the knowledge of the grave of Oedipus at Athens had probably leaked out long before the time of Pausanias. Sophocles describes the death of Oedipus in a mysterious way which leaves it uncertain whether the poet supposed it to have taken place at Colonus or at Athens. But there are features in his description which point to Athens and the neighbourhood of the Areopagus as the spot which he associated with the death and hence, probably, with the burial of Oedipus. Thus he says that Oedipus was last seen at "the sheer threshold," near the memorial of the covenant which Theseus and Pirithous made with each other, and that his daughters went thence and fetched water from "the hill that looks on Green Demeter" (Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1590 *sqq.*) Now "the sheer (or abruptly descending) threshold" must mean, as

Prof. Jebb says, "a natural fissure or chasm, supposed to be the commencement of a passage leading down to the nether world." Such a fissure is the cave on the northern side of the Areopagus down which the Furies passed after the trial of Orestes (see above, p. 365). (Mr. P. Kastromenos, however, states that there is a cavern also at Colonus, the access being through a house on the south-west slope of the hill. See P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 24.) Near the fissure in the Areopagus, at the western foot of the Acropolis, was a sanctuary of Green Demeter (see i. 22. 3 note); and at the foot of the Pnyx hill, probably in full view of the sanctuary of Green Demeter, there were in antiquity some natural springs and an important fountain (see note on i. 14. 1, 'Enneacrunus'), from which Sophocles may have supposed that the daughters of Oedipus drew water. Further, there was a place somewhere to the north of the Acropolis where Theseus and Pirithous were said to have covenanted (see i. 18. 4 note). All these coincidences of Athenian topography with Sophocles's description are in favour of the view that Sophocles knew the grave of Oedipus beside the Areopagus and hinted at it in his play. It is possible that the tomb was originally at Colonus, and that the remains of the hero were removed to Athens early in the Peloponnesian war. If the safety of the state was really believed to depend on these remains, the Athenians would hardly have left them outside the walls, exposed to the risk of being found and carried off by the prowling parties of the enemy, who ravaged all the adjoining country. The grave of Oedipus was not the only tomb at Athens the situation of which was nominally or really kept a secret, because the national safety was believed to be bound up with it. Dinarchus tells us (i. 9) that the Council of the Areopagus "guards the secret graves on which the safety of the state depends." For other examples of these state talismans in antiquity, see note on viii. 47. 5. On the grave of Oedipus see Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 202 *sqq.*; R. C. Jebb, Introduction to Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, p. xxviii. *sqq.* As Pausanias remarks, Homer appears to have supposed that Oedipus died at Thebes; for he says (*Iliad*, xxiii. 679 *sq.*) that Mecisteus went to Thebes to be present at the funeral of Oedipus. On the other hand, Aristides (*Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 230, ed. Dindorf) and the scholiast on Euripides (*Phoenissae*, 1707) speak of Oedipus as buried at Colonus. Cp. i. 30. 4. Another legend as to the grave of Oedipus is told by the scholiast on Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 91) as follows. When Oedipus died at Thebes the people would not allow him to be buried there. So his remains were taken to a place called Ceus in Boeotia and there interred. But misfortunes afterwards befell the villagers, which they put down to the burial of Oedipus in their midst. Therefore they obliged the friends of Oedipus to remove his remains. His friends accordingly carried away the remains and deposited them secretly by night at Eteonus in a sanctuary of Demeter, which in the darkness they did not recognise as such. The affair, however, came to light, and the inhabitants of the place inquired of the god what they should do. But the god told them not to disturb the suppliant of the goddess. So the bones of the wanderer were left in peace, and the sanctuary was called the Oedipodeum.

28. 8. **The court called Parabystum** etc. The police magistrates called the Eleven presided in this court (Harpocration, *s.v.* Παράβυστον; Pollux, viii. 121; cp. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1108). The court was at least as old as the fifth century B.C., since it was mentioned by Antiphon (Harpocration, *l.c.*) It appears to have stood in the market-place; for Antiphon, speaking of a case which would seem to have fallen under the jurisdiction of the Eleven, says that it was tried in the market-place (Antiphon, v. 10). From the same speech of Antiphon (§ 11) we infer that the court-house was a roofed building, not an enclosure open to the sky like the courts in which cases of murder were tried. Pausanias's statement that the court was in an out-of-the-way place and that only trifling cases were tried in it seems to be a mere inference from the name Parabystum ('thrust aside'). The same may be said of the statement that the sittings of the court were secret (*Etymol. Magnum*, p. 651, *s.v.* Παράβυστον; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 292, line 24 *sq.*) On the northern slope of the Museum Hill there is an artificially levelled space with a row of seven seats hewn in the rock at one side and a bench, also hewn out of the rock, on another side (see Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 19 *sq.*, with pl. vi. 4). Prof. U. Köhler suggested (*Hermes*, 6 (1872), p. 96 note) that this remarkable cutting in the rock might be the Parabystum. But the conjecture is devoid of evidence or probability. The court Parabystum is mentioned in an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 822).

On the Parabystum see C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 365-368. On the board of the Eleven see Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 2. p. 386 *sq.*; K. F. Hermann, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, ed. V. Thumser, § 99, p. 566 *sqq.*; G. Busolt, *Griech. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer*,[2] § 184, p. 233; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 285 *sq.*

28. 8. **The court called Trigonum.** This court was mentioned in lost works of Dinarchus (Pollux, viii. 121), Lycurgus, and Menander (Harpocration, *s.v.* Τρίγωνον δικαστήριον). Cp. Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Τρίγωνον; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 120.

28. 8. **The Batrachium ('frog-green') and the Phoenicium ('red').** These two courts are not mentioned by any other ancient writer; but Aristotle tells us (*Constitution of Athens*, col. 32, p. 240, ed. Sandys) that each law-court had a certain colour painted on the lintel of the doorway, and each juryman received a staff or baton painted with the colour of the court in which he was to sit.

28. 8. **the Heliaea.** Harpocration says (*s.v.* Ἡλιαία): "Heliaea is the greatest law-court at Athens, in which public affairs were tried by a thousand or fifteen hundred jurymen." Cp. Suidas, Stephanus Byzantius, and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἡλιαία; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 427, *s.v.* Ἡλιαία; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. pp. 189, 262, 310 *sq.*; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 88, 772; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 898; Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 21, p. 706. The meaning of the name and the situation of the court are both unknown. On the Heliaea see C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 2. pp. 358-365; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 62 *sq.*; K. F. Hermann, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,

ed. V. Thumser, p. 538 *sqq.*; G. Busolt, *Griech. Staats- und Rechts-altertümer*,[2] p. 278 *sqq.*; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] I. p. 438 *sqq.* One of the sections of this court was presided over by the Thesmothetae and was hence called the Heliaea of the Thesmothetae (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 27 a, p. 10 *sqq.*; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 10; Antiphon, vi. 21, where for ἡλιακὴν we must read ἡλιαίαν, as Taylor proposed; cp. Andocides, i. 28).

28. 8. **the one called after the Palladium, where cases of involuntary homicide are tried.** Aristotle says (*Constitution of Athens*, 57) that the cases tried in the court of the Palladium were "involuntary homicide, and conspiracy (against life), and the slaying of a slave, a resident alien, or a foreigner." Cp. Harpocration, *s.vv.* βουλεύσεως and ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ. The legend of the origin of the court, as it is here told by Pausanias, is also related, with variations in detail, by Harpocration and Suidas (*s.v.* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ), Pollux (viii. 118 *sq.*), the scholiast on Aeschines (ii. 87, p. 298, ed. Schultz), and an anonymous writer (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, I. p. 311, line 3 *sqq.*) Harpocration says (*s.v.* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ) that when the Argives under Agamemnon put in to Athens on their way from Troy, bringing the Palladium or image of Pallas with them, Demophon (son of Theseus) carried off the Palladium and slew many of the Argives who pursued him. Indignant at this, Agamemnon demanded justice on Demophon, and hence a court composed of fifty Athenians and fifty Argives was formed to try the case; the members of the court were called *ephetai*, a title which they ever afterwards retained. This account of Harpocration is derived from Clitodemus, as we learn from Suidas (*s.v.* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ). According to Phanodemus (cited by Suidas, *l.c.*) the Argives, sailing from Troy, put in to Phalerum, where they were slain by the natives in ignorance; but afterwards Acamas (brother of Demophon) recognised them and found the Palladium, and the court of the Palladium was established on the spot by command of an oracle. Pollux says (*l.c.*) that after the capture of Troy certain Argives, bringing with them the Palladium, put in to Phalerum and being slain by the natives in ignorance were left weltering on the ground until Acamas revealed the fact of their nationality; whereupon they were buried and received the title of the Unknown Ones by command of an oracle; moreover the Palladium was set up on the spot, and cases of involuntary homicide continued to be tried there thenceforth. Similarly the scholiast on Aeschines (*l.c.*) says that some Argives with the Palladium put in to Phalerum, where they were unintentionally slain by the natives; as the corpses remained long fresh and untouched by wild beasts, the natives made inquiries and learned from Acamas that the slain men were Argives; so they found the Palladium, set it up in the sanctuary of Athena at Phalerum, and, having buried the dead, established there a court for the trial of involuntary homicide. Thus the evidence of Phanodemus, Pollux, and the scholiast on Aeschines goes to show that the court of the Palladium was at Phalerum. On the other hand Plutarch says (*Theseus*, 27) that the right wing of the army of the Amazons was attacked by the Athenians "from Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum"; from which, as Mr.

Ardettus and the Lyceum were to the east of Athens (see above, notes on i. 19. 3; i. 19. 6), it would seem to follow that the court of the Palladium was also to the east of Athens. A different account is given by Polyaenus of the way in which the Palladium came into the possession of the Athenians. He says (i. 5) that Demophon received the Palladium from Diomede to take care of. When Agamemnon asked it back, Demophon gave the true Palladium to an Athenian named Buzyges to take to Athens, while he succeeded in palming off a copy of it on Agamemnon. In Roman times a new Palladium was made and dedicated "to the gods and the city" at the bidding of the Pythian Apollo (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 71).

Persons convicted of involuntary homicide in the court of the Palladium had to depart the country by an appointed road within a certain time and had to remain in banishment till they were pardoned by the kin of the slain man, when they were allowed to return, but not before certain sacrifices had been offered and purificatory ceremonies performed (Demosthenes, xxiii. 71 *sq.*, p. 643 *sq.*, where for *αἰδέσηταί τινα* it would seem that we must read *αἰδέσηταί τις*; cp. *id.*, xliii. 57, p. 1069, lix. 9, p. 1348; *C. I. A.* i. 61; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 59; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 45). There were images both of Athena and Zeus at the Palladium (*C. I. A.* i. No. 273; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 71). The priest of Zeus at the Palladium had a seat reserved for him in the theatre (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 273). In later times the Palladium was one of the haunts of philosophers, like the Academy and the Painted Colonnade (Plutarch, *De exilio*, 14).

See Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 179 *sq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 55; G. Busolt, *Griech. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer*,[2] 1. § 207, p. 273; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] 1. p. 427 *sq.*

28. 10. **the court of the Delphinium.** Aristotle says (*Constitution of Athens*, 57): "If a man confesses a homicide but asserts that it was legal, as for example if he caught his victim in adultery or killed him by mistake in war or in an athletic contest, he is tried in the court of the Delphinium." Cp. Demosthenes, xxiii. 74, and Pollux, viii. 119, who tells the same legend as Pausanias with regard to the foundation of the court. As to the Delphinium or sanctuary of Delphinian Apollo where the court sat, see i. 19. 1 note. As to Theseus's slaughter of Pallas and his sons, see i. 22. 2 note.

28. 10. **the Court in the Prytaneum.** As to the Prytaneum, see i. 18. 3 note. Demosthenes says (xxiii. 76, p. 645): "If a stone or a piece of wood or iron or any such thing fall and strike a man, and the person who threw the thing is not known, but they do know and are in possession of the thing which killed the man, then that thing is brought to trial at the court of the Prytaneum." Cp. Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 311 line 15 *sq.* Animals which had killed a human being, as well as inanimate instruments of death, were tried for murder at the Prytaneum (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 57). The judges were the titular king and the officials called tribal kings: on the latter devolved the duty of casting the offending object outside the boundaries (Aristotle, *l.c.*; Pollux, viii. 90 and 120). These old-world ideas and practices were countenanced

by Plato, who, in laying down laws for an imaginary commonwealth, says (*Laws*, ix. pp. 873 d-874 a): "If a beast of burden or any other animal shall kill any one, except it be while the animal is competing in one of the public games, the relations of the deceased shall prosecute the animal for murder; the judges shall be such clerks of the market as the kinsman of the deceased may appoint; and the animal, if found guilty, shall be put to death and cast beyond the boundaries of the country. But if any lifeless object, with the exception of a thunderbolt or any such missile hurled by the hand of God, shall deprive a man of life either by falling on him or through the man's falling on it, the next of kin to the deceased shall, making expiation for himself and all his kin, appoint his nearest neighbour as judge; and the thing, if found guilty, shall be cast beyond the boundaries, as hath been provided in the case of the animals." Pausanias has recorded elsewhere (v. 27. 10; vi. 11. 6) the punishment of two statues for having accidentally caused the death of human beings. In the latter passage (vi. 11. 6) he says that the punishment of inanimate objects for having accidentally been the cause of death was introduced at Athens by Draco; but it was probably much older. For such a custom, based on the view that animals and things are endowed with a consciousness like that of man, goes back to the infancy of the human race, if we may judge from its prevalence among savage and barbarous peoples at the present day. Thus among some of the aboriginal tribes of Australia, the spear or other weapon of an enemy which has killed a friend is always burnt by the kinsmen of the deceased (J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 53; cp. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 7 (1878), p. 289). Among the Kookies of Chittagong, when a tiger has killed a man, his family is obliged to hunt the tiger till they kill it or another tiger and feast on its flesh in revenge for the death of their kinsman. And if a man happens to be killed by falling from a tree, his kinsfolk assemble, hew down the tree, cut it into chips, and scatter the chips to the wind "for having, as they say, been the cause of the death of their brother" (*Asiatic Researches*, 7. p. 189 *sq.* 8vo ed.; A. Bastian, *Völkerstämme am Brahmaputra*, p. 35). In the Zend-Avesta it is ordained that if "the mad dog, or the dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for it as for wilful murder" (Vendîdâd, xiii. 5. 31, vol. 2. p. 159, trans. by J. Darmesteter). The Jewish law ordained that an ox which gored a man or woman to death should be stoned (*Exodus*, xxi. 28). Among the Bogos, an East African tribe, an ox or cow or any domestic animal which kills a human being is put to death (W. Munzinger, *Sitten und Recht der Bogos*, p. 83). On the continent of Europe, "down to a comparatively late period, the lower animals were in all respects considered amenable to the laws. Domestic animals were tried in the common criminal courts, and their punishment on conviction was death; wild animals fell under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and their punishment was banishment and death by exorcism and excommunication. . . . In every instance advocates were assigned to defend the animals, and the whole proceedings, trial, sentence, and execution, were conducted with all the strictest formalities of justice.

The researches of French antiquaries have brought to light the records of ninety-two processes against animals, tried in the courts from 1120 to 1740, when the last trial and execution, that of a cow, took place." (Subsequent research has brought to light a good many more such cases.) A law-suit between the people of the commune of St. Julien and a coleopterous insect known to naturalists as the *Rynchites auratus* lasted for more than forty-two years. A famous French jurist, Chassanee, first made his name in a law-suit which the diocese of Autun brought against rats, and in which Chassanee appeared for the rats and won his case. A sow and six young ones were tried at Lavegny in 1457 on a charge of having murdered and partly eaten a child. The sow was found guilty and sentenced to death; but the young ones were acquitted in consideration of their youth and the bad example set them by their mother. At Basle in 1474 a cock was tried for having laid an egg, and being found guilty was burnt at the stake as a sorcerer. The recorded pleadings in this last case are said to be voluminous. See Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1. pp. 126-129 (from which the foregoing quotations and facts are taken); P. Le Brun, *Histoire critique des pratiques superstitieuses* (2me ed. Amsterdam, 1733), 1. p. 243; E. Robert, 'Procès intentés aux animaux,' *Bulletin de l'Association Générale des Étudiants de Montpellier*, 1 (1888), pp. 169-181; A. Chaboseau, 'Procès contre les animaux,' *La Tradition*, 2 (1888), pp. 362-364. An old English law, only repealed in the present reign, ordained that a beast that killed a man, a cart-wheel that ran over him, or a tree that fell on him and killed him, was deodand, or given to God, in consequence of which it was forfeited and sold for the benefit of the poor (E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,[2] 1. p. 286 *sq.*)

28. 10. **the Ox-slayer slew an ox for the first time** etc. See i. 24. 4 note.

28. 11. **the sword of Cambyses.** King Cambyses is said to have accidentally inflicted a mortal wound on himself with his own sword, the weapon penetrating the thigh, just where the king had struck the sacred bull Apis. Herodotus, who tells the story (iii. 64), appears to think that the wound was a righteous retribution for the king's impiety.

28. 11. **In Piraeus, beside the sea, is a court called Phreattys** etc. Demosthenes says (xxiv. 77 *sq.*, p. 645 *sq.*) that if a man, who had been banished for an involuntary homicide and had not yet been pardoned by the kinsmen of his victim, were accused of another and voluntary homicide, he was tried on this second charge at Phreattys, beside the sea, he speaking from a ship, while his judges listened on the shore; if he were convicted, he was capitally punished; if he were acquitted, he returned into banishment on account of the former and accidental homicide. Aristotle says (*Constitution of Athens*, 57) that the second charge on which a banished man might be tried at Phreattys was that of killing or wounding somebody. According to Pollux (viii. 120) the accused was not allowed to cast an anchor or put out a gangway while he made his defence from the ship. Theophrastus supposed that the court took its name from a hero called Phreattys (Harpocration, *s.v.* ἐν Φρεαττοῖ). Helladius, as quoted by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, p. 535 a.

line 28 *sqq.* ed. Bekker), says that the accused pleaded his cause on shipboard "outside Piraeus," by which the writer probably meant outside the great harbour of Piraeus. An anonymous writer, whose statement is somewhat confused, appears to place Phreattys at the harbour of Zea (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 17 *sqq.*; as to Zea, see above, pp. 7, 9, 16 *sq.*)

Prof. Milchhöfer has plausibly identified Phreattys with the outermost point of the peninsula which bounds the entrance to the harbour of Zea on the east. Here, outside the ancient fortification-wall, and about 6 feet above the sea, which is particularly deep at this point, there are at least a dozen oval holes sunk in the rock, each hole measuring about 3 ft. 6 in. long, 18 in. wide, and 3 ft. deep. Prof. Milchhöfer suggests that these basins were used for washing and preparing the purple shell (cp. H. Blümner, *Technologie*, 1. p. 230 *sqq.*), and that they may have given to the spot the name of Phreattys or 'the place of tanks' (from *phrear*, 'a well' or 'tank'). See *Karten von Attika*, *Erläuternder Text*, 1. pp. 13, 56 *sq.*, 59 *sq.* H. N. Ulrichs, on the other hand, proposed to put Phreattys at a point on the shore a little to the south-west of the entrance to Zea. There is here a small harbour outside the line of the ancient fortifications; and in the rocky shore there is an oval depression resembling a bath, with a small round hole in front of it. Both these holes are filled with the water of a spring called *Tzirloneri*. See H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 1. p. 173 *sq.* Dodwell found in a tomb at Piraeus the bronze ticket of a juryman named Diodorus, who had sat in the court of Phreattys (Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 433 *sqq.*)

28. 11. **Teucer was the first to plead thus.** However Pausanias mentions elsewhere (ii. 29. 10) a story that Telamon, the father of Teucer, had similarly pleaded his defence standing on a mole in the sea.

29. 1. **a ship made for the procession at the Panathenian festival.** The ship was moved on wheels and to its mast was fastened the new robe, embroidered with scenes from the battles of the Giants and Gods, which was presented to Athena every fourth year at the great Panathenaic festival. The crew of the ship consisted of priests and priestesses wearing golden crowns and garlands of flowers. As the vessel was being loosed from her moorings, a choir sang a hymn inviting the wind to blow fair behind the sacred bark. See Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 7; Himerius, *Or.* iii. 12 *sqq.*; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, i. 10; Harpocration, *s.v.* τοπεῖον; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 418; Schol. on Aristides, *Or.* xiii. (at end), vol. 3. p. 342 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; [Virgil,] *Ciris*, 21 *sqq.* According to Philostratus (*l.c.*) the route followed by the procession with the ship was from the Ceramicus to the Eleusinium, then round the Eleusinium and past the Pelargicum to the Pythium or sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo, where the ship was moored. As to the Eleusinium and Pelargicum, see above, pp. 119 *sq.*, 356 *sqq.* If the Pythium is identified with the image of the Pythian Apollo near the temple of Olympian Zeus (i. 19. 1), it will follow that the ship was moored near that temple, in the south-east quarter of Athens, whereas Pausanias represents it as kept near the Areopagus, in the western quarter of Athens. Dr. Dörpfeld

has proposed to identify the Pythium with the sanctuary of Apollo in the cave, on the north-western face of the Acropolis (see above, i. 28. 4 note). This would reconcile the evidence of Pausanias and Philostratus as to the resting-place of the Panathenaic ship; but as we have the unanimous testimony of Thucydides (ii. 15), Strabo (ix. p. 404), Pausanias (i. 19. 1), and inscriptions (note on i. 19. 1) to the fact of the Pythium being near the Olympieum, it would seem that Dr. Dörpfeld, in placing it in the opposite quarter of Athens, only escapes one difficulty to encounter a much greater. It is fair to add that Dr. Dörpfeld's view as to the situation of the Pythium is to some extent countenanced by Euripides, who, describing the cliffs on the north face of the Acropolis where was the cave of Apollo, says (*Ion*, 285) that they were honoured by "the Pythian god and the Pythian lightning." Prof. C. Wachsmuth suggested that there may have been two sanctuaries of the Pythian Apollo at Athens, one in the cave, and the other—the chief one—to the south-east of the Acropolis (*Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 23 (1868), p. 55 *sqq.*, cp. *ib.* pp. 379 *sq.*, 531 *sqq.*); but he afterwards admitted that this view was open to grave objections, since we know that Apollo in the cave was worshipped under the title of 'Apollo under the heights,' but have no proof that he was called the Pythian Apollo (C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 296). Cp. Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 564 *sqq.*; J. Pickard, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), p. 60 *sq.*

At Smyrna, during the celebration of the feast of Dionysus, which fell in early spring in the month of Anthesterion, a sacred ship, steered by the priest of Dionysus, was carried aloft in procession round the market-place. The pageant was believed to commemorate an ancient naval victory which the Smyrnaeans had won over the Chians (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* i. 25. 1; Aristides, *Or.* xv. vol. 1. p. 373, ed. Dindorf; *id.*, xxii. vol. 1. p. 440, ed. Dindorf).

29. 1. **a larger vessel than the one at Delos** etc. Pausanias apparently had not heard of the colossal ship with forty banks of oars which Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, had built for himself: it was 240 cubits long and 48 cubits high. See Callixenus's description of this monster ship, quoted by Athenaeus, v. p. 203 *sq.*; cp. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 43. Ptolemy Philadelphus owned two ships with 30 banks of oars each, one with 20 banks, four with 13 banks, two with 12 banks, fourteen with 11 banks, thirty with 9 banks, etc. (Athenaeus, v. p. 203 c d). From an inscription found at the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite in Cyprus we learn that king Ptolemy set up a statue of a naval architect, Pyrgoteles by name, who had constructed two ships, one with 30, the other with 20 banks of oars (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), p. 255). Hiero king of Syracuse built a ship with 20 banks of oars; its construction was superintended by Archimedes (Athenaeus, v. p. 206 *sqq.*) Cp. E. Assmann, in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 4 (1889), p. 95 *sqq.*

Pausanias has now finished his description of Athens, and, quitting the city by the Dipylum gate, passes through the great graveyard of the outer Ceramicus on his way to the Academy, which he describes in the

next chapter (c. 30). Before we follow him thither it will be well to mention an important monument of Athenian history which he has failed to notice, probably because it had been, as we know, unused for centuries before his time. This is the Pnyx or place of public assembly. The site has been identified, if not with absolute certainty, at least with a very high degree of probability. It is about a quarter of a mile to the west of the Acropolis, on the north-eastern slope of the low rocky hill which rises between the Museum Hill (to the south), the Areopagus (to the north-east), and the Hill of the Nymphs (to the north). The place is a huge artificial platform or terrace in the form of a semicircle. The chord of the semicircle is on the highest part of the slope; the middle of the arc is at the lowest, and here the central part of the curve is buttressed up by a massive terrace wall, about 15 feet high in the middle, which prevented the soil on the slope from slipping down into the valley below. This wall is preserved for a length of about 200 feet, forming about a third of a circle, and its course eastward can be traced further. It is built, without mortar, of immense blocks of stone which, without being perfectly regular in shape, approximate closely to the quadrangular and are well fitted together. The size of the stones varies; one of them is more than 13 feet long and 6 high. Two to three courses are preserved; but it is easy to see, from the irregular line of the upper stones and the height of the soil above it, that the wall was originally higher. There is nothing in the style of the masonry of this wall to show that it is of extremely early date; in other words, that it is prehistoric.

The upper side of the terrace—the chord of the semicircle—is formed by a line of rock hewn vertically, so as to present to a spectator, standing on the terrace, the appearance of a wall about 15 feet high at the highest point, but sloping down irregularly towards both ends. This wall of rock does not run in a straight line; its two halves meet at an obtuse angle in the middle, forming as it were two radiuses of a circle, while the semicircular terrace shelves gently down from them to the massive wall of masonry already described. It is plain that this massive wall served no other purpose than to support the terrace and allow it to be artificially raised in such a way as to compensate for the natural slope of the ground. The surface of the terrace is formed by a stratum of earth covering the rock to a depth which varies from a few inches in the upper part of the terrace to 5 or 6 feet in the lower. At one point this stratum of earth is more than 7 feet higher than the present top of the wall. In the middle of the wall of rock, where the two radiuses meet at an obtuse angle, there projects a cube of rock which was left when the rock about it was cut away in forming the back wall of the terrace. This cube of rock, about 11 feet long and as many broad, rests on a three-stepped platform or plinth, which is about 31 feet wide in front and projects about 21 feet from the wall of rock. Against the wall of rock, on each side of the cube, is a flight of steps leading up from the floor of the terrace to the top of the cube. The height of the cube above the terrace is between 9 and 10 feet. In the wall of rock are more than fifty rectangular niches, cut as if to receive votive tablets.

All, with one exception, are from 5 to 8 inches wide and high and an inch or so deep. About 40 feet to the east of the cube of rock is a niche much larger than the rest (about 8 feet high, 3 feet wide, and 1 foot deep). In clearing out the earth at the foot of the rock-wall in 1803 Lord Aberdeen found eleven votive tablets of marble, which no doubt formerly occupied some of the niches in the wall. These tablets are now in the British Museum. All of them are inscribed with the name of the donor, and most of them with a dedication to "Highest Zeus," or simply to "the Highest." The tablets also represent in relief parts of the human body, no doubt the parts which the god was believed to have cured. The donors are mostly women. The inscriptions are all of Roman date. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 402 *sqq.*; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 147-156.

The terrace measures 395 feet along the chord of the semicircle and 212 feet from the middle of the chord to the circumference. Its area, excluding the projecting cube of rock, is 6240.5 square metres, a space which is calculated to afford standing room for 25,000 to 30,000 persons, or seats for about 18,000.

Immediately above this large semicircular terrace there is a much smaller one, divided from the lower by the perpendicular wall of rock in which are the votive niches. This upper terrace, about 60 yards long by 30 to 40 yards wide, has been artificially produced by levelling the rock, which here forms the surface of the terrace, whereas the surface of the lower terrace consists wholly of made earth. At its back (south) the upper terrace is bounded by a wall cut in the rock resembling, though much shorter and lower than, the rock-wall which divides it from the lower terrace. Moreover the upper rock-wall, unlike the lower, runs in a straight line. Close to this upper rock-wall, and nearly in the axis of the cube of rock described above, a square block of rock has been left standing when the rest of the mass was hewn away to form the terrace. It is about 18 feet in diameter and 1 foot high, and appears to have been the base of an altar. A wall constructed of enormous blocks seems to have extended along the north side of the upper terrace, parallel to, and distant about the breadth of a road from, the perpendicular wall of rock which separates the two terraces. Two of the blocks of this wall remain near the western end of the terrace; they bear the marks of hammers and are neatly jointed together. Their united length is about 33 feet. The two terraces are connected by the two flights of steps at each side of the cube of rock described above, and also by another flight of steps to the west of the cube. A little above the upper rock-wall are the remains of the ancient city-wall crowning the hill, which beyond the wall slopes away southward.

There is little room for doubt that the large semicircular terrace described above was the Pnyx or place of public assembly, and that the cube of rock projecting from the rock-wall on the southern side of the terrace was the platform from which the speakers addressed the multitude; it was familiarly called "the stone in the Pnyx" (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 680, with the Scholium). It is true that at present the ground shelves away from this platform, so that an audience assembled

on the terrace would now be below an orator speaking from the platform. But in antiquity, as we have seen, the retaining-wall of the terrace was certainly higher than it is now; hence we may suppose that the ground then extended on a level with the speaker's platform or rose above it like a theatre.

From ancient writers we learn that the Pnyx was on a rocky height (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 312 and 783; Demosthenes, xviii. 169, p. 285; Plutarch, *Nicias*, 7; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 751), opposite to Lycabettus, the high conical hill on the north-east of Athens (Plato, *Critias*, p. 112 a), in the hilly district of Melite (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 997), near the Museum Hill (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27), within sight of the Areopagus (Lucian, *Bis accusatus*, 9), near the Acropolis (Pollux, viii. 132), and within sight of the Propylaea (Harpocration, *s.v.* Προπύλαια ταῦτα; cp. Aeschines, ii. 74). The semicircular terrace described above satisfies all these conditions, and it would be hard to find any other spot in Athens that did. Moreover, it answers well to Pollux's description of the Pnyx as "a place near the Acropolis fashioned in accordance with ancient simplicity, not with the splendour of a theatre." It is well adapted to be a place of public assembly, and could easily accommodate far more than the six or seven thousand persons who seem occasionally to have gathered to vote (Demosthenes, xxiv. 45 *sq.*, p. 715; *id.*, lix. 89, p. 1375; cp. Thucydides, viii. 72). Lastly, in 1839 an inscription "boundary of the Pnyx" (ὅρος Πυκνός, *C. I. A.* i. No. 501) was found on the terrace near the speaker's platform, if we can trust the assertion of Pittakis, who says he found it himself. The inscription is genuine, but statements made by Pittakis are not above suspicion.

On the whole, the evidence for identifying the semicircular terrace with the Pnyx is sufficient. The identification was first made by Chandler in the eighteenth century (*Travels in Greece*, p. 68). In 1852, however, F. G. Welcker attempted to prove that the terrace was a Pelasgic or prehistoric sanctuary of Highest Zeus, and that the platform for speaking from was his altar. This fanciful theory, resting on the inscriptions of Roman date which contain dedications to Highest Zeus and which prove nothing as to an ancient worship here, has been defended by Prof. E. Curtius and accepted by Prof. A. Milchhöfer and Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez. I need not waste words over it, as it has been abundantly refuted by others.

On the whole subject see Dodwell, *Tour in Greece*, 1. p. 401 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 178-183, 517-519; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 54-61; W. Mure, *Journal*, 2. pp. 60-64; the writings of K. Göttling, F. G. Welcker, L. Ross, and C. Bursian cited above, p. 358; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 108-116; A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 2. pp. 579-586; E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, i. *Pnyx und Stadtmauer* (republished in the author's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. 289 *sqq.*); *id.*, *Erläuternder Text d. sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, p. 15 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 28 *sqq.*; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 26, with pl. v.; T. H. Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 461-472, 531-542; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 369-372; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' pp. 157-159; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 78 *sq.*; J. M. Crow, 'The Athenian Pnyx,' *Papers of the American*

School of Classical Studies at Athens, 4 (1885-1886), pp. 227-260 (judicious summary and discussion); Baedeker,[3] p. 93; H. G. Lolling, 'Athen,' pp. 331-334; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 104-110; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 6. p. 431 *sq.*

29. 2. the Academy. See i. 30. 1 note. The road to the Academy, which Pausanias now follows, left Athens by the Dipylum gate (Livy, xxxi. 24; Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 1. 1; Lucian, *Scytha*, 2). Thus Pausanias, after completing the circuit of Athens, quitted it by the same gate by which he had entered it (see note on i. 2. 4, 'When we have entered into the city' etc.) Two other highroads, besides the road to the Academy, started from the Dipylum gate; one led to Piraeus (see note on i. 2. 4 as above), the other led to Eleusis (see note on i. 36. 3). The road to the Academy went north-west; the road to Eleusis went west; and the road to Piraeus went south-west.

The suburb outside the Dipylum was called the Ceramicus or Potter's Quarter; the adjoining quarter of the city, inside of the Dipylum, was also called the Ceramicus (Harpocration, *s.v.* Κεραμεικός; see i. 3. 1 note). Modern writers distinguish the suburb from the quarter of the city by calling the former the Outer Ceramicus and the latter the Inner Ceramicus. In the Outer Ceramicus the bones of all the Athenians who fell in battle for their country were buried by the state. This public burial took place at the end of a campaign. The bones were placed in coffins of cypress wood and were conveyed on wagons to the grave. There was one coffin for each tribe, and one empty coffin for those whose bodies had not been found. The funeral procession was followed by all who chose to attend, whether citizens or foreigners, and the women whose relatives had fallen were present at the grave. When the coffins had been lowered into the earth, a speaker ascended a lofty pulpit and addressed the crowd, praising the dead and comforting the bereaved. When he had finished the crowd dispersed (Thucydidês, ii. 34; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 395 *sqq.*; Harpocration, *s.v.* Κεραμεικός; Suidas, *s.v.* Κεραμεικοί). These public graves lined the road on both sides, and tombstones on each grave told where the men had fallen (Suidas, *s.v.* Κεραμεικός; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 772, and *Birds*, 395; and see below, § 4). A number of Attic inscriptions containing lists of the slain have come down to us; they doubtless stood originally over graves in the Ceramicus (*C. I. A.* i. No. 432 *sqq.*) One of these inscriptions, dating from about 459 B.C., begins thus: "Of the tribe of Erechtheus the following fell in battle in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Haliae, in Aegina, in Megara in the same year"; then follows a long list of names (*C. I. A.* i. No. 433; W. Fröhner, *Inscriptions Grecques du Louvre*, No. 112; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 3; Hicks, *Gr. hist. Inscr.* No. 19; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 69). The present chapter of Pausanias proves that it was the road to the Academy which was lined with these public monuments. Cicero speaks of the magnificence of the tombs in the Ceramicus (*De legibus*, ii. 26. 64). Excavations made in 1861 and subsequent years outside and a little to the south of the Dipylum, near the church of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada), brought to light a large

number of sepulchral monuments, which from their position appear to have lined the road to Piraeus. Many of these monuments are still standing in their original positions, and some of them are of great artistic beauty; but as, with two exceptions (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 29 (1872), p. 28 *sq.*), they belong to private tombs, and are not mentioned by Pausanias, they do not concern us here. See C. Curtius, 'Der attische Friedhof vor dem Dipylon,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 29 (1872), pp. 12-35; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 24 *sq.*, with pl. iv.; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 174; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 81 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 90 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 577 *sqq.* The only standing remains of a tomb yet discovered on the road to the Academy consist of a piece of masonry nearly cubical (about 6 feet high and 15 feet in diameter), which appears to have formed the kernel of a sepulchral monument of Roman date. It is situated about 300 yards north-west of the Dipylum (Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 176).

A few paces south-west of the Dipylum is a boundary-stone built against the outer face of the ancient city-wall. It bears the inscription "boundary of the Ceramicus" (see above, p. 45). It is doubtful whether the stone marks the boundary between the inner and the outer Ceramicus (for which the ancients had not separate names) or the boundary between the Ceramicus and another township or parish to the south. Cp. Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 7; A. Milchhöfer, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 748.

29. 2. **an enclosure sacred to Artemis.** Opposite the Dipylum there was found a base of Pentelic marble inscribed with a dedication to Artemis by a certain Mitrobates (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1610). The inscription seems to date from about the beginning of the second century B.C. or a little later. Further, a tablet of Hymettian marble, built into a wall to the south of the Dipylum, is inscribed with a resolution passed by a religious brotherhood (*thiasos*) to the effect that a tablet should be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis, on which were to be engraved the names of all the existing members of the brotherhood and of all new members on payment of their subscriptions; the document is signed by the treasurer and secretary of the society (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 426). This Artemis appears to have been identified with Hecate; at least Hesychius tells us (*s.v.* Καλλίστη) that in the Ceramicus there was an image or shrine of Hecate who was called Calliste, and that some people said she was Artemis.

29. 2. **a temple —— to which they bring the image of Eleutherian Dionysus every year** etc. As to the image of Eleutherian Dionysus, see i. 20. 3 note. The processions with the image to and from the little temple outside the gate seem to have taken place at the Festival of Flowers (Anthesteria) in the month of Anthesterion (February-March). See Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 353. On the outward procession the munificent Herodes Atticus used regularly to provide wine in the Ceramicus for the whole crowd, citizens and foreigners alike, who quaffed it reclining on beds of ivy (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 5). The return procession took place in the evening; and the lads (*epheboi*), after sacrificing at the shrine, escorted the image by the light of torches

to the theatre (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 470, 471). A gay troop of dancers, disguised as Seasons, Nymphs, and Bacchanals, appears to have followed or preceded the image, tripping to the shrill music of flutes (Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* i. 21).

Similar processions with images seem to have been not uncommon in antiquity. Cp. Paus. vii. 20. 1 and 8. At the festival of Dionysus at Methymna the image of the god was carried round, as we learn from an inscription (*Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 7 (1883), p. 37 *sq.*) The image of Panamarian Zeus at Stratonicea in Caria would appear also to have been borne in procession at a festival called the [illegible] (*Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 11 (1887), p. 384 *sqq.*; *id.*, 15 (1891), pp. 174, 178).

29. 3. **Of the graves the first is that of Thrasybulus.** In addition to the long list of tombs on the road to the Academy which Pausanias has given us in the present chapter, we know that the sophist Phoenix was buried on the right of the road to the Academy near the soldiers' graves (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 22). We are told that "they buried Solon publicly beside the gate, near the wall, on the right as you enter; and his grave is walled round" (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* viii. 16). "The gate" here spoken of is probably the Dipylum, which was the principal and most famous gate of Athens. Again, the tomb of the more or less mythical Scythian named Toxaris stood not far from the Dipylum, on the left of the road to the Academy. It was a low mound surmounted by a tombstone, on which was carved a Scythian holding a bow in his right hand and a book in his left. In Lucian's time the tombstone was lying on the ground, and the upper part of it, including the man's face, was worn and defaced with time; but wreaths of flowers lay on it always, the offerings of grateful persons who believed that they had been healed of fevers by Toxaris. For Toxaris was deemed a hero, and the Athenians sacrificed to him as such under the title of the Foreign Physician. It was commonly supposed that he had stopped the great plague at Athens by ordering that the streets should be sprinkled with wine. A white horse was sacrificed at his tomb. See Lucian, *Scytha*, 1 *sq.* We hear of a building called "the Council-chamber of the Artists beside the gate of the Ceramicus not far from the horsemen" (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 9. 4). These artists were probably one of those societies, half religious, half theatrical, which styled themselves "artists of Dionysus"; they were very common in ancient Greece (see O. Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler*, Berlin, 1873; P. Foucart, *De collegiis Scenicorum Artificum apud Graecos*, Paris, 1873). Their council-chamber or club-house was probably placed at the Dipylum in order to be near the temple of Dionysus which stood outside of the gate. "The horsemen" near which their club-house was situated may have been the sepulchral monument mentioned by Pausanias below (§ 6). The garden of Epicurus was on the way to the Academy (Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 1. 3), but apparently within the city-walls (Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 50 *sq.*), probably beside his house in the quarter Melite (Diogenes Laertius, x. 17). Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 264 *sq.*

29. 3. **Pericles.** His grave was a little to the right of the road (Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 2. 5).

29. 3. **Chabrias.** This distinguished general met his death at the siege of Chios in 357 B.C. He succeeded in forcing an entrance into the harbour; but here his ship was surrounded by the enemy, and being rammed began to sink. The rest saved themselves by swimming, but Chabrias refused to quit the ship and remained fighting on the deck till she went down (Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias*, 4; Diodorus, xvi. 7).

29. 3. **Phormio.** His most famous exploit was the defeat of a large Peloponnesian fleet at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth in 429 B.C. (Thucydides, ii. 86-92).

29. 4. **except the men who fought at Marathon** etc. Cp. Thucydides, ii. 34, and see i. 32. 3 note.

29. 4. **The first buried here were the men who in Thrace** etc. About 465 B.C. 10,000 of the Athenians and their allies, who had been sent as colonists to Thrace, were cut to pieces by the Thracians or Edonians at Drabescus or Datum (Thucydides, i. 100; *id.*, iv. 102; Herodotus, ix. 75; Isocrates, viii. 86). An extant inscription containing a list of slain is supposed to have stood over the tomb or cenotaph of these men in the Ceramicus (*C. I. A.* i. No. 432; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, i. No. 432).

29. 5. **Leagrus —— Sophanes —— Eurybates.** Herodotus says (ix. 75) that Sophanes was slain along with Leagrus by the Edonians while fighting for the gold mines at Datum. The pentathlete Eurybates led a thousand Argive volunteers to the help of the Aeginetans when they were at war with Athens. He killed three adversaries in single combat, but was himself slain by Sophanes, a challenge to mortal combat having been given and accepted (Herodotus, vi. 92, ix. 75).

29. 5. **expedition —— under Iolaus to Sardinia.** Cp. vii. 2. 2, ix. 23. 1, x. 17. 5 with the notes.

29. 5. **the second was to Ionia.** Cp. vii. 2.

29. 6. **Eleon.** This town, mentioned by Homer (*Il.* ii. 500), appears to have been situated near *Dritsa*, a modern village about six miles north-west of Tanagra. See note on ix. 19. 4, 'Harma.' The engagement between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians in this neighbourhood is not otherwise known. Leake conjectured that it was "an action in the passes of Cithaeron prior to the battle of Tanagra: the passes leading to the Isthmus were at that time in the hands of the Athenians, and the Lacedaemonians were returning from Phocis" (Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 595 note 1). Cp. Thucydides, i. 107 *sq.*; Diodorus, xi. 80.

29. 6. **the Thessalian cavalry, who came for old friendship's sake** etc. See Thucydides, ii. 22. Some of them fell in a skirmish with the Boeotian cavalry at a place called Phrygia in 431 B.C. The Thessalian cavalry, supported by a troop of Athenian horse, held their ground till the Boeotian infantry came up to the support of their cavalry (Thucydides, *l.c.*) The first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesian army under Archidamus, king of Sparta, took place in 431 B.C. (Thucydides, ii. 18 *sqq.*)

29. 6. Cretan bowmen. The corps of archers that sailed with the Athenian army on the Sicilian expedition included eighty Cretan bowmen (Thucydides, vi. 43).

29. 6. Clisthenes, who devised the existing system of tribes etc. He increased the Attic tribes from four to ten. See Herodotus, v. 66 and 69 ; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 21.

29. 7. the Cleonaeans who came to Attica with the Argives etc. These men fell at the battle of Tanagra (457 B.C.) ; see below, § 8 sq. Some fragments have been found of an inscription which is conjectured to have been a list of the Cleonaeans who fell in this battle (*C. I. A.* i. No. 441 ; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 36 ; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 22 ; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 77 ; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 97 ; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 20). If this conjecture is correct, the stone of which these fragments have been found probably stood over the grave of the Cleonaeans in the Ceramicus.

29. 7. the Athenians who warred with the Aeginetans etc. See Herodotus, vi. 92 *sq.*

29. 7. the Athenians allowed their slaves to share the honour of a public burial etc. In great emergencies, as towards the end of the Peloponnesian war and before the battle of Chaeronea, the Athenians appear to have freed and armed their slaves (Justin, v. 6 ; Lycurgus, c. *Leocr.* 41).

29. 7. the army of Olynthus. The Athenians sent three expeditions to the relief of Olynthus when it was hard pressed by Philip of Macedonia. On the first two occasions the troops sent were mercenaries ; but on the third occasion, at the special request of the Olynthians, a native Athenian force of 2000 infantry and 300 cavalry, under the command of Chares, was despatched to their aid (Philochorus, Frag. 132, in *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 405 *sq.* ; Demosthenes, xxi. 197, p. 578). This third expedition seems to have been sent in 349 B.C. (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, 11. p. 150).

29. 7. Melesander, who sailed up the Maeander. During the Peloponnesian war Melesander was sent with a squadron of six ships to the coasts of Caria and Lycia in the winter of 430-429 B.C. The object of the expedition was to levy contributions and to put down the enemy's privateers, who swarmed out from these coasts and preyed on the merchantmen sailing from Phoenicia to Athens. Melesander landed a force in Lycia, but was defeated and slain with some of his men (Thucydides, ii. 69).

29. 7. the war with Cassander. Cp. i. 25. 6 ; i. 26. 3 ; x. 18. 7 ; x. 34. 2 *sq.*

29. 7. the Argives who drew sword for Athens. One thousand Argives fought on the Athenian side against the Lacedaemonians at the battle of Tanagra in 457 B.C. (Thucydides, i. 107 *sq.* ; Diodorus, xi. 80). Cp. iii. 11. 8 ; v. 10. 4. The occasion of the alliance between Athens and Argos is told by Thucydides (i. 101 *sq.*), whom Pausanias here follows. Cp. iv. 24. 6 *sq.*

29. 10. Apollodorus, a captain of mercenaries etc. Perinthus

was besieged by Philip of Macedonia in 340 B.C. The Persian king, alarmed at the rise of Philip's power, commanded his satraps on the coast of Asia Minor to aid the beleaguered city to the utmost of their power. Accordingly the satraps threw into Perinthus a force of mercenaries, along with a supply of money, corn, and arms (Diodorus, xvi. 75). In the following year Philip was obliged to raise the siege (Diodorus, xvi. 77). Cp. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, 11. p. 259 *sqq.* Arsites, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, fought at the Granicus against Alexander the Great (334 B.C.), and put himself to death after the battle (Arrian, *Anabasis*, i. 16. 3; cp. *id.*, i. 13. 8; Diodorus, xvii. 19). He is mentioned by Strabo (xvi. p. 766).

29. 10. **Eubulus, son of Spintharus.** This was the well-known demagogue and orator, the adversary of Demosthenes (Demosthenes, xviii. 21, p. 233, xxi. 207, p. 581, etc.; Aeschines, ii. 8 and 184, iii. 25; Dinarchus, i. 96; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, i. 15. 15; Theopompus, quoted by Athenaeus, iv. p. 166 d; Harpocration, *s.v.* Εὔβουλος; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 7; *id.*, *Praecept. Ger. Reipub.* xvi. 23; Scholiast on Aeschines, i. 8 and iii. 25). That his father's name was Spintharus is mentioned also by the pseudo-Plutarch (*Vit. X. Orat.* p. 840 b).

29. 10. **the tyrant Lachares.** See i. 25. 7 note.

29. 10. **Piraeus when it was held by a Macedonian garrison.** See i. 25. 7.

29. 11. **the men who fell at Corinth.** The Lacedaemonians defeated an allied army composed of Athenians, Argives, Boeotians, and Corinthians at Corinth in 394 B.C. The Athenian force present at the battle numbered 6000 foot and 600 horse; their losses were heavy. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iv. 2. 9-23. Demosthenes spoke of this engagement as "the great battle at Corinth" (Demosthenes, xx. 52, p. 472). A memorial of this battle was found in 1861 outside the Dipylum, near the church of the Holy Trinity. It is a slab of Pentelic marble which formed the upper part of a tombstone or sepulchral monument; under a sculptured decoration are inscribed the names of the cavalrymen who fell at the battles of Corinth and Coronea, the numbers being eight at Corinth and one at Coronea. If the list is complete, it proves that the Athenian cavalry cannot have been seriously engaged in either of the actions; but there may have been many more names on the missing part of the monument. See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1673; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 56; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 68; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 266; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 576 *sq.* We cannot tell whether this monument to the cavalry was a public monument erected by the state or a private monument erected by the comrades of the slain, like the tablets in memory of the men of a particular regiment which are now often placed in churches by their surviving comrades. There must have been another monument to the infantry, whose losses seem to have been more severe; Pausanias probably saw this latter monument, but may have seen the other also. From the inscription on the cavalry monument we learn that the name of one of the eight troopers who fell at Corinth was Dexileus; and by a remarkable coincidence the private monument of

this Dexileus has been found outside the Dipylum, where it still stands in its original position. The monument is of Pentelic marble, and the inscription on it (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 2084; Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* No. 69; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 55) states that Dexileus son of Lysanias, of the township of Thoricus, was born in the archonship of Tisander (414 B.C.) and died in the archonship of Eubulides (394 B.C.) at Corinth, where he was one of "the five horsemen." These five horsemen probably signalised themselves by some desperate feat of valour; but what it was we do not know. Above the inscription is a fine relief cut in a sunken panel in the stone; it represents a horseman riding down a foot soldier; the figures are life-size. That this monument of Dexileus was a private one is certain; for sepulchral monuments of other members of Dexileus's family were found beside it.

See Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 296-298; C. Curtius, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 29 (1872), p. 14; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 266 *sq.*; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 24, with pl. iv.; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1005; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 330, with pl. xxx.; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 578 *sqq.*

29. 11. **the men who fell in Euboea and Chios.** Euboea was repeatedly invaded by the Athenians; the reference here is perhaps to the subjugation of the whole island by Pericles in 445 B.C. (Thucydides, i. 114). Chios revolted from Athens in 412 B.C., whereupon the Athenians despatched a force which landed in Chios, defeated the rebels, besieged them in the capital, and ravaged the island (Thucydides, viii. 14 *sq.*, 24, 55, etc.) In the Social War (357-355 B.C.) Chios once more revolted from Athens, and an Athenian army again landed in the island and laid siege to the capital (Diodorus, xvi. 7; Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias*, 4). The men whose tomb Pausanias saw in the Ceramicus probably perished in the first Chian revolt: for the force despatched against the island in the second revolt probably consisted of mercenaries.

29. 12. **he surrendered voluntarily, whereas Demosthenes** etc. This distinction between the conduct of Nicias and Demosthenes on the disastrous retreat from Syracuse is not borne out by Thucydides, according to whom Nicias, though broken down by sickness, behaved in these terrible days with the utmost energy and heroism, cheering the despondent, restraining stragglers, maintaining strict order on the march. The division under Demosthenes was the first to be overtaken and to lay down their arms. The division under Nicias struggled on till the following day, when on reaching the river Assinarus the men, who were parched with thirst, broke their ranks and rushed into the water. Then the enemy closed in upon them from all sides and the retreat became a massacre. But it was not till the dead were lying in heaps in the river and the army, as such, had ceased to exist, that Nicias surrendered to the Spartan general Gylippus, and even then he made no terms for himself, but only asked for quarter for his men. See Thucydides, vii. 76-85. But though in this last scene Nicias bore himself irreproachably both as an officer and a soldier, there is no doubt that the responsibility

for the disaster rested mainly on him; for, against the remonstrances of Demosthenes, who was a far better general, he had delayed the retreat till it was too late. This apparently the Athenians could not forgive; so they omitted his name from the roll of honour, the list of the dead in the Ceramicus.

29. 13. **at Megara.** In 445 B.C. the Megarians revolted from Athens and put the garrison to the sword (Thucydides, i. 114).

29. 13. **when Alcibiades persuaded the Arcadians of Mantinea** etc. In 420 B.C. the intrigues of Alcibiades brought about an alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis. In the summer of 418 B.C. the allies were defeated by the Lacedaemonians in a great battle at Mantinea. See Thucydides, v. 43-47, 63-74. A fragment of the treaty of alliance, of which Thucydides has transmitted to us a complete copy (v. 47), was found engraved on a tablet of Pentelic marble between the theatre of Dionysus and the music-hall of Herodes Atticus (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 46 b, p. 14 *sq.*) It may have been from this very stone that the copy of the treaty was made for Thucydides's history.

29. 13. **defeated the Syracusans before the arrival of Demosthenes.** In 413 B.C. Demosthenes brought large reinforcements to the Athenian army engaged in the siege of Syracuse (Thucydides, vii. 42). Before his arrival the Athenians had been successful in several actions with the enemy (Thucydides, vi. 67-71, 98-102, vii. 5, 22 *sq.*)

29. 13. **the men who fought in the sea-fights at the Hellespont.** A tombstone, which in all probability stood on the grave of these men in the Ceramicus, was found at Athens in 1882 or a little earlier; the exact place where it was discovered is uncertain. It is a slab of Pentelic marble about 5 feet high and 20 inches wide. Engraved on it is a list of the men, arranged according to tribes, who fell in the Chersonese, in Byzantium, and in "the other wars." Underneath is an epigram in four lines to the effect that all these men had perished at the Hellespont in the flower of their youth. They probably fell in the campaign of 409 B.C., in which the Athenians under Alcibiades captured Selymbria and Byzantium, laid siege to Chalcedon, and levied contributions about the Hellespont. As to this campaign see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 3; Diodorus, xiii. 66 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 29-31. For the inscription see *C. I. A.* iv. No. 446 a, p. 108 *sqq.*; A. Kirchhoff, 'Eine attische Todtenliste,' *Hermes*, 17 (1882), pp. 623-630; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 575. The inscription does not say whether the fights in which these men fell were fought by sea or land; Pausanias supposes that they fell at sea, but this was probably a mistaken inference from the inscription. In point of fact the Athenian operations on the Hellespont and the Bosphorus in 409 B.C. were mostly conducted on land. The epigram appended to the list of the slain is imitated in an epigram in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* vii. 258), which is falsely attributed to Simonides. See Bruno Keil, 'Zu den Simonideischen Eurymedon-epigrammen,' *Hermes*, 20 (1885), pp. 341-348.

29. 13. **those who engaged the Macedonians at Chaeronea.** Lycurgus says (*c. Leocr.* 142) that a thousand Athenians fell in the

battle and that they received a public burial; and he speaks of the inscriptions carved on their tombs at the entrance to the city.

29. 13. **those who marched with Cleon to Amphipolis.** The defeat of Cleon by Brasidas in front of Amphipolis is graphically told by Thucydides (v. 7-11). The Athenians lost six hundred men; the enemy only seven. Both generals died in the battle in ways that were worthy of their lives. Cleon was stabbed in the back running away: Brasidas fell charging at the head of his men, and only lived to hear that the victory was won.

29. 13. **those who fell at Delium.** As to the defeat of the Athenians by the Boeotians at Delium in 424 B.C., see Thucydides, iv. 91-101, and the note on ix. 20. 1. The Athenians lost little less than 1000 of the regular infantry besides a large number of irregulars and baggage-bearers.

29. 13. **those whom Leosthenes led to Thessaly.** See i. 1. 3: i. 25. 3-5.

29. 13. **those who sailed with Cimon to Cyprus.** In 449 B.C. Cimon sailed with a fleet to Cyprus, where, after defeating the Persians and capturing a number of cities, he died. After his death the Athenian fleet and army won another great victory by sea and land over the Persians at Salamis in Cyprus. See Thucydides, i. 112: Diodorus, xii. 3 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 18 *sq.*; Cornelius Nepos, *Cimon*, 3. According to Isocrates (viii. 86) the Athenians lost one hundred and fifty war-ships at Cyprus. The inscription which contains a list of the Athenians who fell in Cyprus etc., has been already referred to (note on i. 29. 2, 'the Academy').

29. 13. **those who joined Olympiodorus in driving out the Macedonian garrison.** See i. 26. 1 *sq.*

29. 14. **the deeds of Tolmides and his men.** See i. 27. 5.

29. 14. **whom on the great day Cimon led to victory.** On this great victory, won over the Persians at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, see Thucydides, i. 100; Diodorus, xi. 61; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 12 *sq.* Modern writers place the victory variously in 469 B.C., 467 B.C., 466 B.C., and 465 B.C. Cp. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2. p. 402 note. The Athenians dedicated a bronze palm-tree at Delphi as a monument of this victory (Paus. x. 15. 4 *sq.*)

29. 15. **Zeno.** Diogenes Laertius has preserved for us a decree of the Athenian people in which the thanks of the state are rendered to Zeno in his life-time for his services in the cause of virtue, and it is provided that a tomb shall be built for him in the Ceramicus at the public expense; in this tomb the philosopher was afterwards laid (Diogenes Laertius, vii. 11 and 29).

29. 15. **Nicias, son of Nicomedes.** See iii. 19. 4 note. The expression here translated as "the greatest animal-painter of his time" (ζῷα ἄριστος γράψαι τῶν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ) may perhaps mean "the greatest figure-painter of his time," the figures (ζῷα) being either human or animal; it seems to be commonly understood in this general sense (Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 2. p. 195). Pliny says (*N. H.* xxxv. 133) that Nicias painted dogs very successfully. But the subjects

of most of the pictures which he is known to have painted are mythological. See Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 130-133; Brunn, *op. cit.* 2. pp. 194-200.

29. 16. **Lycurgus brought into the public chest** etc. The following particulars are probably derived from the decree of the Athenian people in honour of Lycurgus, which was proposed by Stratocles in the archonship of Anaxicrates (307/6 B.C.) A copy of this decree is preserved by the pseudo-Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus (*Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 844, 852). The decree sets forth the many services which Lycurgus had rendered to Athens. The following extracts from it will illustrate the present passage of Pausanias: "He provided ornaments for the goddess, and Victories all of gold, and processional vessels of gold and silver, and golden ornaments for a hundred basket-bearers" (*i.e.* girls who carried baskets of sacred things in processions), "and having been elected minister of war he brought many arms and 50,000 missiles into the Acropolis, and provided four hundred sea-worthy war-ships, by building new ships and repairing old ones; and in addition he completed and finished the ship-sheds and the arsenal and the Dionysiac theatre, all of which he had found half-finished; and he constructed the Panathenaic stadium and the gymnasium at the Lyceum; and he adorned the city with many other buildings." The decree concludes with a list of honours to be conferred on the memory of Lycurgus (who had been dead about fifteen years), and a provision that copies of all the decrees in his honour should be engraved on tablets of stone and set up on the Acropolis. Fragments of a copy of the decree, engraved on slabs of Pentelic marble, have been found. They show that the copy of the decree preserved by the pseudo-Plutarch is somewhat condensed and abridged. See *C. I. A.* ii. No. 240; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 145; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 124. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 597 *sqq.* The various buildings of Lycurgus mentioned in the decree have been already noticed by Pausanias (i. 1. 2; i. 19. 3; i. 19. 6; i. 21. 1) or touched on in the commentary (see above, p. 18 *sqq.* as to the arsenal).

The decree in honour of Lycurgus mentions that two of his ancestors, Lycomedes and Lycurgus, had received public burial in the Ceramicus in recognition of their virtue or valour. These monuments Pausanias has not noticed. Doubtless there were many more which he passed over in silence. A fragment of one such monument is now in the British Museum. It is a stone bearing a metrical inscription in twelve lines in honour of the 150 Athenians who fell at Potidaea in 432 B.C. (Thucydides, i. 62-64). Above the inscription there is said to have been formerly a relief representing three naked warriors armed with round shields, helmets, and spears; the one on the spectator's left was stretched on the ground, stabbed by the spear of the warrior in the middle; the one to the right was brandishing his weapon. This relief has now disappeared. See *C. I. A.* i. No. 442; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 21; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 574 *sq.*

30. 1. **the Academy.** Popular tradition gives the name of Academy (*Kathemnia*) to a place about three-quarters of a mile north-west of the Dipylum, in the broad belt of olive-wood which stretches

along both banks of the Cephisus from its source at the western foot of Mt. Pentelicus nearly to the sea. The exact spot is a little to the south of the rocky knoll on which are the graves of Charles Lenormant and K. O. Müller and which has been identified as the famous Colonus Hippius. This situation agrees well with the descriptions of ancient writers; for we know that the Academy was near Colonus Hippius (Paus. i. 30. 4), and Cicero says (*De finibus*, v. 1. 1) that the Academy was six furlongs (three-quarters of a mile) from the Dipylum. Livy's statement (xxxi. 24) that the Academy was about a mile from the Dipylum is probably not quite so exact. Thus, though no remains of buildings belonging to it have as yet come to light, the situation of the Academy may be regarded as approximately ascertained. "It is on the lowest level, where some water-courses from the ridges of Lycabettus are consumed in gardens and olive plantations. These were the waters which, while they nourished the shady groves of the Academy and its plane-trees remarkable for their luxuriant growth, made the air unhealthy. They still cause the spot to be one of the most advantageous situations near Athens for the growth of fruit and pot-herbs, and maintain a certain degree of verdure when all the surrounding plain is parched with the heat of summer" (Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 197 *sq.*) The olive-woods, occupying a strip of country about ten miles long by two wide, offer a refreshing contrast to the bare, treeless, dried-up aspect of the rest of the plain round Athens. "I have wandered whole days in these delightful woods, listening to the nightingales, which sing all day in the deep shade and solitude, as it were in a prolonged twilight, and hearing the plane-tree whispering to the elm, as Aristophanes has it, and seeing the white poplar show its silvery leaves in the breeze, and wondering whether the huge old olive stems, so like the old pollard stumps in Windsor Forest, could be the actual sacred trees, the *μορίαι*, under which the youths of Athens ran their races. The banks of the Kephissus, too, are lined with great reeds, and sedgy marsh plants, which stoop over its sandy shallows and wave idly in the current of its stream. The ouzel and the kingfisher start from under one's feet, and bright fish move out lazily from their sunny bay into the deeper pool. Now and then through a vista the Acropolis shows itself in a framework of green foliage" (Mahaffy). (For a fuller description of the valley of the Cephisus with its olive-woods see C. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, 22 (1865), pp. 221-227).

The Academy was said to derive its name from one Academus or Hecademus, sometimes called a hero, who consecrated or founded it (Paus. i. 29. 2; Diogenes Laertius, iii. 7; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1005; Suidas and Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀκαδήμεια; Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 114, p. 736). When Castor and Pollux came to Attica in search of their sister Helen, Academus is said to have told them that she was hidden at Aphidna (see i. 17. 5 note): hence whenever the Lacedaemonians invaded and ravaged Attica they always spared the Academy for the sake of Academus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32). There was a shrine of the hero Academus in the Academy (Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 114, p. 736). In historical times the Academy is first

heard of in the sixth century B.C., when Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, built a wall round it at great expense, which he compelled the Athenians to defray (Suidas, *s.v.* τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον). But it was Cimon who first converted it, from a dry and dusty place, into a well-watered grove with trim avenues and shady walks (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 13). Hence it is described as "a wooded suburb" (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 7; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀκαδήμεια) and as "the best wooded of the suburbs" (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 13). The plane-trees in one of the avenues were famous for their enormous size (Pliny, *N. H.* xii. 9). There was a gymnasium at the Academy as early certainly as the time of Aristophanes towards the close of the fifth century B.C., and probably much earlier. In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (*v.* 1002 *sqq.*) a young man is told: "You will spend your time, sleek and blooming, in the gymnasiums. . . . You will go down to the Academy and run races under the sacred olives with a virtuous comrade, crowned with white reeds and smelling of bindweed and careless ease and the white poplar that sheds its leaves, happy in the springtide when the plane-tree whispers to the elm." There would seem to have been an open space of some extent in the Academy, since Xenophon speaks as if the cavalry paraded there on festival days (*Hipparch.* iii. 1).

But the chief title of the Academy to fame is that Plato taught in it, as Aristotle did in the Lyceum on the opposite side of Athens (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 7; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀκαδήμεια; Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 114, p. 736; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 387, 393). Milton describes it in familiar lines (*Paradise Regained*, iv. 244 *sqq.*) as

> "the olive grove of Academe,
> Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
> Trills her thick-warbl'd notes the summer long."

It is said that Plato taught at first in the Academy, but afterwards in a garden of his own adjoining it, near Colonus Hippius (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 5; Apuleius, *De dogmate Platonis*, i. 4; Damascius, 'Life of Isidore,' in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 346 a 34 *sqq.*, ed. Bekker; Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 1. 2). His house was in the garden, and for house and garden he seems to have paid 3000 drachms (Plutarch, *De exilio*, 10). He was so much attached to the place that though it was said to be unhealthy and the doctors advised him to shift his quarters to the Lyceum, he positively refused to do so (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 10). He founded in the Academy a shrine of the Muses, in which his successor Speusippus afterwards dedicated images of the Graces (Diogenes Laertius, iv. 1. 1; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 387, 393). A Persian named Mithridates afterwards dedicated to the Muses a statue of Plato himself and placed it in the Academy; the sculptor was Silanion (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 25; as to Silanion, see note on vi. 4. 5). Plato's grave was not far from the Academy (§ 3 below). After his death the Academy continued to be the head-quarters of his school. Xenocrates, who succeeded Speusippus as head of the school, resided constantly at the Academy; he used to go into Athens only one day in the year, the day of the Dionysiac festival when the new tragedies were acted (Plutarch,

De exilio, 10; Diogenes Laertius, iv. 2. 6). Polemo, who succeeded Xenocrates, also lived regularly in the garden at the Academy; his disciples put up little huts for themselves beside his garden, where they dwelt near the shrine of the Muses (Diogenes Laertius, iv. 2. 6; *id.*, iv. 3. 19). Lacydes, the founder of the philosophic school called the New Academy, taught at the Academy in a garden constructed by King Attalus (Diogenes Laertius, iv. 8. 60). When Sulla laid siege to Athens in 87–86 B.C., he cut down the woods of the Academy to make siege-engines (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 12; Appian, *Bellum Mithrid.* 30). Cicero lays the scene of one of his philosophic dialogues at the Academy (*De finibus*, v. 1). Horace studied at Athens and learned "to seek for truth in Academus's woods" (*Epist.* ii. 2. 45). In Pausanias's time the Academy was still a gymnasium (i. 29. 2). It was popularly said that laughter was not permitted in the Academy (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 35). An inscription, dating apparently from Hadrian's time, mentions plots of land in the Academy which were the property of private persons (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 61). Funeral games were held in the Academy in honour of the men slain in war who were buried in the neighbouring Ceramicus, and sacrifices were offered to them at a pit in the Academy: the games were superintended and the sacrifices offered by the Polemarch or minister of war (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 30; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, i. 17; cp. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58). The Thessalian philosopher Philiscus was buried at the spot where the funeral games were held (Philostratus, *l.c.*) Funeral games were also held in honour of Eurygyes, who was identified with Androgeus, son of Minos; these games are said to have been held in the Ceramicus (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐπ᾽ Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγών), but they were probably held in the Academy like the other funeral games: the name Ceramicus may have been extended so as to include the Academy. Marcus Marcellus, a Roman who was murdered in Athens in 45 B.C., was buried in the Academy and a marble tomb was erected over his remains (Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* iv. 22). A road led from the Academy to the Lyceum outside of, but close to, the city-walls (Plato, *Lysis*, p. 203a).

More particulars as to the Academy are given in the following notes.

Cp. Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 411 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 1. pp. 599-602; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 201; Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 486 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 255 *sqq.*; A. Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 176 *sq.*; J. P. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 135 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 21 *sq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 597 *sqq.*; E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 89 *sq.*

30. 1. an altar of Love. Charmus who dedicated this altar was a friend of the tyrant Hippias (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 609 d). The metrical inscription carved on the altar has been preserved by Athenaeus (*l.c.*) It ran thus: "To thee, O shifty Love, Charmus dedicated this altar at the shady boundaries of the gymnasium." This agrees with Pausanias's statement that the altar stood at the entrance to the Academy. Plutarch says that the tyrant Pisistratus, a friend of Charmus, "consecrated the image of Love in the Academy, where the men who run the sacred torch-race kindle the fire" (Plutarch, *Solon*, 1). Hermias also says that

the long race at the Panathenaic festival was from the altar of Love, "for the lads run from there, after lighting their torches at it" (Hermias on Plato, *Phaedrus*, c. vii. quoted by C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 267 n. 4, and in E. Curtius's *Stadtgeschichte*, p. xxix.) Apuleius also speaks of "the altar which is dedicated to Love (Cupid) in the Academy" (*De dogmate Platonis*, i. 1). But the altar and the image of Love probably stood together not in, but at the entrance to, the Academy; and the torch-race seems to have started, not from the altar of Love, but from the neighbouring altar of Prometheus (see below, § 2 note). Sacrifices were offered to Love jointly with Athena at the Academy (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 561 d e).

30. 1. **the altar of Love Returned** etc. The story which Pausanias tells to explain the origin of this altar is told, with some variations, by Suidas (*s.v.* Μέλητος), who however says nothing about the altar. The name of the lover, according to Suidas, was Meletus, a well born and wealthy youth; the name of the beloved was Timagoras. Meletus brought Timagoras a present of some fine cocks, and when his present was rejected, he flung himself in despair from the Acropolis. Timagoras ran after him with the birds in his arms and threw himself down from the same place. In memory of this affair a statue was erected on the spot, representing a boy with two cocks in his arms on the point of throwing himself headlong down.

30. 2. **an altar of Prometheus.** A fuller description of this altar has been preserved in a fragment of Apollodorus, quoted by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 56). From this we learn that the altar was dedicated to Prometheus and Hephaestus jointly, and that it stood on an ancient base on which were carved in relief figures of Prometheus and Hephaestus, Prometheus being represented as an elderly man with a staff in his right hand, and Hephaestus as a young man. The altar was at the entrance to the Academy. Prof. C. Wachsmuth states (*Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 269) that there was a temple as well as an altar of Prometheus in the Academy. The authority to whom he refers is Apollodorus quoted by the Scholiast on Sophocles. But Mr. C. Müller in his *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 3. p. 341 and Mr. P. N. Papageorgius in his edition of the Scholia on Sophocles agree in reading *βωμός* ('altar') instead of *ναός* ('temple') in this passage, and they note no various reading. The passage is, however, often quoted with *ναός* instead of *βωμός*, as by Prof. Wachsmuth and by Leake, *Athens*, 1. p. 600 n. 6. Which is the true reading?

30. 2. **they run from it to the city with burning torches** etc. Torch-races are known to have been held at eight Athenian festivals, namely the Panathenaic festival, the festival of Prometheus, the festival of Hephaestus (Harpocration, *s.v.* λαμπάς; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 131 and 1087; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, pp. 228, 277; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 111; cp. Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 167 *sq.*), the festival of Pan (Herodotus, vi. 105; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* λαμπάς; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 228), the festival of Bendis (Plato, *Repub.* i. p. 328 a, with the Schol. on p. 327 a), the festival of Hermes (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1223; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8

(1883), p. 226), the festival of Theseus (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 107, 108), and the festival in honour of the dead (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 106, 109, 110; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 282). At the first three of these festivals the torch-race was run in the Ceramicus (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 131), the course being probably the one here indicated by Pausanias, namely from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy to some point (not defined) in the city. At the festival of Bendis the race, which was run on horseback, took place at Piraeus (Plato, *Repub.* i. p. 327 a). Where it took place at the other festivals we are not told. The race appears to have been run in two different ways. One way was this. A number of runners, each with a lighted torch, started abreast, and the one who first carried his torch alight to the goal was the winner. This was the kind of race here described by Pausanias. The other way was this. There were several lines of runners posted at intervals. The first man in each line, after lighting his torch at the altar or receiving it lighted, ran with it at full speed to the next man in the line, to whom he passed it on; the second runner similarly transmitted it to the third; and so on down the line, till the last man in the line carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first succeeded in passing its torch alight to the goal was the winner. See Herodotus, viii. 98; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 312 *sq.*; Plato, *Repub.* i. p. 328 a; *id.*, *Laws*, vi. p. 776 b; Lucretius, ii. 79. In this latter form of the race the prize fell not to any one man but to a whole line of runners. Hence we hear of fourteen men being winners in a torch-race (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 122). From inscriptions which mention various Attic tribes as victorious in torch-races it would seem that the lines of runners were composed of men of different tribes, each line consisting of men of one tribe exclusively (see *Hermes*, 7 (1873), p. 441). On the other hand, when inscriptions mention a single man as winner in a torch-race (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 106-111), we may suppose that the race was run in the first of the ways described above.

The origin of the torch-race has been correctly explained by Mr. N. Wecklein ('Der Fackelwettlauf,' *Hermes*, 7 (1873), pp. 437-452). It originated in a custom of transmitting a new and holy fire from a hearth or altar where it had been kindled, to other hearths or altars where the old, polluted fire had been extinguished as a preparation for receiving the new and pure one; and as it was deemed important to convey the new fire as rapidly as possible to the altars that were waiting for it, it was carried at full speed either by a single runner or (if the distance was great) by relays of runners who passed it on from hand to hand. That this must have been the origin of the torch-race appears from various considerations. In the first place, the torches in the race were lighted at the altar of the original fire-bringer Prometheus (cp. the present passage of Pausanias with Plutarch, *Solon*, 1), and were used to light a fire on an altar which formed the goal of the race (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 228, *s.v.* γυμνασίαρχοι). In the second place, there is a widespread notion that fire becomes polluted either through daily use or through some special accident, such as a death (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 24) or the presence of an enemy; and that hence it is needful,

either periodically or occasionally, to extinguish the fire and rekindle it from some pure flame, which is often created by friction, the oldest and therefore holiest mode of obtaining fire. Thus, after the battle of Plataea all the fires in the district were regarded as polluted by the presence of the Persians; consequently they were extinguished and a new and holy fire was fetched from the altar at Delphi by a runner, who went at such speed that after handing over the new fire to the expectant citizens he dropt dead on the spot (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20). Similarly at the yearly purification of Lemnos, an island devoted to the worship of Hephaestus (Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 82), all the fires in the island were extinguished for nine days and were then rekindled by a pure fire which had been brought for the purpose from the sacred isle of Delos (Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24). In ancient Mexico at the end of every fifty-two years all the fires were extinguished, and at midnight a priest produced a new fire by friction on the top of a mountain distant about six miles from the city of Mexico. As soon as the fire blazed up, torches of pine-wood were lit at it and were carried by the swiftest runners toward every quarter of the kingdom. In the city of Mexico, in the temple of the god Huitzilopochtli, a fire-place stood in front of the altar with fuel ready laid on it. Into this fire-place a blazing brand was flung by the first runner, and from it fire was carried to all the houses of the priests, and thence again to all the city. See H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, 3. pp. 393-395; cp. Sahagun, *Histoire Générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880), pp. 288-290; Acosta, *History of the Indies*, 2. p. 394 (Hakluyt Society); Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, 1. p. 313 (trans. by Cullen). That at the Greek torch-races the brands carried by the runners were used to kindle a fire on an altar is proved, not only by the statement of an ancient writer (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 228, *s.v.* γυμνασίαρχοι), but also by a vase-painting, which represents a runner holding his torch over an altar, on the top of which two billets are laid across each other, waiting to be ignited. On the other side stands a winged Victory looking at the runner and pointing to the unlit altar with an imperious gesture. See A. Körte, 'Vase mit Fackellaufdarstellung,' *Jahrbuch d. k. d. archäol. Inst.* 7 (1892), pp. 149-152. We do not know to which altar or altars in Athens the fire was carried by the runners. Different altars may have been the goal at different festivals. It may be conjectured that at the festival of Hephaestus the fire was carried to the temple of Hephaestus situated above the market-place (Paus. i. 14. 6).

30. 2. **an altar of the Muses.** This was probably in the sanctuary of the Muses which Plato consecrated in the Academy (see above, p. 389).

30. 2. **an altar of Athena.** The Academy was especially consecrated to Athena (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 561 d e). Athena, Prometheus, and Hephaestus were worshipped together in it (Apollodorus, cited by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 56).

30. 2. **an olive-plant** etc. The sacred olive-trees called *moriai* grew in the Academy; their number was at first twelve, and they were believed to be offshoots of the original olive-tree on the Acropolis (see

i. 27. 2 note) (Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1005; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *μορίαι*; Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 701). The origin of the name *moriai* was explained as follows: Halirrothius, son of Poseidon, being vexed at Athena's victory over his father in the contest for the possession of Attica, attempted to hew down the olive-tree which Athena had produced. He heaved up his axe, but missed his stroke and wounded himself fatally. Hence the sacred olive was called *moria* because Halirrothius had incurred his doom (*moros*) in trying to hew it down (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1005; cp. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 36 *sq.*) A curse was supposed to rest on whoever should cut down one of these sacred trees; hence when the Lacedaemonians ravaged Attica they spared the olive-trees in the Academy (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 698, 701). The penalty for digging up or breaking down one of the sacred olives was originally death; the case was tried by the Court of the Areopagus (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 60); in later times the penalty was changed to banishment (Lysias, vii. 41); and in Aristotle's time, though the law remained on the statute-book, it was not enforced (Aristotle, *l.c.*) The oil made from the sacred olives was kept on the Acropolis, and jars of it were given as prizes to the winners in the athletic sports and the horse-races at the Panathenaic festival (Aristotle, *l.c.*; Schol. on Plato, *Parmenides*, 127 a b; Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 9; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *μορίαι*; Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 701; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1005). The sacred olives (*moriai*) were watched over by Morian Zeus, who had an altar in the Academy beside the sanctuary of Athena; he was here known also as *Kataibates*, *i.e.* 'he who descends' in thunder and lightning (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 705; cp. Paus. v. 14. 10). It will be observed that Pausanias mentions only one olive-tree in the Academy. The rest may have been cut down by Sulla when he robbed the Academy of its woods to make siege-engines (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 12; Appian, *Bellum Mithrid.* 12). Or Pausanias may have chosen to notice only the one tree which was pointed out to him as the oldest of all.

30. 3. **Not far from the Academy is the tomb of Plato.** Diogenes Laertius says (iii. 41) that Plato was buried in the Academy, but Pausanias's statement is probably the more exact. According to Olympiodorus (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 388), the Athenians gave him a splendid burial and carved a couplet on his tomb to the effect that "Apollo created the two, to wit Aesculapius and Plato; Aesculapius, that he might save the body: Plato, that he might save the soul."

30. 3. **Socrates —— dreamed that a swan flew into his bosom.** "It is said that Socrates dreamed he had a cygnet on his lap, and that, its wings suddenly sprouting, it soared up with a melodious cry. And next day Plato was introduced to him" (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 5; cp. *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 389; Apuleius, *De dogmate Platonis*, i. 1). According to Apuleius (*l.c.*) the cygnet seemed to fly into Socrates's lap from the altar of Love in the Ceramicus. Plato is said to have called himself a fellow-slave of the swan, because the swan was Apollo's bird (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 383, 389).

30. 3. **a swan is reputed to be versed in the Muses' craft.** "Here in the island (of Femern, to the east of Holstein) every one knows the note of the swan. It is a strangely melancholy cry, like the far-away chime of bells or the clang of an anvil, sometimes so loud that persons not accustomed to it are disturbed in their sleep by it at night" (K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1. p. 1, quoting the author of *Quickborn*). There are two kinds of swans in Europe, the dumb swan and the singing swan. The latter is able "to utter two trumpet-like or bell-like notes, which it generally does while flying, so that when, as generally happens, there are a number of swans together, a ringing sound is heard which, under favourable conditions of weather and wind, may be heard for miles. The home of the singing swan is in the far North, in Iceland and Spitzbergen, in the north of Norway, Sweden and Russia, away to Asia, where it is especially common. With the beginning of the cold winter they fly southward to Germany, England, and even the north of France. From Asia they fly over Russia to the Black Sea and as far as Greece; and a few solitary birds, as the skeletons in museums show, make their way even to Italy and the north of Africa" (K. Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* 1. p. 2 *sq.*) "The popular songs of the Russians also, which are particularly rich in imagery derived from the observation of aquatic fowl, celebrate perpetually the fine voice of the swan" (Ad. Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, 2. p. 43 *sq.*) In works of ancient art Apollo is represented riding on a swan or driving a car drawn by swans. See J. Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. pp. 350-354. On swans in antiquity see L. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1863, p. 17 *sqq.*

30. 3. **the Ligurians —— had a king named Cycnus.** He is said to have mourned the death of Phaethon, singing a melancholy strain on the banks of the Eridanus, till he was turned into a swan. His descendant Cuparo wore a crest of swan's feathers on his helmet to mark his lineage. See Virgil, *Aen.* x. 185-193, with Servius's note on verse 189; Ovid, *Met.* ii. 367-380; Hyginus, *Fab.* 154. On the legend of the swan-king of Liguria cp. K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1. p. 218. On the Ligurians see H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, 1. p. 468 *sqq.*; J. G. Cuno, 'Die Ligurier,' *Rheinisches Museum*, 28 (1873), pp. 193-210; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Les Ligures,' *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 30 (1875), pp. 211 *sqq.*, 309 *sqq.*, 373 *sqq.*; *ib.* 31 (1876), p. 379 *sqq.*; *ib.* 35 (1878), p. 260 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe* (Paris, 1877), pp. 221-245.

30. 4. **the tower of Timon.** When Plato returned to Athens from Sicily, "he established a school near the abode of Timon the misanthrope, who, though he was soured at all mankind, as the inscriptions on his tomb show, yet bore the society of Plato with much benignity" (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 393).

30. 4. **Colonus Hippius ('horse knoll').** Thucydides tells us (viii. 67) that Colonus (*i.e.* Colonus Hippius), a sanctuary of Poseidon, was situated about ten furlongs outside of Athens. Hence it has been identified with the rocky knoll, about 50 feet high, which rises from the plain about 1800 metres (somewhat under a mile and a quarter) to the

north-north-west of the Dipylum gate. On the knoll stand conspicuous the two white marble tombstones of K. O. Müller (died 1840) and Charles Lenormant (died 1859). The place is famous as the scene of Sophocles's great tragedy, the 'Oedipus at Colonus.' The spot is bare enough now; the luxuriant vegetation which the poet has described in a famous chorus (*Oed. Col.* 668 *sqq.*) is gone; but a few hundred paces to the west, where the olive groves begin, the vine, the laurel, and the olive are as green as in the days of Sophocles, and the nightingale still warbles in the shady thickets on the banks of the Cephisus. Sophocles describes Colonus as sacred ground, the possession of Poseidon, and inhabited also by Prometheus, and containing a spot called the Brazen Threshold (Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 54 *sqq.*, with the Schol. on *v.* 57). There was also a sanctuary of the Furies at Colonus (*ib.* 37 *sqq.*); its site is perhaps marked by the church of Hagia Eleussa on the north-west side of the knoll. The poet also mentions (*v.* 1600 *sq.*) a hill at which the daughters of Oedipus drew water; he describes it either as "the hill in view of Green Demeter" or "the hill of Green Demeter in view of" the place where Oedipus was (the Greek may be translated either way). The words are commonly taken in the latter way, and "the hill of Green Demeter" identified with the somewhat higher knoll situated about a quarter of a mile to the north of Hippius Colonus. (But see above, note on i. 28. 7, 'the tomb of Oedipus'). Sophocles himself belonged to the township of Colonus (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 126; Suidas, *s.v.* Σοφοκλῆς; Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 1. 3). In 411 B.C. the oligarchical conspirators held an assembly of the people at Colonus (Thucydides, viii. 67). Plato's garden was near Colonus (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 5).

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 413 *sq.*; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 201 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, p. 241; Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griech.* 1. p. 324 *sq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. pp. 255-257 (who wrongly identifies the northern of the two knolls as Colonus); Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 512 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, 'Athen,' p. 177; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 153; Baedeker,[3] p. 109; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 22 *sqq.*; R. C. Jebb, 'Introduction to Sophocles,' *Oed. Col.* p. xxx. *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 600 *sqq.*

30. 4. **This is —— at variance with Homer's poetry.** See i. 28. 7 note.

30. 4. **Antigonus when he invaded Attica.** Cp. i. 1. 1; i. 7. 3; iii. 6. 4-7.

31. 1. **The small townships of Attica.** Having completed his survey of Athens and the suburbs Ceramicus and Colonus, Pausanias resumes his account of the rest of Attica; he has already mentioned some of the points of interest on the southern coast from Sunium to Phalerum (i. 1. 1 and 5). In the present chapter he mentions the chief points of interest in the small Attic townships; then he describes the Attic mountains (i. 32. 2 *sq.*); then some more townships (i. 32. 3-i. 33. 8); then Oropus (i. 34); then the islands of Attica (i. 35. 1-i. 36. 2); then the road from Athens to Eleusis (i. 36. 3-i. 38. 5); then Eleusis itself (i. 38. 6 *sq.*); then the road from Eleusis to Boeotia (i. 38. 8

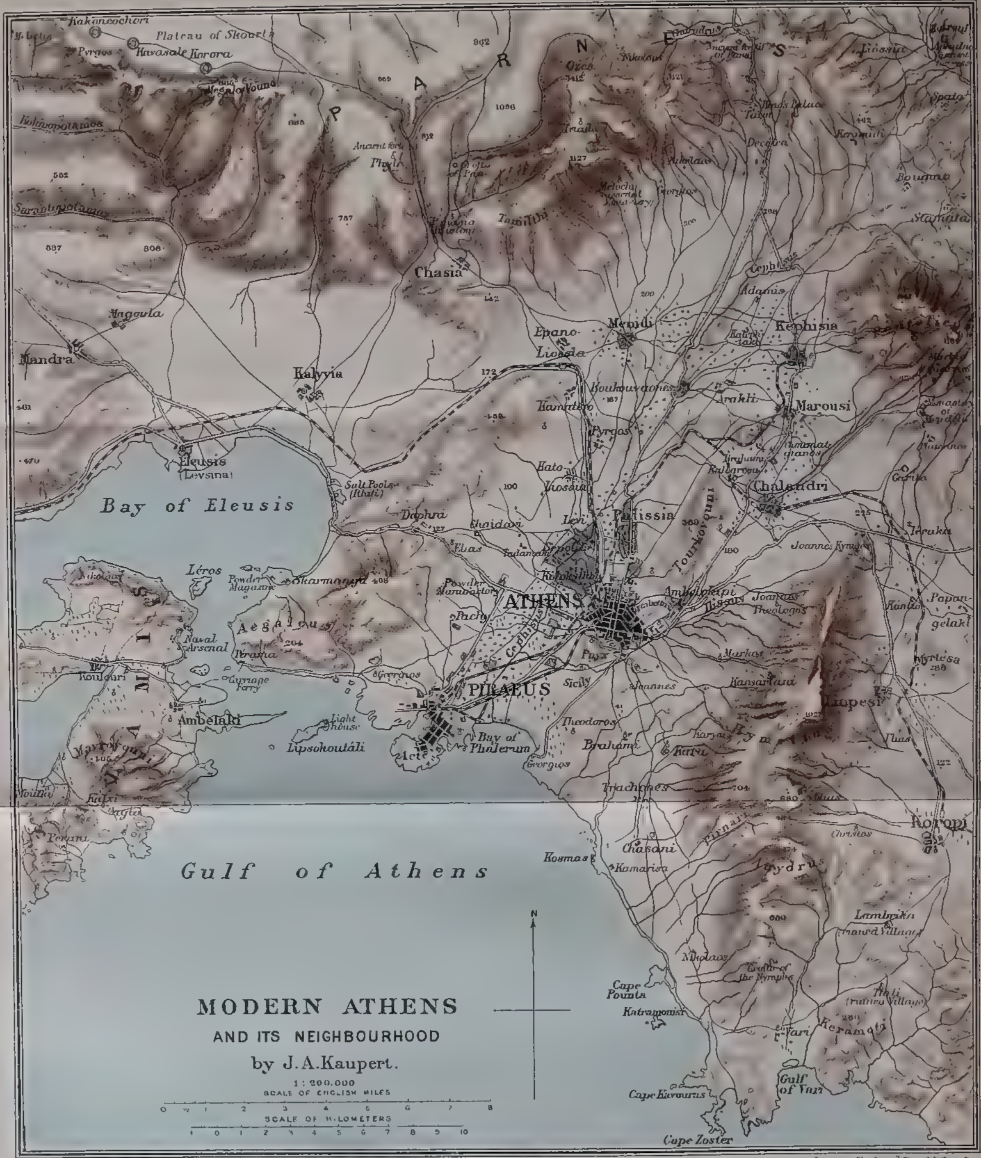
sq.); then the road from Eleusis to the frontier of Megara (i. 39. 1-3), and lastly Megara, both the city and the territory (i. 39. 4-i. 44. 10). Thus in his description of Attica he does not follow a strictly topographical order; he selects and groups together places (such as the mountains and the islands) which have no local connexion with each other. In this respect his description of Attica differs from his description of all the rest of Greece; from the time he quits Attica, or rather from the time he sets out along the Sacred Road to go to Eleusis (i. 36. 3), he adopts a strictly topographical order of description, from which he hardly again deviates till, having conducted the reader through Peloponnese, Boeotia, Phocis, and Ozolian Locris, he finally parts from him at Naupactus. This difference of method proves that in writing his account of Attica Pausanias had not yet definitely settled the lines on which his work was to be laid down. Hence we may assume, what from the order of the books is in itself probable, that the *Attica* was the first to be written. This conclusion is confirmed by other evidence (see vii. 20. 6 note). It follows from the eclectic method adopted by Pausanias in his first book that his account of the topography of Attica (exclusive of Athens) is less complete and precise than his account of any of the other divisions of Greece. This, though unfortunate, is the less to be regretted since centralisation was carried to a far greater pitch in Attica than in any other province of Greece, with the exception perhaps of Laconia. Athens, as the capital of Attica, gathered into itself the wealth, the art, and the political life of the whole people; the villages and petty towns were comparatively insignificant; they had no independence and no history, having been so long politically absorbed by Athens that the memory of a time when they had been independent was almost lost. The political condition of Laconia and its vassal state Messenia was similar. But in all the other divisions of Greece a multitude of petty independent cities throve side by side, each surrounded by its own walls, and containing within it the political, military, religious, and artistic life of a whole state in miniature. We could less easily have dispensed with descriptions of them than of the townships of Attica.

The system of townships (*demes*), or local divisions each with its own municipal government, was first instituted or at least fully developed by Clisthenes in 510 B.C. (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 21). The number of townships instituted by him is uncertain; from Herodotus (v. 69) it has sometimes been inferred that the number was 100. At a later time we hear of 174 townships (Strabo, ix. p. 396). The names of 145 of these townships are well authenticated by inscriptions and the testimony of ancient writers. Out of these 145 townships we know the positions of 28 with tolerable exactness and of 37 approximately; while the positions of 80 (including some very large ones) have not yet been ascertained (Prof. A. Milchhöfer, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, for 1887, p. 42). Pausanias notices only a few of the townships in this and the two following chapters. Elsewhere he mentions a few more, namely Sunium (i. 1. 1), Piraeus (i. 1. 2), Phalerum (i. 1. 2), Ceramicus (i. 3. 1), Aphidna (i. 17. 5), Colonus (i. 30. 4),

Laciadae (i. 37. 2), Scambonidae (i. 38. 2), Anaphlystus (ii. 30. 9), Sphettus (*ib.*), Decelea (iii. 8. 6), and Stiria (x. 35. 8).

On the names and topography of the townships and their distribution in tribes and *trittyes*, the following special works may be consulted: Leake, *Topography of Athens*, vol. 2. *The Demi*; L. Ross, *Die Demen von Attika und ihre Vertheilung unter die Phylen* (Halle, 1846); P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika* (Leipzig, 1886); A. Milchhöfer, 'Ueber Standpunkt und Methode der attischen Demenforschung,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, for 1887, pp. 41-56; *id.*, 'Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, for 1892; *id.*, 'Zur attischen Localverfassung,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), pp. 277-304; R. Löper, 'Die Trittyen und Demen Attikas,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 319-433; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, 2. pp. 145-168. On the civil constitution of the townships there is a special work by Mr. B. Haussoullier, *La vie municipale en Attique* (Paris, 1884).

31. 1. Alimus. Alimus or Halimus was a township of the tribe Leontis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἁλιμοῦς; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 496; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἁλιμοῦς; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 376). It was situated on the southern coast of Attica, immediately to the east of the township of Phalerum (Strabo, ix. p. 398), at a distance of 35 Greek furlongs from Athens (Demosthenes, lvii. 10, p. 1302). It was probably therefore on or near the site of the modern *Trachones*, a village at the western foot of Mt. Hymettus, about 1½ miles from the sea. The distance of *Trachones* from Athens is about 32 Greek furlongs or 3¾ miles, which agrees closely with the distance of Alimus. Moreover in graves at *Trachones* there have been found two ancient tickets of jurymen belonging to Halimus (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 892, 906). Another argument for identifying *Trachones* with Alimus is that the sanctuary of Lawgiver Demeter mentioned by Pausanias at Alimus is probably identical with "the many-pillared sanctuary of Demeter" at Cape Colias (Hesychius, *s.v.* Κωλιάς), where the Athenian women celebrated the Thesmophoria (Plutarch, *Solon*, 8) on the tenth day of the month Pyanepsion (October-November), according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Thesmoph.* 80; cp. Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 291 *sqq.*) For Cape Colias, as we have seen (note on i. 1. 5), is probably the cape crowned with the chapel of St. Cosmas, which is distant about 2 miles south-west of *Trachones*. The territory of Alimus no doubt extended to the sea and included Cape Colias. Since Pausanias mentions the sanctuary of Demeter in connexion with Alimus, not with Cape Colias (i. 1. 5), we may suppose that the sanctuary stood a little inland, between the cape and the town. But that it cannot have been far inland is proved by the narrative of Plutarch (*Solon*, 8), who tells us that the Megarians sent a vessel to Cape Colias with the intention of waylaying and kidnapping the women who were celebrating the Thesmophoria there. Hercules was also worshipped at Alimus; his priesthood was held by a respectable citizen of the township (Demosthenes, lvii. 46 and 62, pp. 1313, 1318). The historian Thucydides belonged to Alimus (*Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 199, 203). The country round *Trachones*, a hamlet situated at the foot of an eminence on which are a tower and a small chapel, contains many ancient remains, consisting of



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foundation-walls, tombs, and wells. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Dodwell found at *Trachones* "the remains of a town, and the foundations of the *cella* of a temple, near which is a mutilated bas-relief representing the sacrifice of a goat, and some rites associated with the mythology of Bacchus." Prof. A. Milchhöfer would place Aexone (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Αἰξωνία; Strabo, ix. p. 398), not Alimus, at *Trachones*.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 525 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 53 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 361 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, ii. pp. 1 *sq.*, 29; *id.*, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Prussian Academy, Berlin, for 1887, p. 47; *id.*, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 23; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, p. 48; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 195; Baedeker,[3] p. 138.

31. 1. **Zoster.** Strabo tells us (ix. p. 398) that Zoster ('girdle') was the name of a cape on the south coast of Attica, to the south of Aexone, which was the township next to Halimus; and he adds that off Cape Zoster there lay an island called Phabra. Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ζωστήρ) speaks of Zoster as a peninsula; and Herodotus says (viii. 107) that when the Persians, sailing away to Asia after the battle of Salamis, were near Zoster, they were alarmed by the sharp headlands which here run out into the sea, and which they at first mistook for ships of the enemy. Hence Zoster may confidently be identified with the massive, triple-tongued promontory immediately to the west of the bay of *Vari*. The soil is sandy and clothed with fir-woods; its rocky sides have a reddish hue. The most westerly of the three capes or tongues in which the promontory ends is now called Cape *Kavuras*. The middle cape, which projects furthest to the south, is a low, narrow, indented spit of land, connected with the mainland only by a sandy isthmus. It thus answers to Stephanus's description of Zoster as a peninsula, and is probably Cape Zoster in the narrow sense; though from the passage of Herodotus cited above it appears that the name Zoster was extended to include all three capes. The modern name of this middle cape is *Oura* or, in Albanian, *Bisti*. Off it, at the distance of about a mile and a half, is a large, low island, the ancient Phabra, now called *Phleva*; though capable of cultivation, it is uninhabited. The most easterly of the three capes of Zoster, the one which bounds the bay of *Vari* on the west, is the broadest and highest (about 460 feet) of the three. On its western side is a very picturesque pool of green sea-water enclosed by precipitous rocks, in the crannies of which a rank and luxuriant vegetation flourishes. The pool is called *Vuliasmeni*. It may have been in this pool that Latona was said to have bathed after undoing her girdle (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ζωστήρ). At Cape Zoster fishermen used to sacrifice to Latona, Artemis, and Zosterian Apollo (Stephanus Byz. *l.c.*, cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* Ζωστήρ; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 414, *s.v.* Ζωστήρ). An Attic inscription (*C. I. A.* i. No. 273) refers to Zosterian Athena as in possession of a treasure on which the state had to pay interest. Pausanias apparently supposed that Zoster was a township. But this seems to have been a mistake; at least we have no other evidence of Zoster having been a township.

The whole coast between Cape Zoster and Phalerum is a strip of flat land bounded on the east by the slopes of Hymettus and only broken in its northern portion by some stony hills. It is a monotonous, bare, and stony tract of country, furrowed by numerous water-courses which are generally dry. Ruins of ancient buildings are to be seen at many places, and the plain is studded, far and near, with countless ancient graves in the form of mounds, which have furnished Athenian dealers in antiquities with an abundant supply of vases.

See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 54 *sq.*; F. G. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 146; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 58; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 359 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Die Demen von Attika*, pp. 46-48 (who wrongly identifies Zoster with Cape *Punta*, a headland about three miles north of Zoster); Baedeker,[5] p. 130; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 15 *sq.*

31. 1. **Prospalta.** Prospalta was a township of the tribe Acamis (Demosthenes, xliii. 64, p. 1071; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πρόσπαλτα; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Προσπάλτιοι). The inhabitants had the reputation of being litigious (Suidas and *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* δρυαχαρνεῦ). Eupolis named one of his comedies *The Prospaltians* after them (Athenaeus, vii. p. 326 a). The township was on or near the site of the modern *Kalyvia Kuvara* (or shortly *Kalyvia*), a village of about 700 inhabitants in the interior of Attica, about midway between Athens and Sunium, the distance to each of these places from the village being about 14 miles in a straight line. It stands in a plain surrounded by hills. In the well-cultivated ground called *Ennea Pyrgoi* ('nine towers') to the west of the village there are ancient blocks and vestiges of walls. This probably was the site of Prospalta. Here in the church of St. Peter (outside, over the apse) there is a tombstone inscribed with the names of two men of Prospalta called Diagoras and Diophon: the inscription belongs to the fourth century B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 2512; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 284, No. 182). Built into the altar of the same church is a square altar dedicated to Colaenis (see below, § 4 note) with a late and badly written inscription (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 282 *sq.*) A second sepulchral inscription containing the name (Hegeso) of a member of the township Prospalta was found at *Kalyvia* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 284, No. 183).

In the church of St. Demetrius at the village of *Keratea*, three miles south-east of *Kalyvia*, there is an inscription containing a dedication to Aesculapius by certain Prospaltians who belonged to a religious society (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 990). This led Leake and Ross to place Prospalta at *Keratea*, which, however, occupies the site of Cephale (see below, p. 402). On the other hand Bursian, without the help of the sepulchral inscriptions which enable us to identify the sites of Prospalta and Cephale, had rightly placed Prospalta between the villages of *Keratea* and *Markopoulo*.

See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 73; L. Ross, *Demen*, p. 93; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 346 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 98 (who wrongly places Prospalta in the pass of *Prinari* over Hymettus); A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 281-286; *id.*, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 12; *id.*, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 25.

31. 1. **Anagyrus.** Anagyrus was a township of the tribe Erechtheis (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀναγυράσιος; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀναγυροῦς). It was situated on the south coast of Attica between the townships of Halae Aexionicae and Thorae (Strabo, ix. p. 398). According to some, the township was named after a hero Anagyrus, who had a sacred precinct at the place and was said to throw down the houses of persons who insulted his shrine; the 'demon of Anagyrus' was a proverb of ferocity (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 67; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀναγυράσιος; Zenobius, ii. 55; Diogenianus, i. 25; *id.*, iii. 31; Gregorius Cyprius, 1. 22; Apostolius, ii. 96); he was said to have inflicted a bloody vengeance on the family of a man who had cut down his sacred grove (Suidas, *l.c.*) According to another and more probable account, the township took its name from *anagyrus*, the stinking bean-trefoil (*anagyris foetida*) which grew in profusion in the neighbourhood (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 210; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀνάγυρος; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀναγυράσιος; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 68; Zenobius, ii. 55).

Anagyrus is commonly placed at *Vari*, a small village of about 200 inhabitants to the east of Cape Zoster. The village is prettily situated about a mile from the sea in a maritime plain enclosed by two chains of barren hills. The chain on the west is Hymettus, which here ends in Cape Zoster, thus sheltering the bay of *Vari* on the west. A narrow glen, overgrown with bushes and wooded with firs, pierces the lower spurs of Hymettus immediately to the west of the village. The road to Athens runs through this glen; many ancient tombs may be observed on both sides of it. The neighbourhood of the village is adorned with clumps of fine umbrella pines, of a vivid green, which scent the air with their resinous and aromatic exhalations. Sandy downs and a salt marsh skirt the margin of the bay. In autumn the marsh affords excellent quail and snipe shooting. Between the village and the shore of the bay are the ruins of an ancient town, consisting of terraces and the remains of walls and foundations. Two inscriptions found here attest the worship of Hephaestus, Athena, and the Dioscuri (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 361, Nos. 762, 763). There are also ancient remains (large foundations and pieces of limestone columns) in the plain to the south-east of the village, namely at the chapel of All Saints (*Hagii Pantes*) and at a cistern nearer the sea. The chapel of All Saints may possibly occupy the site of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods which Pausanias mentions.

Vari is further remarkable for the number of ancient graves in its neighbourhood. They abound chiefly to the north of the village and in the narrow glen already described. Many of these graves have long been rifled. Some of them were excavated for the Greek Government in 1891, but without important results (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, pp. 28-32). Two sepulchral inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1846, 1852) found at *Vari* and containing the names of two natives of Anagyrus, confirm the view that Anagyrus was at *Vari*. Another monument, probably sepulchral, is the fragment of a large equestrian statue of grey Hymettian marble, which now lies on the ground in front of the chapel

at the entrance to the village. The style is archaic; it may date from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The statue has been published (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pl. iii., with the remarks of Prof. G. Loeschcke, p. 302 *sq.*)

On Anagyrus and *Vari*, see Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, c. 31, p. 147; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 549 *sq.*; F. G. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 146 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 56 *sq.*; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 70; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 358; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 49; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 194; Baedeker,[3] p. 138; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 360-362; *id.*, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 15. As to the grotto on Mt. Hymettus, not far from *Vari*, see note on i. 32. 1, 'Hymettus.'

31. 1. **Cephale.** Cephale was a township of the tribe Acamis (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 476; Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Κεφαλῆθεν). It had an altar of Aphrodite at which oaths were taken (Isaeus, ii. 31). Sepulchral inscriptions containing the names of natives of Cephale (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 2151, 2154; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 288 *sq.*, Nos. 210, 211 a, 211 b) have been found near *Keratea*, a village in the interior of Attica, eleven or twelve miles north of Sunium. At a place about a mile to the north-west of the village, near the church of Hagia Kyriaki, there are considerable remains of antiquity, comprising vestiges of walls as well as loose blocks and potsherds. This was probably the site of Cephale. The valley in which the remains are to be seen is fruitful and well cultivated. The modern *Keratea*, the chief place in the south of Attica, is a large and thriving village with about 1600 inhabitants, pleasantly situated among vineyards, olive-trees, and almond trees. It is trim and tidy, and has an air of solid comfort and prosperity. An inscribed boundary-stone of a precinct of Hera has been found at the church of Hagia Paraskeve in *Keratea*; and in the church of St. Demetrius in the same village is an inscription containing a dedication to Aesculapius (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 990; cp. above, note on Prospalta). These inscriptions seem to prove that Hera and Aesculapius were worshipped at Cephale. Further, there has been found between *Keratea* and *Kaki Thalassa* (a bay on the east coast of Attica) a stone bearing the inscription "boundary of Aphrodite at Cephale" (Milchhöfer, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 25). The sanctuary of Aphrodite, of which this stone marked the boundary, is doubtless the one to which Isaeus refers (ii. 31).

The mountains which bound the valley of *Keratea* on the west, separating it from the maritime plain on the south-west coast of Attica, rise in two places to over 2000 feet. The eastern part of the range is called the Mountain of *Keratea*; the western part is called Mt. *Pani*. In this western part, about 300 feet below the highest summit, is a fine stalactite grotto, the largest in Attica, if not in Greece. It is probably the Paneum or sanctuary of Pan which Strabo mentions (ix. p. 398) as being near Anaphlystus; it would seem to have given its name to this part of the mountain.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 533; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 61; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 184; Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 149 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 68; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. pp. 344, 346, 351 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 87 (who wrongly places Cephale at *Koropi*, a village

about nine miles north-west of *Keratea*); *Guide-Joanne*, I. p. 188; Baedeker,[3] p. 132; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 286-291; *id.*, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. pp. 12, 19; *id.*, 'Die Demenordnung von Kleisthenes,' p. 25.

31. 2. Prasiae. Prasiae was a township of the tribe Pandionis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πράσιαι). It was on the east coast of Attica, between the townships of Potamus on the south and Stiria on the north (Strabo, ix. p. 398 *sq.*; as to Potamus see note on § 3; as to Stiria see note on x. 35. 8). It was a port of Attica (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 242; cp. Thucydides, viii. 95; Livy, xxxi. 45). Athena was worshipped at Prasiae with the surname of Forethought (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 299; cp. note on x. 8. 6).

The township was situated on the spacious and beautiful bay now called *Porto Raphti*, on the east coast of Attica, about sixteen miles north-east of Sunium. From the fertile valley of Cephale (*Keratea*), the place last mentioned by Pausanias, a path leads north-eastward through a very deep and narrow glen to the shore of the bay. In the depths of this romantic glen there winds the bed of a stream which is sometimes nearly or wholly dry. The sides of the glen, seamed with the beds of torrents and rifted rocks, are so thickly wooded and overhung with pine-trees and bushes that in many places it is hard to force a passage along it. Flocks of sheep and goats browsing, and in spring the warbling of numerous nightingales in the thickets, alone break the solitude. At the end of the glen, which is about three miles long, the view of the wide bay, enclosed by barren mountains, suddenly bursts on us. On the north Mt. *Peratia*, with its jagged ridge and bold beautiful outline, descends in precipices almost sheer into the water, its sides bare except for here and there a thin patch of pinewood. On the south rises, dark and massive, the loftier *Mavronori* ('the black mountain'). From its base the rocky headland of *Koroni* runs far out into the sea, sheltering the bay on the east and narrowing its entrance to about a mile and a quarter. Right in the middle of the entrance, breaking the force of the waves when the wind blows from the east, a rocky islet in the shape of a sugar-loaf or pyramid rises abruptly from the sea to the height of about 300 feet. Its sides, clothed with lentisk bushes and dwarf pines, are so steep that it can be scaled only on one side, the north. On its summit, looking seaward, sits a colossal but headless and armless statue of white marble on a high pedestal, the blocks of which were falling to ruin at the time of Dodwell's visit but are now held together by iron clamps. This statue, which, to judge from its style, dates from the time of the Roman empire, is popularly supposed to resemble a tailor (*raphti*) seated at his work; hence it has given its present name (*Porto Raphti*) to the bay. H. G. Lolling plausibly conjectured that this is the monument described by Pausanias as the tomb of Erysichthon who died at sea on his way home from Delos. The striking monument, looking out from its high lonely isle across the blue sea, may have been erected on the traditionary site of the hero's grave by some wealthy patron of art in Roman days, perhaps by Herodes Atticus himself.

The inner part of the bay is divided into two by a rocky spit jutting out from the shore, to which it is attached by a low isthmus. The promontory takes its name from a chapel of St. Nicholas which stands on the isthmus; a small island off the promontory still bears the name of *Prasonisi* ('isle of Prasiae'). The anchorage for fishing boats is on the north side of the isthmus, and here are the few wretched hovels which make up the hamlet of *Porto Raphti*. The hamlet is not permanently inhabited. For the bay, though one of the finest harbours in Greece, is desolate and hardly frequented except in summer. By day peasants may be met at work in the fields or carting fish to the neighbouring villages. But all through the colder seasons of the year and even on summer evenings a profound stillness, broken only by the lapping of the waves on the beach, reigns on the shores of this beautiful bay, one of the fairest scenes in Attica.

On the northern shore of the bay there are a few scanty remains of antiquity which seem to have belonged to the township of Stiria (see note on x. 35. 8). Prasiae lay on the southern shore, which still bears the ancient name. Here, between the sandy and in part marshy beach and the hills, there stretches a strip of level cornland interspersed with olives and stately cork-oaks. Some vestiges of ancient wall may be traced at a garden not far from the shore, where there is an ancient well. But the sand is gaining so fast here that a few years ago the ruins of a chapel with some Christian graves were discovered buried in the downs. The citadel of Prasiae occupied the rocky headland of *Koroni* (probably the ancient Coronea; see Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κορώνεια), which, as we have seen, shelters the bay on the east. This bold headland, joined to the mainland by a low sandy isthmus, has obviously been at one time an island; indeed the whole of the southern part of the bay is being gradually sanded up. The fortification-walls, 6 feet thick and built without mortar, may be followed all round the summit of the headland, which is besides so well protected by its steep cliffs that an attack from the side of the sea must have been nearly impracticable. Another wall, 8 to 10 feet thick, which seems to have been strengthened with towers or bastions, runs down in a south-westerly direction from the ring-wall of the citadel. It probably served as an outwork and may have reached down to the shore, though now it disappears some distance above the water. Within the ring-wall of the citadel are the remains of a number of cross-walls running at right angles to it; but they are now so overgrown by dense underwood, that it is almost impossible to trace them. From the summit of the headland there is a fine prospect, on the one side over the noble bay with its rocky islets, on the other side across the sea to Euboea, Andros, and Ceos. The white houses which are seen gleaming in Ceos are those of the modern town which occupies the site of the ancient Julis.

The prehistoric necropolis of Prasiae is now (December, 1894) being excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society. From the tombs which have been already opened more than two hundred vases of the Mycenaean type have been obtained, together with two sword-blades and three rings, one of gold and two of silver. The vases are of the

common Mycenaean shapes, but some of them are adorned with designs not hitherto observed on works of art of that period.

See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 447; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, ch. 33, p. 157 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 531 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 67, 72 *sq.*; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 185 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 153; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 69 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 351; H. G. Lolling, 'Prasiae,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 351-365; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 56; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 187 *sq.*: Baedeker,[3] p. 132; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 15 (1887), p. 292; *id.*, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 8 *sq.*; *Athenæum*, 8 December, 1894, p. 798.

31. 2. **the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans come thither** etc. Herodotus also describes, on the authority of the Delians, the route by which the offerings of the Hyperboreans were forwarded to Delos; but the route is quite a different one from that which Pausanias here describes. According to the Delians, "the sacred things, wrapt in wheaten straw, were carried from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians; and from the Scythians they were passed from people to people till they reached the far west, the shore of the Adriatic Sea; thence being sent southward they were received by the people of Dodona, the first Greek people into whose hands they came; and from the people of Dodona they came down to the gulf of Malea and crossed to Euboea, where they were sent on from town to town till they came to Carystus; and from Carystus, without touching at Andros, they were conveyed by the Carystians to Tenos, and the Tenians took them to Delos" (Herodotus, iv. 33). My friend Prof. W. Ridgeway has suggested to me an ingenious explanation of the wide difference between the two routes described by Herodotus and Pausanias. He has made it highly probable that from very remote ages there was a regular trade-route from the Black Sea up the Danube and across to the head of the Adriatic (*Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 105 *sqq.*) This route is the one indicated in the account which the Delians gave to Herodotus of the route by which the offerings came from southern Russia to Delos. But with the establishment of Greek colonies in southern Russia this long circuitous route would be exchanged for the direct one through the Bosphorus, Hellespont, and Aegean. This newer and shorter route appears to be the one indicated by Pausanias. He says indeed that the offerings came from Scythia (Russia) by way of Sinope, an important Greek colony situated on the southern shore of the Black Sea opposite to the Crimea. Now, though the shortest sea-passage from southern Russia to Greece would be, not by Sinope, but direct to the Bosphorus, it is quite possible that Greek sailors preferred to cross to Sinope and then coast along to the Bosphorus. They would thus have a shorter passage in the open sea, and would be able to do business at Sinope, which, as a Milesian colony, would naturally keep up commercial relations with its sister colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea. When the Athenians acquired the suzerainty of Delos in the fifth century B.C., they would recast the old story of the Hyperborean offerings so as both to suit the changed conditions of

trade and to make it appear that the offerings had always come by way of Attica. Thus, if Prof. Ridgeway's suggestion is right, Herodotus gives us the original Delian version of the story; Pausanias gives us the revised Athenian version of the fifth century B.C.

The so-called first-fruits of the Hyperboreans were perhaps harvest-offerings consisting of the first sheafs cut, which may have been sent to Apollo at Delos just as some towns sent "the golden summer" (probably golden ears of corn) to Apollo at Delphi (Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 16). See K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 1. p. 269 *sqq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 232 *sqq.*

31. 2. Erysichthon, who died —— as he was returning from Delos after the sacred embassy. Cp. i. 18. 5 note. "The sacred embassy" to which Pausanias refers is the one which the Athenians sent annually to Delos. The vessel in which Theseus was believed to have sailed to Crete conveyed the ambassador to Delos; on board with him was a choir who were to sing a hymn to Apollo, and victims which were to be sacrificed to the god. Before the ship sailed, the priest of Apollo crowned its poop; and from the time when this ceremony took place till the ship returned, no one might be put to death in Athens. This procured a respite for Socrates: for the ship happened to be crowned the day before he was condemned. See Plato, *Phaedo*, pp. 58 a-c, 59 d; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iv. 8. 2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 23; *id.*, *Nicias*, 3. From the present passage of Pausanias it has sometimes been inferred that the ship with the sacred embassy to Delos sailed from Prasiae, not from the port of Athens. But this has not been proved.

31. 3. Cranaus —— was expelled by Amphictyon. See i. 2. 6.

31. 3. the township of Lamptrae. The township of Lamptrae belonged to the tribe Erechtheis; it included two villages or petty towns, Upper Lamptrae and Lower (or Seaside) Lamptrae (Harpocration, Suidas, and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Λαμπτρεῖς; Hesychius, *s.v.* Λαμπρά). It was on the southern coast of Attica, between the townships of Thorae on the north and Aegilia on the south (Strabo, ix. p. 398). The site of Upper Lamptrae is marked by the ancient remains at *Lambrika*, a deserted village situated on an arable tableland surrounded by hills, about four miles north-east of *Vari* (see note on § 1 'Anagyrus'). The ancient remains consist chiefly of sculptures and inscriptions found in the four chapels of the village (St. John, St. Luke, the Trinity, and Constantine). Among the inscriptions are epitaphs of natives of Lamptrae, proving that *Lambrika* occupies the site of that township. The name *Lambrika* is obviously a modified form of Lamptrae. Among the sculptures found here is a tombstone with a relief representing a horseman, and surmounted by the figure of a Sphinx. Another sculpture is a relief representing Hercules's combat with the lion. From a dedicatory inscription found in the chapel of St. Luke it may be inferred that Apollo was worshipped at Lamptrae. The chapel of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada) contains some very old paintings of the Last Judgment etc. At a place called *Kitsch i pigadi* (a favourite meeting-place of sportsmen) about half a mile south-west of *Lambrika* there

are some ancient remains, including marble blocks and fragments of inscriptions ; an inscription found here contains a decree of the people of Lamptrae in honour of a certain Philocedes of Acharnae who resided at Lamptrae (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 582).

See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 160; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 74; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 357 *sq.* ; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 74; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 102-104; *id.*, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 14 *sq.* ; Fr. Winter, 'Grabmal von Lamptrae,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 105-118, with pl. ii. ; E. Reisch, 'Heraklesrelief von Lamptrae,' *ib.* pp. 118-130, with pl. iii.

31. 3. Potami. Potami (or Potamus) was a township of the tribe Leontis ; the inhabitants were satirised for the readiness with which they admitted members who had no right to be on the register (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ποταμός ; Suidas, *s.v.* δρυαχαρνεῦ ; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 288, *s.v.* δρυαχαρνεῦ). Strattis wrote a comedy called "The Potamians" (Athenaeus, vii. p. 299 b). The township lay on the east coast of Attica, between Thoricus on the south and Prasiae on the north (Strabo, ix. p. 398 ; cp. Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 24). It comprised three villages or petty towns, namely Upper Potami, Lower Potami, and Diradiotian Potami (Schol. on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 545 ; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 864 ; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 105 *sqq.*) The territory of the township probably extended from the bay of *Daskalio* on the north to the valley of the river still called simply *Potami* ('the river'), which flows south into the bay of Thoricus. On the shore of the bay of *Daskalio*, to the north of the modern miners' houses, there lies an unfluted column together with some large limestone blocks of masonry. On the northern shore of the bay, at the ruined chapel of St. Andrew, there is a marble tablet with faint traces of an inscription. In the sea there appear to be remains of a mole ; and on an island in the northern part of the bay (not marked on the German map) there are some squared blocks of a large ancient building. All these may be remains of Lower Potami. Upper Potami and Diradiotian Potami may have been situated somewhere in the valley of the *Potami*, to the south-west of the bay of *Daskalio*. Here at a place called *Gramba*, on the south side of the Potami, before it bends southward, there are some ancient ruins. Other ancient remains are to be seen at *Noka*, a place near *Ovrio-Kastro* ('Jew's Castle'), which is a mediaeval ruin on a height surrounded by torrents about three quarters of a mile south-east of *Gramba*, or about two miles south-west of the bay of *Daskalio*.

See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 71 ; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 352; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 55 *sq.* (who wrongly places Upper Potami at *Kalyvia*) ; U. Köhler, 'Potamos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 105-112 ; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 293 ; *id.*, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 13 ; *id.*, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 22. As to Ion's leadership of the Athenians in the war with Eleusis, and his grave at Potami, cp. vii. 1. 5.

Pausanias has omitted to mention the township of Thoricus, which was situated a little to the south of Potami. As it was one of the oldest

towns of Attica and still contains some interesting architectural remains, a short account of it may not be out of place here.

Thoricus was a township of the tribe Acamis (Demosthenes, xxxix. 30, p. 1003; Harpocration and Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Θορικός; Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1595), situated on the east coast of Attica, to the north of Sunium; in front of it lay the island called Helene, which extended as far as Sunium (Strabo, ix. p. 399 *sq.*, x. p. 485; cp. Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 24; Herodotus, iv. 99; Thucydides, viii. 95). It was distant about 60 Greek furlongs (between six and seven miles) from Anaphlystus, a township on the southern coast (Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*, iv. 43). The place possessed two harbours (Scylax, 57). Thoricus was one of the twelve ancient and independent cities of Attica before the time of Theseus (Strabo, ix. p. 397), and was associated with Attic legend as the home of Cephalus, the husband of Procris (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 7; Antoninus Liberalis, 41). It is mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*v.* 126). Philonis, a daughter of the Morning Star and grandmother of Thamyris, was said to have been born at Thoricus (Conon, *Narrat.* 7). In 410 B.C. the Athenians fortified it (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 2. 1; cp. *id.*, *De vectigalibus*, iv. 43; Scylax, 57). Under the Roman empire the place had fallen into utter decay (Mela, ii. 46), which may be the reason why Pausanias does not mention it. According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 70) emeralds of an inferior quality were found in the silver mines at Thoricus.

The ruins of Thoricus are to be seen on a spacious bay about six miles north of Sunium. The ancient name is still preserved in *Thoriko* or *Theriko*, the name of the modern village on the northern side of the bay. A pointed hill called *Velatouri* (480 feet) rises on the north-western side of the bay; it is connected by a saddle with a lower hill (400 feet) on the north. At the southern foot of *Velatouri* are most of the remains of ancient Thoricus. Immediately to the east of this hill the peninsula of St. Nicholas runs out into the sea, and bending southward shelters the bay on the north-east. This sheltered north-east part of the bay is now called *Porto Mandri*; it was no doubt one of the two harbours of Thoricus. On the northern side of the peninsula of St. Nicholas there is a smaller bay, now called *Franko Limani* or *Vrysaki*. It was doubtless the second harbour of Thoricus mentioned by Scylax (57). The peninsula of St. Nicholas, separating the two harbours, is crossed from north to south by two fortification-walls of polygonal masonry at no great distance from each other and from the isthmus which joins the peninsula to the mainland. The eastern wall is comparatively well preserved. It is 6 feet thick and is strengthened by towers (13 feet broad) on its western side. At the highest point of this wall, near the small chapel of St. Nicholas, there are the foundations of a large tower, and to the north of it some traces of a gateway.

On the hill of *Velatouri*, which was probably the ancient acropolis, considerable remains of fortification-walls still exist, especially at its south-western foot. But it is not easy to trace the line of the fortification-wall and to distinguish it from other walls, especially terrace-walls: for the

town seems to have been built upon the side of the hill. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the city-walls were apparently in better preservation than they are now. Dodwell says: "The city, which was of an irregular form, was surrounded by a wall with square projecting towers, and apparently about two miles and a half in circuit." He adds that the towers were about 21 feet broad. Leake says that the walls "surrounded a small plain, which terminates in *Porto Mandri*, and may be traced following the crest of the hills on the northern and southern sides of the plain, and crossing it on the west." One of the towers is still standing to the height of about 10 feet near the south-western foot of the hill. It is square and is constructed of solid masonry in good Greek style.

On the southern slope of *Velatouri*, embedded between two spurs of the hill, are the remains of an ancient theatre, which was cleared of earth by the archaeologists of the American School in 1886. It differs in shape from all extant Greek theatres, being built, not in the ordinary horse-shoe shape, but in an irregular curve like the fourth of an ellipse. The line of the stage, or rather what corresponded to the stage, formed the longer axis; the seats began at the shorter axis and rose above each other in tiers which were concentric with the curve. The reason why this peculiar shape was adopted has not been explained; it appears not to have been necessitated by the nature of the ground. The retaining-wall which runs round and supports the back of the theatre is constructed of solid ashlar masonry, the blocks being large and laid in approximately horizontal courses. It is 118.50 metres (389 feet) long. Its actual height is about 15 feet, though owing to the accumulation of soil at the back its top is now only from 3 to 12 feet above the ground. Inside of this outer wall, at a distance of about 60 feet from it, a parallel wall, constructed of thin unhewn slabs, was discovered below the level of the seats by the American excavators. They believe that this inner wall was originally the outside wall, and that at some later time the theatre was enlarged by adding twelve tiers of seats at the back and constructing the present outer wall to support the bed of small stones on which the seats rested. There seem to have been thirty-one rows of seats in all. Of these the upper twelve rows are destroyed, except at the two ends. The remaining nineteen rows are in tolerable preservation. Most of the seats consist simply of smooth flat slabs; a few are cut out of the rock. The seats are divided perpendicularly into three blocks (technically called *kerkides*) by two narrow staircases ascending from the orchestra through the middle of the auditorium, not at the two wings. The theatre can hardly have seated more than 5000 spectators. The seats, with the exception of the curved part at the east end, face south and command a fine view of the sea and islands. The floor of the orchestra was made of red earth well beaten down. No vestiges of a stage have come to light; but the artificial mass of earth which formed the floor of the orchestra was supported by a long straight wall of rough but strong masonry, which still exists. At the west end of the orchestra are the ruined foundations of a small temple about 21 feet long. Portions of its walls nearly 5 feet high are standing on the north and west

sides. Architectural fragments discovered here prove that the temple was of the Ionic order and *in antis.* It may have been a temple of Dionysus.

The theatre was entered from the back (the north) by two ramps or inclined planes leading from the slope of the hill to the top of the back wall of the theatre. These inclined planes rested each on a short, buttress-like wall of solid masonry, about 15 feet high, which abutted on the back wall of the theatre at right angles. The western of these two buttresses (as we may call them) is pierced by a doorway, the upper part of which ends in a pointed arch. The purpose of this doorway is uncertain; but to regard it as a postern in the city-wall in the style of Tiryns (as Wordsworth did) is absurd.

The theatre, like most of the ancient remains at Thoricus, is constructed of a whitish-grey marble, coarse and brittle, which was quarried in the neighbouring hills.

In the plain about 450 yards to the west of the theatre are the remains of a colonnade, which were excavated by the Dilettanti Society in 1812 but have since then been again buried under the soil and overgrown with bushes. Only a few marble blocks and drums of columns now project above the ground. The colonnade was 105 feet long by 48 feet wide, the measurements being taken on the top step of the stylobate. It had fourteen columns on the long sides and seven on the others. The columns were of the Doric order and 18½ feet high, including the capitals. They were fluted only for two or three inches at the top and bottom of the shaft.

Two beehive tombs of the Mycenaean type have been discovered at Thoricus within recent years. One is on the sea side of the hill of *Velatouri*; the other is on the saddle which connects *Velatouri* with its neighbour hill to the north. See note on ii. 16. 5.

As to Thoricus see Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 534-536; *The unedited Antiquities of Attica* (Dilettanti Society, London, 1817), pp. 57-59 with three plates; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 68-70; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 178-182; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 41; F. G. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 138 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 151 *sq.*; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 67; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 353 *sq.*; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, pp. 53-55; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 190 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 132 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 294; *id.*, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 26 *sq.*; *Papers of the American School of Classical Archaeology at Athens*, 4 (1885-1886), pp. 1-34.

It is reported that "an entire city has been found at Thoricus near Laurium, destroyed and buried by some convulsion of nature unknown to history. It appears to be not a Greek city of the historic period, but of the prehistoric or Mycenaean age. At least this is to be inferred from the objects discovered. At the very beginning of the work of excavation two royal tumuli were opened on one side, and the ruins of a palace on the other. The tumuli are about 250 metres apart. One, of circular form, is situated some 30 metres below the palace, which is built on the rock of *Thoriko* which rises above the surrounding plain. The other tumulus, remarkable for its helicoidal shape, was in so ruinous a

condition that it has been up to the present impossible to clear it. These tombs had both been ransacked at some previous period. The following is the list of objects found by the Greek Archaeological Society, at whose expense and under whose direction the excavations were undertaken. Two fibulae, one of gold, the other of amber: a gold ring: an ivory comb, beautifully worked, to fasten the hair: an ivory needle: some ten pearls of glass, jasper, etc.: two stone arrows of very fine workmanship: an ivory quiver: gold myrtle and laurel leaves: a leaden disk decorated with coloured concentric rings. Six similar disks have been found in other tombs, and the archaeologist in charge believes them to be money" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), p. 316 *sq.*)

31. 4. Phlya. This township belonged originally to the tribe Cecropis (Harpocration, *s.v.* Φλυέα; Suidas, *s.v.* Φλυεία; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φλυεῖς). Afterwards it was transferred to the new tribe Ptolemais (Hesychius, *s.v.* Φλυεῖς; cp. Paus. i. 5. 5.) Euripides was a native of Phlya (Harpocration, *l.c.*) The old Attic family of the Lycomids had a chapel at Phlya for the performance of mystic rites. This chapel was burnt by the Persians; but Themistocles, who belonged to the Lycomid family, restored it and adorned it with paintings (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 1). It contained a statue of Methapus, who partly remodelled the mysteries of Andania (Paus. iv. i. 7). There was also a sanctuary of Laurelled Apollo at Phlya, in which was preserved a document or painting relating to the dances which were performed at the temple of the Delian Apollo at Athens by distinguished citizens clad in Theraean robes (Theophrastus, quoted by Athenaeus, x. p. 424 f, where it has been proposed to read *θηριακῶν* for Θηραικῶν, see A. B. Cook, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 163). A certain Lycomedes, who was the first to capture a Persian ship at the battle of Salamis or Artemisium, dedicated the ensigns of the captured ship to Laurelled Apollo at Phlya (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 15; cp. Herodotus, viii. 11) The orgies of the Great Goddess, including the Bacchic mysteries, are said to have been celebrated at Phlya even before the mysteries were instituted at Eleusis (Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, v. 20, where by Φλοιοῦντι Hippolytus probably means Phlya). The Great Goddess was Earth, as we learn from the present passage of Pausanias. Earth was said to have been the mother of Phlyus (Paus. iv. i. 5), from whom the township Phlya was probably supposed to take its name. A certain Athenian named Ciron owned a piece of land worth a talent at Phlya (Isaeus, viii. 35). The neighbourhood was well wooded (Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 27 *sq.*)

The site of Phlya seems to be occupied by the modern *Chalandri*, one of the largest and most thriving of the villages in the Athenian plain, situated about five miles north-east of Athens and about three and a quarter miles south of Cephisia (*Kephisia*). This identification is made almost certain by inscriptions. For one inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. 61, A col. ii. line 13) mentions an estate which was situated both in Athmonia and Phlya; and Athmonia was certainly on the site of the modern *Marusi*, the next village to *Chalandri* on the north, distant from it about two miles (see below). Another inscription, containing

the epitaph of a native of Phlya, was found at *Chalandri* (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 2646; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, *25). Moreover, between *Chalandri* and *Marusi* the inscribed boundary-stone has been found of an estate which was partly mortgaged to the township of Phlya (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1113). On the south side of *Chalandri* there are numerous ancient graves, some of them with sepulchral reliefs. In particular there are here the remains of a sepulchral chamber, built of marble, with a well-preserved barrel-roof, which is now fitted up as a chapel of the Panagia Marmariotissa. The district is well-watered and fertile, which may explain why Earth, Flowery Dionysus, Laurelled Apollo, etc., were worshipped here in antiquity.

See L. Ross, *Demen von Attika*, pp. 100-102; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 352 *sq.*; *id.*, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, ii. p. 36 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 30. Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 208 *sqq.*

31. 4. Light-bringing Artemis. The Greek word for 'light-bringing' is here *Selasphoros.* From two Attic inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 432 and 459) we learn that at Athens sacrifices were offered to Artemis under the equivalent title of *Phosphoros* ('light-bringing'). Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] I. p. 312, note 2.

31. 4. Flowery Dionysus. A priestess of Flowery Dionysus appears to be mentioned in a mutilated Attic inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 631).

31. 4. Zeus, god of Acquisition. Sacrifices were offered to Zeus god of Acquitision (*Zeus Ktesios*) at Piraeus (Antiphon, i. 16 *sq.*) and apparently at Athens (Isaeus, viii. 16). We hear of a white ox being sacrificed to him by the Athenian state (Demosthenes, xxi. 53, p. 531). He seems to be mentioned on a fragment of an inscription found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 3854). His image or symbol was regularly set up in store-rooms (Harpocration, *s.v.* Κτησίου Διός). It was placed in a new jar with two handles which were wreathed with white wool; and whenever a person found anything he put it in the jar and poured in 'ambrosia,' which was a mixture of pure water, olive-oil, and various fruits (Athenaeus, xi. p. 473 b c). Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] I. p. 147.

31. 4. Athena Tithrone. There was a town Tithronium in Phocis (Paus. x. 33. 12).

31. 4. Myrrhinus. This township belonged to the tribe Pandionis (Stephanus Byzantius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Μυρρινοῦς). Its site is occupied by *Merenda*, a ruined village in the interior of Attica, east of Hymettus, about a mile and three quarters south-east of the large village of *Markopoulo.* The name *Merenda* is a corruption of Myrrhinus, and the identification of the site is established by inscriptions. For a decree of the people of Myrrhinus was found inscribed on a tablet of Hymettian marble at *Merenda*: it contains a provision that a copy of the decree, engraved on stone, shall be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis Colaenis (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 575). This inscription is now built into the church of St. Thecla at *Markopoulo.* Further, a small quad-

rangular altar inscribed with a dedication to Artemis Colaenis has been found at *Merenda* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 277 *sq.*) We know from the present passage of Pausanias that Colaenis (*i.e.* Artemis Colaenis) was worshipped at Myrrhinus. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Birds*, 873) says that the people of Myrrhinus gave Artemis the surname of Colaenis; and he tells us, on the authority of Hellanicus, that Colaenus, a descendant of Hermes, founded a sanctuary of Artemis Colaenis. Another scholiast on the same passage of Aristophanes says that *kolainos* was a kind of bird, and that consequently Artemis Colaenis meant 'Bird Artemis.' Another altar inscribed with a dedication to Colaenis simply (not Artemis Colaenis) is now in the chapel of St. Peter at *Ennea Pyrgoi*, three miles south-west of *Merenda* (see above, note on § 1 'Prospalta'); it has probably been transferred thither from *Merenda*. Artemis Colaenis was also worshipped at Athens (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 216); her priest had a special seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 275, cp. No. 360). An inscription engraved on a base of Pentelic marble and found at *Merenda* records that Herodes Atticus "repaired the temple and dedicated the image to Athena." The temple referred to was probably a temple of Athena at Myrrhinus. At the chapel of St. George (not of the Trinity, as it is marked on the German map) between *Merenda* and *Markopoulo* there is a torso of a female statue which Prof. A. Milchhöfer conjectures to have been a piece of the image of Athena dedicated by Herodes Atticus; and in the chapel of the Taxiarchi at *Dagla* or *Dankla*, a village to the south of *Markopoulo*, there is a fragment of a statue of Athena, including the Gorgon's head, which Prof. Milchhöfer thinks may also be a piece of the same image. Lastly, built into the north wall of the chapel of the Panagia at *Merenda*, there is a pedestal of an ancient statue; a metrical inscription on one side of the pedestal declares that the monument was that of a maiden named Phrasiclea; and a prose inscription on another side of the pedestal states that the sculptor was Aristion of Paros (*C. I. A.* i. No. 469; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 174 *sq.*; *id.*, 4 (1879), p. 10; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 6; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 12).

Strabo (ix. p. 399) places Myrrhinus on the east coast of Attica, to the south of Probalinthus and Marathon. He perhaps confused it with the township Myrrhinutte (L. Ross, *Demen*, p. 85; A. Milchhöfer, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 14 *sq.*)

See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 73; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 347; Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 60 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 132; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 277 *sq.*; *id.*, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 11.

31. 4. **The Athmonians honour Amarysian Artemis.** Athmonia or Athmonum was a township of the tribe Cecropis (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀθμονεύς; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀθμονία; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἄθμονον; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 349, *s.v.* Ἀθμονεύς). At a later time, apparently, it was transferred to the new tribe Attalis (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 190; cp. Paus. i. 5. 5). There was a sanctuary of

Heavenly Aphrodite at Athmonia, which the inhabitants believed to have been founded by King Porphyrion (Paus. i. 14. 7). Inscriptions prove that Athmonia was on or near the site of *Marusi*, a considerable village in the northern part of the Athenian plain, about seven miles north-east of Athens and a mile and a half south of Cephisia (*Kephisia*). The village has obviously preserved the surname of Amarysian Artemis, who was worshipped here in antiquity. Two tombstones inscribed with the names of members of the township Athmonia have been found at or near *Marusi* (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1723, 1724); and a third tombstone inscribed with the name of a woman, who was a daughter of a man of Athmonia, has been found in the same neighbourhood (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1722). Moreover, two boundary-stones of the precinct of Amarysian Artemis have been found to the south and south-west of *Marusi*. One of these boundary-stones (*C. I. A.* i. No. 526), the inscription of which is carved in archaic characters of the pre-Euclidean alphabet, is built into the back of a church at the ruined hamlet of *Pelika*, on the southern side of a gentle eminence, five or ten minutes south-west of *Marusi*. The other boundary-stone is further to the south, in the chapel of St. Nicholas, which stands surrounded by cypresses near some houses, a little to the left of the road to *Marusi*, from which it is distant about a mile. The forms of the letters on this latter stone seem to be archaistic rather than archaic. H. G. Lolling conjectured that the sanctuary may have been repaired and new boundary-stones erected by Herodes Atticus in the second century of our era (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 290). Thus the sanctuary of Amarysian Artemis appears to have been situated a little to the south-west of *Marusi*. The district is suitable for a sanctuary of Artemis; since we have here flowing water, trees, and a fine prospect over a great stretch of the Athenian plain. The festival of Amarysian Artemis at Athmonia appears to have included athletic sports; for an inscription found at *Marusi* (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 580) contains a decree of the township that golden crowns shall be bestowed on certain officials in recognition of the zeal with which they had acquitted themselves of their duties, and that proclamation of this honour shall be made "at the Amarysian games" (Ἀμαρυσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι). The Amarysian festival is mentioned also by Hesychius (s.v. Ἀμαρύσια). Athmonia seems to have been noted for its vines (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 190), and its modern successor *Marusi* still stands among vineyards and olive-groves.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 35 (one of the boundary inscriptions); Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 41 *sq.*; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 195 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 343 *sq.*; H. G. Lolling, 'Neue Grenzstein der Artemis Amarysia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 289-291; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 70 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 123; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, ii. p. 37 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 351 *sq.*

31. 5. **Amarynthus in Euboea.** Amarynthus was a village distant seven furlongs from the walls of Eretria (Strabo, x. p. 448). Here an annual festival was held in honour of the Amarynthian Artemis, which was attended by the people of Carystus as well as the Eretrians (Livy,

xxxv. 38). An inscription in the sanctuary of the goddess stated that 3000 foot, 600 horse, and sixty chariots went from Eretria in procession on these occasions (Strabo, *l.c.*) The festival included athletic sports (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 159). Curiously enough, maimed victims were offered to Artemis at Amarynthus (Aelian, *De nat. Anim.* xii. 34). The site of the sanctuary is perhaps marked by the foundations of some ancient buildings half an hour to the east of Eretria, near the road which runs by the coast to *Vathia* (Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 421 *sq.*; cp. H. G. Lolling, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 354).

31. 6. Acharnae. This township belonged to the tribe Oeneis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀχάρνα). It was the largest of all the townships in Attica (Thucydides, i. 19); at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war it furnished no less than 3000 infantry to the Athenian army (Thucydides, i. 20). It was situated sixty Greek furlongs (about seven miles) from Athens, in view of the capital, but not in the Athenian plain (Thucydides, i. 20 and 21). The district was fertile and cultivated (Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 18). The people traded in charcoal (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 34 and 332; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 34), and were reckoned stout soldiers (Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 25 *sq.*; Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 180 *sq.*), but rough and boorish (Suidas, *s.v.* δρυαχαρνεῦ; *Etymol. Magn.* p. 288, *s.v.* δρυαχαρνεῦ; Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 22). There was a priestly college at Acharnae called 'parasites,' who sacrificed to Apollo (Athenaeus, vi. pp. 234 f, 235 c).

The situation of Acharnae is approximately determined by combining Thucydides's statement that Acharnae was sixty Greek furlongs from Athens with the fact that when the Thirty Tyrants, who had possession of Athens, desired to guard against Thrasybulus and the democrats who had entrenched themselves at Phyle on Mt. Parnes, they encamped a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Acharnae (Diodorus, xiv. 32). From this it follows that Acharnae was seven miles to the north-west of Athens, near the foot of Mt. Parnes. This brings us to the neighbourhood of *Epano-Liossia* or *Menidi*, two modern villages distant a mile and a half from each other, either of which would answer to Thucydides's statement of the distance of Acharnae from Athens. As a number of tombstones inscribed with the names of Acharnians have been found in or near *Menidi* (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1916, 1918, 1934, 1943, 1946, 1948; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 341), it has often been supposed that *Menidi* occupies exactly the site of Acharnae. But though the occurrence here of these tombstones certainly proves that Acharnae was in this neighbourhood, it does not prove that Acharnae exactly occupied the site of *Menidi*. For the graves of a large town like Acharnae must have been scattered along the roads for some distance outside of the town itself. *Menidi* may therefore stand on the site, not of Acharnae itself, but of one of its cemeteries. This view is confirmed by the observation that, though many inscribed tombstones both of the Acharnians and of others have been found at *Menidi* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), pp. 341-343), there are no ancient remains except tombs in or near it. Ancient remains and other traces of antiquity begin to appear about three quarters of a mile to the west of the village,

in the direction of *Epano-Liossia*. Here, at the foot of the knoll which is surmounted by a chapel of the Forty Martyrs (Saranta Martyres) or Forty Saints (Saranta Hagioi), Dodwell found "some blocks, traces, and foundations of a considerable town"; and beside the chapel he saw some fine blocks of white marble, a fragment of an Ionic capital, and two sarcophaguses, as well as a third sarcophagus in the chapel. Vestiges of ancient walls are still to be seen on the western side of the knoll. The chapel of the Forty Martyrs and the neighbouring chapel of St. Elias on the same eminence probably occupy the sites of ancient sanctuaries. To the south and south-west of this knoll traces of ancient walls and cisterns begin to be more plentiful. Here, then, at or a little to the south of *Epano-Liossia* may have stood Acharnae. This is confirmed by the traces of the ancient road from Athens which, according to Prof. Milchhöfer, appears to have led straight to *Epano-Liossia* and from that direct to the pass over Mt. Parnes and so on to Phyle. Thus the corps, which the Thirty Tyrants sent out to watch the movements of Thrasybulus and the democrats at Phyle, probably marched through Acharnae and took up a position considerably beyond it, on the skirts or actually in the defile of Mt. Parnes. That these troops cannot have taken up their quarters in the town of Acharnae is quite clear from the narrative of Xenophon (*Hellenica*, ii. 4. 1-7), who describes how the force, consisting of nearly the whole Lacedaemonian garrison of Athens, with two regiments of cavalry, encamped in broken or wooded ground about fifteen furlongs from Phyle, where they were surprised and defeated by the enemy early next morning, at the time when the men had dispersed from their arms and the grooms were currying the horses. Clearly the force was not encamped and surprised in a large and populous town like Acharnae. The distance, too, of the encampment from Phyle (nearly 15 Greek furlongs or 1¾ miles) forbids the supposition that the troops were quartered in the town of Acharnae. For Phyle is about fourteen miles from Athens by road and Acharnae was only about seven; so that Acharnae must have been at least seven miles from Phyle. Hence when Diodorus says (xiv. 32) that the troops of the tyrants encamped about (περί) Acharnae, he must be speaking loosely, since, if the measurements of Xenophon and Thucydides are right, the camp was pitched at least five miles from Acharnae. It should be observed that the incomparably better informed Xenophon makes no mention of Acharnae in describing the affair.

In the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.) the Peloponnesian army under King Archidamus encamped at Acharnae, where they remained a long time devastating the surrounding country (Thucydides, ii. 19-23). About a mile and a half south-east of *Epano-Liossia* there is a hill, the summit of which (between 500 and 600 feet above sea-level) is surrounded by the foundations of a wall for a length of about 550 yards from north-east to south-west. It is possible that Archidamus may have established and fortified his camp on this commanding height; but, if so, the distance of the camp from Athens was somewhat less than the sixty Greek furlongs at which Thucydides reckoned it. He may have given

the distance to Acharnae, which would be familiar to every Athenian, not the exact distance to the camp.

The village of *Menidi* seems to have inherited the name of the ancient township Paeonidae, the conversion of *p* into *m* and the blending of two vowel sounds into one being common in the formation of modern Greek words. Paeonidae or Paeania (the former being strictly the name of the people of the township, the latter the name of the place, see Harpocration *s.v.* Παιανιεῖς) was situated near Mt. Parnes (Herodotus, v. 62, compared with Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 19). A mile and a quarter to the south of *Menidi* is the beehive tomb which was excavated by the German Archaeological Institute. As to this tomb see note on ii. 16. 5.

On Acharnae see Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 521 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 35-38; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 334; Kastromenos, *Demen*, pp. 73-75; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, ii. p. 42 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 337 *sqq.*

31. 6. Apollo, god of Streets. Apollo as the Street God (*Aguieus*) was commonly represented by a conical pillar placed in front of the house door. See Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 869-875, with the Scholiast on *v.* 875; Harpocration, *s.v.* ἀγυιᾶς; Suidas, *s.v.* ἀγυιαί; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 331 *sq.*; Pollux, iv. 123; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀγυιεύς; Helladius, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 535 line 33 *sqq.*, ed. Bekker. Cp. F. Wieseler, 'Intorno all' Ἀγυιεὺς ossia ἀγυιεὺς βωμός,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 30 (1858), pp. 222-227; K. O. Müller, *Dorians*, 1. p. 321 *sqq.*; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 276. Two such conical stones, of small size, have been found at Pompeii, and a third, inscribed with the name (Mys) of the dedicator, is preserved in the Museum of the Gymnasium at Corfu (J. Six, 'Der Agyieus des Mys,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 340-345). These conical images of Apollo seem to be represented on the coins of various cities. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, 3. p. 3 *sqq.*; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. i. No. 2. Apollo was represented by a conical stone at Megara (Paus. i. 44. 2).

31. 6. Hercules. Hercules is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription which is inserted in a wall at the Church of St. Blasius at *Menidi* (*C. I. A.* i. No. 360; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 55).

31. 6. Dionysus they call —— Ivy. So the wooden image of Athena on the acropolis at Epidaurus was called Ivy Athena (i. 29. 1). The ivy of Acharnae was famous. A poet in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* vii. 21; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀχαρνείτης) says that Sophocles often wore a wreath of Acharnian ivy in his hair. Another poet remarks (*Anthol. Pal.* ix. 186) in flowery language that much Acharnian ivy shook its green hair on the books of Aristophanes. And a third expresses a hope (*Anthol. Pal.* vi. 279) that a youth who had dedicated his shorn locks to Apollo may receive from the god as a guerdon "fair ivy from Acharnae." Statius says (*Theb.* xii. 623) that Acharnae "clothed the rude thyrsuses with ivy." The poets spoke of Dionysus as 'ivy-haired' (*Homeric Hymns*, xxvi. 1; Pratinas, quoted by Athenaeus, xiv. p. 617 f) or 'ivy-bound' (Pindar, quoted by Dionysius

Halicarnassensis, *De compositione verborum*, 22; Pindar, ed. Bergk, Frag. 53). 'Ivy-bound' is of course equivalent to Milton's "Ivy-crowned Bacchus" (*L'Allegro*).

32. 2. **Pentelicus, where are quarries.** The correct ancient name of Mt. Pentelicus was Brilessus (Thucydides, ii. 23; Theophrastus, *De signis tempestatum*, iii. 43; Strabo, ix. p. 399; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 24). But it was sometimes called Mt. Pentelicus, as by Pausanias and Vitruvius (ii. 8. 9), this latter name being derived from Pentele, an Attic township (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πεντέλη) on the southern slope of the mountain, near which were the famous quarries of white marble (Theophrastus, *De lapidibus*, i. 6; Strabo, *l.c.*; cp. Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*, i. 4; Livy, xxxi. 26). Mt. Pentelicus is the pyramid-like mountain (3635 ft.) which closes the Athenian plain on the north-east, at a distance of about ten miles from Athens. Its upper slopes, as seen from the Acropolis at Athens, have been aptly compared to the pediment or gable of a Greek temple. Through the clear air of Attica the unaided eye, looking from the Acropolis, can distinguish the white line of the ancient quarries descending somewhat to the right of the highest peak straight down into the valley where the monastery of *Mendeli* lies hidden by the intervening heights; to the left of the summit, half-way up the slope, may be discerned the large white patches which mark the site of the modern quarries.

But though the view of the pyramidal or gable-like summit is the one which chiefly strikes the observer at Athens, Pentelicus is really a range of mountains with a number of lesser summits, extending from north-west to south-east for a distance of about 4½ miles. The ancient quarries lie on the south-western side of the highest peak. Five-and-twenty of them may be counted, one above the other; the highest is situated not far beneath the highest ridge, at a height of over 3300 feet above the sea. They are reached from the monastery of *Mendeli*, the wealthiest monastic establishment in Attica, which nestles in a well-watered and wooded glade at the southern foot of the mountain, about 1200 feet above sea level. The ground in front of the monastery is shaded by gigantic white poplars, under which flows a spring of excellent water. The name *Mendeli* is the modern equivalent of Pentele, the name of the ancient township, the site of which is perhaps marked by some ancient blocks and traces of walls and terraces at the chapel of the Trinity, a little to the north-east of the monastery.

The quarries are situated in the gullies above the monastery. An ancient road, very steep and rugged, leads up the eastern side of the principal gully to the quarries. The road is roughly paved; the blocks of marble were probably brought down it on wooden slides. Square holes may be seen at intervals cut in the rock at the side of the road; the beams which supported the wooden slides may have been fastened in these holes. The road appears to end at the principal quarry, a spot now called *Spilia*, 2300 feet above the sea. Here the rock has been quarried away so as to leave a smooth perpendicular wall of marble, the top of which is fringed with firs. The marks, delicate and regular, of the ancient chisels may be seen in horizontal rows on the face of the

rock. At the foot of this wall of marble, overgrown with shrubs and mantled with creepers, is the low entrance to a stalactite grotto, well known to visitors, as the names cut and painted on the walls suffice to prove. The entrance is partly built up with walls of the Byzantine age; to the right, roofed by the rock, is a chapel of St. Nicholas. The grotto is spacious, cool, and dark; its floor descends somewhat from the mouth inwards. About sixty paces from the entrance there is a small side-grotto with a rocky basin full of cold spring-water.

An examination of the marks on the rock shows that the ancients regularly quarried the marble in rectangular blocks, first running a groove round each block with the chisel and then forcing it out with wedges. The effect of this has been to leave the quarries in the shape of huge rectangular cuttings in the side of the mountain.

The stone extracted from these quarries is a white marble of a close, fine grain. It is readily distinguished from Parian marble—the other white marble commonly used by Greek sculptors and architects—by its finer grain and opaque, milky whiteness; whereas the Parian marble is composed of large transparent crystals, and is of a glittering, snowy whiteness. Parian marble resembles crystallised sugar; Pentelic marble resembles solidified milk, though its surface is of course more granular. Pentelic marble, alone among all Greek marbles, contains a slight tincture of iron; hence its surface, when long exposed to the weather, acquires that rich golden-brown patina which is so much admired on the columns of the Parthenon and other buildings constructed of Pentelic marble. The Parian marble, on the other hand, though it weathers more easily than the Pentelic on account of its coarser grain, always remains dazzlingly white. Pentelic marble is always clearly stratified, and in places it is streaked with veins of silvery white, green, and reddish-violet mica. Blocks so streaked were either thrown aside by the ancients or used by them for buildings, not sculpture. But even in architecture these veins of mica entailed this disadvantage that the surfaces containing them, when long exposed to the weather, split and pealed off in flakes, as we may see on the drums of the columns of the Olympieum or Parthenon.

Besides the fine white marble already described, which is commonly known simply as Pentelic marble, there occurs on Mt. Pentelicus a grey, bluish-grey, and grey-streaked marble identical in kind with the marble known as Hymettian, because the ancients quarried it on Mt. Hymettus. This grey or bluish-grey marble is of more recent geological formation than the white. It does not appear to have been quarried by the ancients on Mt. Pentelicus; at least no ancient quarries of it have been discovered on the mountain. But it is now obtained in great masses in the large modern quarries to the east of *Kephisia*, and furnishes Athens with building material for the better class of houses and public edifices; even paving-stones are made of it.

An hour's climb from the great quarry at *Spilia* takes us to the summit of Mt. Pentelicus. The path ascends slopes which not many years ago were thickly wooded, but are now bare and stony. The view from the top is the clearest and most comprehensive that can be obtained

of the Attic peninsula. Conspicuous below us on the north is the sickle-shaped bay of Marathon. The snowy peak of Parnassus closes the prospect on the west; the mountains of Euboea bound it on the north; and to the south, in clear weather, the island of Melos is faintly visible at a distance of 90 to 100 miles. On the ridge, a little below and to the south-east of the summit of Pentelicus, there is a small platform, which on three sides shows traces of having been hewn out of the rock. It is exactly in the line of the ancient paved road, which, however, comes to an end considerably lower down, at the great quarry. On this platform probably stood the image of Athena mentioned by Pausanias below.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 498-501; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 4-6; Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, 2. p. 426 sqq.; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 29-35; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 253; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, p. 165 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 125 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 171 *sqq.*; H. Blümner, *Technologie*, 3. p. 27 *sqq.*; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 213 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 32 *sqq.*; G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, pp. 11-23.

32. 1. Parnes. Mt. Parnes was one of the three chief ranges of mountains visible from Athens, the other two being Brilessus (Pentelicus) and Hymettus (Theophrastus, *De signis tempestatum*, iii. 43). As Hymettus and Brilessus (Pentelicus) are known to have been the ranges which bound the Athenian plain on the east and north-east, it follows that Parnes is the still loftier range (4635 ft.) which bounds the plain on the north, forming with its outlying ridges the great mountain barrier between Attica and Boeotia. This is confirmed by Plato's statement (*Critias*, p. 110 d, with the Scholiast) that in old days the boundary of Attica on the side of the mainland ran along the peaks of Cithaeron and Parnes. Further, some of the defeated Athenians after the battle of Delium fled towards Mt. Parnes (Thucydides, iv. 96; Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 11; Lucian, *De parasito*, 43; Athenaeus, v. p. 216 a). As Delium was situated between Tanagra and the Euripus (see note on ix. 20. 1), the nearest Attic mountains which would serve as a refuge to the fugitives would be the range in question, which here separates Attica from Boeotia. This then was Mt. Parnes. It is the loftiest and most extensive of all the Attic ranges. On the west it joins Mt. Cithaeron; on the north-east it sends its spurs down to the shore of the Euripus, not in an unbroken chain, but in a series of isolated heights divided by glens and valleys of varying width. The lower parts of the mountains are covered with pines; higher up the pines are mixed with holly-oaks and firs; and towards the summits the forest consists of firs alone. Many brooks meander among the firs, and grassy glades and green ravines open between them. Here and there, in one of these openings, there is a patch of corn. The scenery of the range as a whole is grand and picturesque, presenting a maze of glens, crags, rocks, precipices, and wooded heights. Its forests continue to supply Athens with charcoal as in the days of Aristophanes. The modern name of the range is *Ozea*.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 502; Leake, *Northern Greece*, 2. pp. 416-426; L. Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, p

242 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* I. p. 252. For other mentions of Mt. Parnes in ancient writers see Thucydides, ii. 23 (where the Peloponnesians are said to have devastated some of the townships between Parnes and Brilessus); Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 324; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 19; Strabo, ix. p. 399; Lucian, *Bis accusatus*, 8; *id.*, *Icaromenippus*, 11; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 620 *sq.*; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πάρνης.

One place on Mt. Parnes which Pausanias has omitted to mention deserves notice on account both of its historical interest and its striking remains. This is the fortress of Phyle, situated in the heart of the mountains, at a point on the road from Athens to Thebes, where several ravines and passes meet. It was a township of the tribe Oeneis (Harpocration and Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φυλή). In 403 B.C., when Athens was languishing under the dominion of the Thirty Tyrants, the patriot Thrasybulus advanced from Thebes with about seventy men, seized the fortress of Phyle, and successfully defended it against an army of more than 3000 men which the tyrants led against him. Afterwards he descended into the plain, surprised and defeated the forces of the Tyrants, and then established himself at Piraeus. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4; Diodorus, xiv. 32 *sq.*; Cornelius Nepos, *Thrasybulus*, 2; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 24. 163, p. 418, ed. Potter. The language in which ancient writers describe this exploit of Thrasybulus proves that the place was a fortress before he seized it. As it dominates the pass through which runs the shortest road from Thebes to Athens, we can hardly doubt that from a very early date it had been fortified by the Athenians as an outpost against Boeotia. More than a century before its seizure by Thrasybulus the place had served as a refuge to some Athenians who had revolted against the tyranny of Pisistratus (Plutarch, *Reg. et imperat. apophthegmata*, *Pisistr.* 1). At a later time, when Athens was alarmed by the advance of Philip of Macedonia into Phocis, the peasantry in this neighbourhood were ordered to retire with their goods into the fort of Phyle (Demosthenes, xviii. 38, p. 238). Afterwards Cassander put a Macedonian garrison into it, which was however expelled by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who restored the fort to the Athenians (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23).

An expedition to the ruins of Phyle is a favourite excursion of visitors to Athens. The distance by road is about 14 miles. Diodorus indeed estimates the distance at 100 Greek furlongs (11 miles). But he is wrong. Demosthenes, more correctly, says that it was over 120 Greek furlongs (xviii. 38, p. 238). A carriage road runs as far as *Chasia*, a large village on the southern slopes of Mt. Parnes, about 10 miles from Athens. Beyond this point the way is nothing but a steep and stony bridle-path. After ascending it for half an hour we come to the meeting of two deep and savage glens. In the glen to the right (east) the little monastery of Our Lady of the Defile (*Panagia ton Kleistōn*) stands romantically at the foot of sheer precipices. The path to Phyle (which is at the same time the direct road to Thebes) winds rapidly up the narrow western glen through a thin forest of firs. In places the path is hewn in the rock, and the defile is so narrow that a handful of men might make it good against an army. Phyle is reached in about an hour and

three quarters from *Chasia.* The fortress with its massive walls and towers crowns a high precipitous crag on the southern side of the pass, which it completely dominates. A ridge connects the crag with the higher mountains on the east; and along this ridge is the only approach to the fortress. On the west and south the sides of the crag fall away abruptly into a deep ravine, which is broken by tremendous precipices, crested with firs and tufted with shrubs and underwood. The ruins of the fortress encircle a little plateau, scarcely 300 feet long from east to west, on the summit of the crag. The walls and towers, built of fine quadrangular blocks without mortar, are best preserved on the north-east side, where they are still standing to a height of seventeen courses. The tower at the north-east angle is round; the other two remaining towers are square. The principal gate was on the east side, approached from the ridge. There was further a postern, also approached from the ridge, near the south-east corner. From the fortress, which stands more than 2000 feet above the sea, the view is magnificent, taking in the whole of the Athenian plain with Athens itself and Hymettus, and the sea with Salamis, Aegina, and the coast of Peloponnese.

The high peak (Mt. *Pagania*) which towers immediately to the north-east of Phyle in the form of a crescent-shaped wall of naked rock is probably the ancient Harma, which the augurs at Athens watched till they saw lightning flash about its summit, whereupon they sent the sacrifice to Delphi (Strabo, ix. p. 404; see above, note on i. 19. 1). Strabo expressly says that Harma was near Phyle. On its eastern side Harma (Mt. *Pagania*) descends in precipices into the deep glen, already mentioned, at the entrance of which is the monastery of our Our Lady of the Defile.

Further up this glen than the monastery, at a height of some hundreds of feet above the torrent (the *Potami*) which traverses it, there is a cavern which is sometimes visited. The direct distance of this cavern from the monastery is only about a mile and a half. But in the glen the stream, hemmed in by precipices advancing from the mountains on both sides, has scooped out for itself between them a bed so profound and rugged that to scramble along it is impossible, even when the water is at its lowest. Hence in order to reach the cavern it is needful to make a long détour round the western flanks of Mt. *Pagania* and to come down into the glen at a point a good deal higher up. Having done so we follow the glen downward past the place where another glen opens into it, bringing its tributary stream to swell the *Potami.* The cave is situated high up on the eastern side of the main glen, a little below the meeting of the waters. To clamber up the steep slope to it is far from easy. The mouth of the cave is so narrow that only one person can enter it at a time; it is at the foot of a precipice darkened by overhanging trees and flanked by two crags which project like wings on either side. In the face of the rock to the right of the entrance into the cavern are some votive niches with worn inscriptions under them. Within the cave, which may be about a hundred paces deep, water dripping from the roof has formed large stalactites and has

hollowed out basins in the floor. Broken lamps and potsherds have been found in it in considerable quantities, which, with the votive niches outside, prove that this secluded spot was an ancient sanctuary. It was most probably the Nymphaeum or sanctuary of the Nymphs, which Menander mentioned as being near Phyle (Harpocration, *s.v.* Φυλή). Here, too, the people of Phyle probably offered the sacrifices to Pan of which Aelian makes mention (*Epistolae Rusticae*, 15). For one of the inscriptions on the rock outside the cave sets forth that a certain Tychander (?) caused workmen to put up the image of Pan beside the Celadon, and that sacrifices were offered by one Trophimianus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 210). From this inscription we learn that the *Potami*, which flows in the depth of the glen below the cave, was called in antiquity the Celadon, *i.e.* 'the Roaring Stream.'

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 502-508; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 124-127; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 116 *sqq.*; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, *Itinéraire*, pl. 7 and 7 *bis*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. pp. 82-88; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 89-91; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 333; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, p. 187 *sq.*; H. G. Lolling, 'Das Nymphaion auf dem Parnes,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 289-291; Baedeker,[3] p. 122 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 184 *sq.*

32. 1. **wild boars and bears.** Wild boars were found in various parts of Greece in Pausanias's time (iii. 20. 4; vii. 26. 10; ix. 23. 7). Bears seem not to have been so common; but they abounded on Mt. Taygetus (iii. 20. 4). The bear is no longer, so far as I know, to be met with in Greece. But the wild boar still ranges the pine-forests of Parnes, Cithaeron, and Gerania (Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 421; Baedeker,[3] p. 180; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 27), and has his lair in the depths of the almost impassable ravines among the north-eastern spurs of Mt. Pentelicus (*Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 55).

32. 1. **Hymettus, which produces the best food for bees** etc. Hymettus is the uniform, flat-topped chain of hills which bounds the plain of Athens like a wall on the east. It rises to the south of Mt. Pentelicus, from which it is divided by a valley about three miles broad, and it extends southward nearly in a straight line till it ends in the sea at Cape Zoster. The only convenient road from Athens to eastern Attica is through the valley at the northern foot of this long mountain-wall. But there is one pass over it through the glen of *Pirnari*, which divides the chain into two. The higher portion of the range (3370 feet) to the north of this pass was called in antiquity the Great Hymettus; the lower part to the south of the pass was called the Lesser or Waterless (*Anudros*) Hymettus (Theophrastus, *De signis tempestatum*, i. 20). The outline of Hymettus, viewed from Athens, is even and regular; but its sides are furrowed by winter torrents and its base is broken into many small isolated hills of a conical form. Except towards its base the range is almost destitute of soil. Wild olives, myrtles, laurels, and oleanders are found only in some of the gulleys at the foot of the mountain. Its steep rocky slopes are composed of grey marble seamed and cracked in all directions. Some stunted shrubs, however, including the lentisk, terebinth, and juniper, and sweet-smelling herbs, such as

thyme, lavender, savory, and sage, grow in the clefts of the rocks, and, with flowers such as hyacinths and purple crocuses, furnish the bees with the food from which they still extract the famous Hymettian honey. Hymettus seems to have been as bare and treeless in classical antiquity as it is now; for Plato remarks (*Critias*, p. 111 e) that some of the Attic mountains, which now only provided food for bees, had at no very remote epoch furnished the timber with which some very large buildings were still roofed at the time when he wrote. The honey of Hymettus was renowned (Horace, *Odes*, ii. 6. 13 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Sat.* ii. 2. 15; Cicero, *De finibus*, ii. 34. 112; Ovid, *Met.* x. 284 *sq.*; Strabo, ix. p. 399; Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 32; Nonnus, xiii. 186 *sq.*; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 776, *s.v.* Ὑμήττιον μέλι). It was said that when Plato was a babe the bees on Hymettus filled his mouth with honey (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* x. 21; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 382, 390). The story went that bees were first produced on Hymettus (Schol. on Nicander, *Alex.* 449). Poets spoke of the flowery and fragrant Hymettus (Ovid, *Met.* vii. 72; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 622). The thyme and the creeping thyme (*serpyllum*) of Hymettus are specially mentioned: the creeping thyme was transplanted to Athens and grown there (Antiphanes, quoted by Athenaeus, i. p. 28 d; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* vi. 8. 2; Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 172; Athenaeus, xv. p. 681 e f). When ancient writers speak of Attic honey in general (Pliny, *N. H.* xxi. 57; Vitruvius, ii. 9. 17), they may have had Hymettian honey in view. Vitruvius (*l.c.*) compares Attic honey to resin in colour, which aptly describes the colour of the modern Hymettian honey. When Synesius visited Athens in the fifth century A.D. he found that the glory of its philosophers had departed, but that the glory of its bee-masters still remained (*Epistolae*, 135). Opinions differ as to the quality of the modern Hymettian honey. Leake pronounced it superior to that of the rest of Attica and of the surrounding provinces of Greece. Others think it inferior to the honey of other parts of Greece, such as the Cyclades, Corinth, and Thebes, as well as to the heather honey of Scotland and Ireland. To me it seemed excellent. Most of the honey sold as Hymettian comes from *Tourko Vouni*, north of Athens, and from other parts of Attica.

Hymettus was also famous in antiquity for its marble, which seems to have been especially prized by the Romans (Strabo, ix. p. 399; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 18. 3 *sq.*; Pliny, *N. H.* xvii. 6, xxxvi. 7 and 114). This marble, which is still quarried in large quantities on Hymettus, is a bluish-grey, streaky marble, of finer and closer grain than the white Pentelic marble, but far inferior to it in beauty. The Greeks seem not to have used it commonly till the third century B.C. From that time onward we find it used for tombstones, inscriptions, and the casing of buildings. The principal quarries are on the western side of the mountain, on the slopes which enclose the valley of St. George on the south and south-east and which on the other (southern) side descend nearly sheer into 'the Devil's Glen' or 'the Evil Glen' (*Kakorrhevma*), the deepest and wildest gorge in Hymettus. Vestiges of the ancient road or slide by which the blocks were brought down from the quarries may be seen about a hundred yards above the chapel of St. George; the road

seems to have been led in serpentine curves down the slope, not in a straight line like the road from the quarries on Pentelicus.

A great part of the upper ridge of Hymettus is composed of a white marble resembling the white marble of Pentelicus, but inferior to it in crystalline structure and of a duller white. The ancients apparently made little use of this white Hymettian marble.

Clouds on Hymettus were believed to prognosticate rain (Theophrastus, *De signis tempestatum*, i. 20 and 24); if during a storm a long bank of clouds was seen lowering on the mountain, it meant that the storm would increase in fury (Theophrastus, *op. cit.* iii. 43).

Hymettus is still as of old (Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 687) remarkable for the wonderful purple glow which comes over it as seen from Athens by evening light. When the sun is setting, a rosy flush spreads over the whole mountain, which, as the daylight fades and the shadows creep up the slope, passes by insensible transitions through all intermediate shades of colour into the deepest violet. This purple tinge is peculiar to Hymettus; none of the other mountains which encircle the plain of Athens assumes it at any hour of the day. It was when the sunset glow was on Hymettus that Socrates drained the poisoned cup (Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 116 b and e).

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 478-496; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 47 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 25-28; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 95-97; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. pp. 5, n. 1, 253 *sq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, ii. p. 24 *sqq.*; G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, pp. 23-27. For other mentions of Hymettus by ancient writers see Herodotus, vi. 137 (who says that the Pelasgians were given lands under Hymettus as a reward for having built the walls of the Acropolis of Athens); Lucian, *Bis accusatus*, 8; *id.*, *Icaromenippus*, 11; *id.*, *De mercede conductis*, 35; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ὑμηττός.

On the south-eastern side of the Lesser Hymettus, about two miles north of *Vari*, there is a grotto which deserves mention on account of the inscriptions and curious antique rock-carvings which it contains. From the inscriptions (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 423-431) we learn that a certain Archedamus, a native of Thera but a citizen of the Attic township Chollidae, carved the grotto and dedicated it to the Nymphs, by whom he believed himself to be possessed; he also planted a garden for them. Other inscriptions prove that the grotto was also sacred to the Graces, Pan, and Apollo Hersus. The carvings include the headless figure of a woman, under life-size, seated in an arm chair; a large head of a lion; and a figure of Archedamus himself cut in relief, clad in a short tunic, with a mallet in his right hand and a carpenter's square in his left. The style of the carvings is very uncouth. From the character of the inscriptions it is believed that they were cut shortly before 432 B.C. The inner grotto, at a lower level than the outer one, is a circular chamber, dimly lighted; stalactites hang from the roof, and the sides are fretted with fantastic incrustations. It contains a spring of very clear and cold water. We are told that when Plato was born his parents took him to Hymettus, wishing to offer sacrifices there on his behalf to Pan, the Nymphs, and Apollo (Olympiodorus, in *Biographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 382, cp. p. 300). As the grotto described

above was sacred to Pan, the Nymphs, and Apollo, some have supposed that it may have been to this very grotto that the parents of Plato came with him to offer sacrifice. It was on this occasion that the bees of Hymettus were said to have filled Plato's mouth with honey. From the entrance to the cave there is a fine view of the sea and the indented coast with its capes and rocky islands. The fragrance of the surrounding pine-trees adds to the pleasure of the scene.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, ch. 32, p. 149 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 550-555 (with a view of the interior of the cave); Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 57-59; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, ch. 25, pp. 165-172; F. G. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 147; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. pp. 74-76; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 59-61; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 358 *sq.*; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 30, with pl. viii.; Baedeker,[3] p. 138; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 194; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 16 *sq.*

32. 1. the land of the Alazones. The Alazones were a Scythian tribe in the south of Russia, near the mouth of the Hypanis (the Bug). Unlike most of the Scythians, who were nomads, the Alazones were a settled people, living by agriculture. They grew wheat, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. See Herodotus, iv. 17 and 52. Cp. Strabo, xii. p. 550; Valerius Flaccus, vi. 101; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀλαζών. Apparently no ancient writer except Pausanias speaks of the bees of the Alazones. Herodotus mentions a story (v. 10) that the country north of the Danube was impassable on account of the swarms of bees. Cp. Aelian, *Nat. An.* ii. 53.

32. 2. Hymettian Zeus —— Showery Zeus. The worship of Hymettian Zeus in Attica is mentioned also by Hesychius (*s.v.* Ὑμήττιος). There was an altar of Zeus on the top of Hymettus (*Etymol. Magnum*, p. 352 *s.v.* Ἐπάκριος Ζεύς). It may have been identical with the altar of Showery Zeus here mentioned by Pausanias. There was a propriety in worshipping Showery Zeus on Hymettus, since clouds resting on Hymettus were signs of rain (see above, p. 425). An Athenian prayer for rain was this: "Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, on the cornland of the Athenians and on the plains" (Marcus Antoninus, v. 7). Cp. Paus. i. 24. 3; ii. 19. 8; ii. 25. 10; viii. 38. 34; ix. 39. 4. In Cos there was a religious society, the members of which went in procession and offered sacrifices on an altar of Rainy Zeus, when rain was wanted (see the inscription No. 45 in O. Lüders's *Die dionysischen Künstler*, p. 165 *sq.*; Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford, 1891), No. 382) At Rome in time of drought women went in procession with bare feet and dishevelled hair to the Capitol, praying to Jupiter for rain (Petronius, 44; Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 40).

32. 2. On Parnes is —— an altar of Sign-giving Zeus etc. On the top of Mt. Parnes there was an altar of Zeus (*Etymol. Magnum*, p. 352, *s.v.* Ἐπάκριος Ζεύς), which may have been either the altar of Sign-giving Zeus or the other altar of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias. It may be conjectured that the altar of Sign-giving Zeus stood on the top of the peak of Parnes which was anciently called Harma (now Mt. *Pagania*), since that was the peak on which the augurs fixed their eyes when looking for the flash of lightning which was the sign for sending the

sacrifice to Delphi (Strabo, ix. p. 404; see above, p. 422). In winter, at the time of the setting of the Pleiades, if lightning was observed to flash on the summits of Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus, it was the precursor of a heavy storm; but if the lightning was seen on Parnes only, it was a sign of fair weather (Theophrastus, *De signis tempestatum*, iii. 43). Again, if in winter, with a north wind blowing, the peaks of Parnes above Phyle and westward were capped with clouds, it foretold a storm (Theophrastus, *op. cit.* iii. 47). Aristophanes represents his chorus of Clouds coming down from Mt. Parnes (*Clouds*, 324 *sq.*), and retiring to it in anger (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πάρνης; the passage quoted by Photius is not in the extant copies of Aristophanes). An inscription found at *Markopoulo*, to the east of Hymettus, mentions a sanctuary of Parnessian Apollo (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 609; L. Ross, *Demen*, p. v.) Parnessian Apollo is probably the Apollo of Mt. Parnes, the adjective Parnessian being equivalent to Parnethian (cp. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 348). Parnes appears to have been only another form of the name Parnassus (cp. Timaeus, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Παρνησσός). Hence we see why lightning on Mt. Parnes, where Apollo was worshipped, should have been a signal for sending a sacrifice to the same god in his home on the slopes of Parnassus.

32. 2. **a small mountain called Anchesmus.** This mountain, mentioned by no other ancient writer, is probably the low chain of bare rocky heights now called *Tourko-Vouni* ('Turk's hill'), which extends northward from Athens in the direction of Cephisia, dividing this portion of the Athenian plain into an eastern and a western section. The southern termination of the chain, though partially separated from it by a hollow, is the conical, rocky hill which towers steeply at the back (north-east side) of Athens, forming an imposing and striking feature in the view of the city. This conical hill, now crowned by a small chapel of St. George, is the ancient Lycabettus. Its summit (910 feet above the sea) is reached from the south side by a winding path and, in the upper part of the ascent, steps cut out in the rock. There are now huge quarries on the north and west slopes of the hill. That this conspicuous hill which dominates Athens on the north-east was Lycabettus can be shown by a variety of evidence. Lycabettus was on the side of Athens opposite to the Pnyx (Plato, *Critias*, p. 112 a); and since the Pnyx was on the south-west side of Athens, it follows that Lycabettus was on the north-east. Again, it is said that Athena fetched Lycabettus from Pallene, intending to make it a bulwark of the Acropolis; but that being surprised by the evil tidings brought her by the crow (see note on i. 18. 2) she dropped the mountain on the spot where it has ever since remained (Antigonus, *Histor. Mirab.* 12, where the true reading would seem to be Παλλήνην, not Πελλήνην, as printed in Westermann's edition). Now Pallene was north-east of Athens, on the direct road to Marathon (Herodotus, i. 62; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 15; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 234; A. Milchhöfer, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 12 (1892), pp. 2 *sqq.*, 29 *sq.*, 34 *sqq.*); hence Lycabettus must also have been to the north-east of Athens, between Pallene and the capital. Again, Aristophanes represented the chorus of

Clouds as retiring in dudgeon by way of Lycabettus to Mt. Parnes (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πάρνης); hence Lycabettus must have been a hill between Athens and Mt. Parnes, which agrees fairly with the position of the conical hill at the back of Athens. Again, we are told that Proclus was buried "in the more easterly suburbs of the city, near Lycabettus" (Marinus, *Life of Proclus*, 36). Again, Lycabettus was dry (Xenophon, *Oeconom.* 19), and so barren that it was valueless (Plato, *Eryxias*, p. 400 b), and it was used either as an observatory or as an astronomical gnomon by the astronomer Phaënus in determining the solstices (Theophrastus, *De signis pluviarum*, i. 4). All these statements fit so well with the character and situation of the hill now crowned by the chapel of St. George that we need not hesitate to identify it with Lycabettus. If Lycabettus was regarded as forming part of the ridge of Anchesmus (*Tourko-Vouni*), the image of Anchesmian Zeus mentioned by Pausanias may have stood on the site of the chapel of St. George. When Statius spoke of Lycabettus being suited for the growth of olives (*Theb.* xii. 621), he may have referred to the lower slopes of the hill, where olives still grow.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, I. pp. 514-516; Leake, *Athens*, I. pp. 204-211; Ch. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 46-50; Bursian, *Geogr.* I. p. 255 *sq.*; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, ii. p. 19; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, p. 24 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 108 *sq.*

In his account of the Attic mountains Pausanias has omitted to notice a range which, though of no great height, has an important place in Attic topography. This is Mt. Aegaleus, a chain of bare and barren hills which, beginning near the south-west foot of Mt. Parnes, extends in a south-westerly direction to the strait of Salamis. It forms the western boundary of the Athenian plain, dividing it from the Thriasian plain (the district of Eleusis) on the west. On the north this range of hills is divided from Mt. Parnes by the valley through which the railway from Athens to Eleusis and Megara now runs. In antiquity this valley was crossed from north to south by a fortification-wall which connected Mt. Parnes with Mt. Aegaleus. This wall is still well preserved in places. It is 7 feet high and 5½ feet thick; the masonry is very rude, but the facing is constructed of more regular stones. The top of the wall forms a commanding platform towards the Thriasian plain on the west; access to it from the rear was by a succession of sloping ramps or buttresses. There are narrow openings in the wall at unequal intervals. The range of Mt. Aegaleus is crossed about its middle point by the low pass of *Daphni*, over which the Sacred Way went from Athens to Eleusis. The highest point of the range, situated to the south of the pass of *Daphni*, is only 467.6 metres (1534 feet) high. The whole chain is nearly as sterile as Hymettus. It consists of bare rocks of reddish-grey limestone, thinly wooded in places with stunted pine-trees and shrubs. The low hills which make up the chain are intersected by glens and gullies. They were probably more fruitful in antiquity; for on their slopes (especially on the eastern and southern sides of the range) are many remains of terrace walls built to retain the

soil and still testifying to the assiduity with which the barren soil of Attica was cultivated by the peasantry of old.

The ancient name of the range from its northern to its southern extremity seems to have been Aegaleus. This is shown by the combined evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus tells us (viii. 90) that Xerxes witnessed the battle of Salamis "sitting at the foot of the mountain which is opposite Salamis and is called Aegaleus." As the battle of Salamis was fought in the straits which divide the east end of the island of Salamis from the mainland, Herodotus's statement implies that the chain of hills already described, which ends at the strait of Salamis, was called Aegaleus, or at least that its southern extremity was so called. Again, Thucydides says (ii. 19) that in 431 B.C. the Peloponnesian army under king Archidamus invaded Attica, devastated Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, routed the Athenian cavalry at the Rhiti, and then, keeping Mt. Aegaleus on their right hand, marched through Cropia to Acharnae, where they encamped. As the Rhiti are situated at the western end of the pass of *Daphni* (see note on i. 38. 1), it has been supposed by Leake and others that Archidamus, after defeating the Athenian cavalry at the Rhiti, crossed by the pass of *Daphni* into the Athenian plain, and then turning northward skirted the eastern foot of the hills which bound the Athenian plain on the west until he reached Acharnae. On this interpretation of Thucydides the name Aegaleus must have designated not the whole chain of hills which bounds the plain of Athens on the west, but only the southern half of it, which reaches from the pass of *Daphni* to the straits of Salamis, and which Archidamus would have on his right in crossing the pass of *Daphni*. This interpretation seems, however, irreconcileable with Thucydides's narrative. Thucydides says (ii. 20) that in this invasion Archidamus did not descend into the plain, *i.e.* into the plain of Athens. But if he had crossed by the pass of *Daphni* he would have found himself at its eastern extremity in the heart of the Athenian plain. Further, Thucydides observes (ii. 21) that so long as the Peloponnesian army was at Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, the Athenians hoped that it would approach no nearer; but when they saw the army at Acharnae, sixty Greek furlongs (7 miles) from Athens, ravaging the country, there was a great outburst of popular indignation; the whole city was in an uproar, and Pericles was assailed by a storm of obloquy for refusing to march out and give battle to the enemy. This plainly implies that the Peloponnesian army first came in sight at Acharnae, 7 miles from Athens. But if it had crossed by the pass of *Daphni*, it would have been seen from Athens defiling down that pass at a distance of about 4 miles only. Moreover, Archidamus's object, as Thucydides explains, was not to approach Athens or to ravage the country immediately around it, but by laying waste the district of Acharnae to goad the Athenians (among whom there were 3000 Acharnian infantry) into marching thither and giving him battle there. He calculated, no doubt, on defeating them in the open and then intercepting their retreat with his cavalry before they could regain Athens. If this plan should fail by the obstinate refusal of the Athenians to come out and fight, then Archidamus reckoned

(Thucydides tells us) on being able, in a subsequent invasion, to ravage with greater impunity the Athenian plain and to approach the walls of Athens; for the Acharnians, having lost their all through the ravages of the previous invasion, would not be eager to make a sally. Clearly Archidamus was unwilling at first to risk a battle in the immediate neighbourhood of Athens, where his troops might have been entangled and cut up in the suburbs, and where the Athenians, in case of a reverse, could have immediately retreated within the walls. But if Archidamus had come down into the Athenian plain by the pass of *Daphni*, he would manifestly have exposed himself to the risk of being attacked, and of having to fight, under these disadvantages. What happened, then, was this. After the engagement at the Rhiti, the beaten Athenian cavalry fell back over the pass of *Daphni* as the nearest road to Athens; but Archidamus, instead of pursuing them, marched north along the western foot of the hills till he reached the valley which divides those hills from Mt. Parnes. Through this valley (the valley through which the railway to Eleusis now runs) he marched eastward, debouching on the plain at Acharnae, where he encamped and where he first came in sight of Athens. From this interpretation of Thucydides's narrative, which alone seems to fit the facts, it follows (1) that the whole chain of hills which Archidamus skirted on his right hand till he reached Acharnae was called Aegaleus; and (2) that Cropia, through which he passed on this march, was on the western or northern, not on the eastern, side of the hills. Both these inferences are confirmed by the other evidence which goes to show that Cropia was to the west of these hills (Milchhöfer, 'Die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 20).

Thus with regard to the chain of hills which bounds the Athenian plain on the west, we learn from Herodotus that its southern, and from Thucydides that its northern, portion was called Aegaleus. Hence we infer that Aegaleus was the name of the whole range. It would seem, however, that its southern portion or one of its heights bore a special name. For Strabo says (ix. p. 395) that the mountain which rises beside the strait of Salamis was called Corydallus, and that there was here a township of the same name. With this it agrees that Theseus on his way from Eleusis to Athens was said to have slain Procrustes "who dwelt in Corydallus" (Diodorus, iv. 59). Thus Corydallus would seem to have been a special name applied to the southern part of Mt. Aegaleus; probably it was originally the name of the township only, and was afterwards extended to the hill on which the township stood. Prof. Milchhöfer points out that the name Aegaleus is used only by early, and the name Corydallus only by late writers; from which he infers that Aegaleus was the old name, and Corydallus the later name, for the whole chain of hills. This is perhaps the correct view. The site of the township of Corydallus is probably marked, as Prof. Milchhöfer believes, by the remains now called *Palaeo-Kastro* or *Palaeochora* lying in a hollow among the hills, a good deal nearer to the strait of Salamis than to the pass of *Daphni*. The exact spot from which Xerxes witnessed the battle of Salamis cannot be fixed with certainty. Aeschylus says (*Persae*, 466 *sq.*) that it was a high hill or eminence (ὄχθος) near the sea; and

Phanodemus, quoted by Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 13), says that it was above the sanctuary of Hercules, at the point where the island of Salamis is divided from the mainland by a narrow strait. The spot may have been either one of the most southerly heights of Mt. Aegaleus or (as has been suggested) the little rocky promontory called *Keratopyrgos* which projects into the bay from the foot of Mt. Aegaleus. The promontory takes its name from a Venetian tower (*purgos*) by which it is surmounted.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 508-513; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 2, 36 *sq.*, 49, 143 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 94 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 93; Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, pp. 425 *sqq.*, 474 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 252 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 115; A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, ii. pp. 10 *sqq.*, 46. For other mentions of Aegaleus by ancient writers see Statius, *Theb.* xii. 620 (who speaks of it as well wooded); Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1059. For other mentions of Corydallus, see Theophrastus, quoted by Athenaeus, ix. p. 390 a b; Aelian, *Nat. An.* iii. 35.

32. 3. **Marathon.** Marathon was a member of an ancient confederacy called the Tetrapolis, which, as the name Tetrapolis ('four cities') implies, included four towns, namely Marathon, Oenoe, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus or Tricorynthus, as the name is also spelt (Strabo, viii. p. 383; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Τετράπολις; cp. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14; Diodorus, iv. 57). These four towns, of which Marathon was perhaps the chief (cp. Plutarch, *l.c.*), were said to have been founded by Xuthus, son of Deucalion; he had married a daughter of Erechtheus (Strabo, *l.c.*) The league existed till Theseus merged the petty communities of Athens in a single state (Strabo, ix. p. 397); but for purposes of religion it survived into classical times, as we learn from an inscription of the fourth century B.C., which contains a dedication to Dionysus by the Tetrapolitans (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1324; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 304). Three of the towns of the league were situated on the east coast of Attica between Prasiae on the south and Rhamnus on the north; they stood in the following order from south to north: Probalinthus, Marathon, Tricorythus (Strabo, ix. p. 399). The fourth town, Oenoe, stood very near the others, but a little inland, as we shall see presently. Philochorus wrote a work on the Tetrapolis (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1047). Marathon contained a sanctuary of the Delian Apollo in which sacrifices were offered and omens taken when the sacred embassy was annually despatched to Delos (Schol. on Sophocles, *l.c.*)

The plain of Marathon, the scene of the memorable defeat of the Persians by the Athenians in 490 B.C., is a crescent-shaped stretch of flat land curving round the shore of a spacious bay and bounded on the landward side by a semicircle of steep mountains, with bare rocky sides, which rise abruptly from the plain. In its north-eastern corner the plain is terminated by a narrow rocky promontory running southward far into the sea and sheltering the bay on the north-east; in antiquity this promontory was called Cynosura ('dog's tail'), it is now called Cape *Stomi* or Cape *Marathon*. At its southern end the plain is terminated by Mt. *Agrieliki*, a spur of Mt. Pentelicus, which here advances so far eastward as to leave only a narrow strip of flat land between it and the

sea. Through this strip of flat land at the foot of Mt. *Agrieliki* runs the only carriage road which connects Marathon with Athens. The length of the plain of Marathon from north-east to south-west is about 6 miles; its breadth varies from 1½ to 2½ miles. The shore is a shelving, sandy beach, free from rocks and shoals, and well suited for the disembarkation of troops. A great swamp, covered with sharp reed-grass and divided from the sea by a narrow strip of sandy beach overgrown with pine-trees, occupies most of the northern end of the plain. It never dries wholly up even in the heat of summer; two canals constructed by General Sutzos have only partially drained it. Tamarisk bushes grow in the dryer parts of the marsh; their scarlet blossoms are conspicuous in spring. The swamp is deepest at its western side, where it is separated only by a narrow passage, hardly wide enough for two horses to pass each other, from the steep rocky slope of Mt. *Stavrokoraki*. The ancient road which led northward from the plain of Marathon to Rhamnus ran along this narrow passage, between the marsh on the one hand and the slope of the mountain on the other. Leake noticed traces of ancient chariot wheels here; and till a few years ago a long line of stones, a little further to the south, marked the line of the ancient road. At the northern end of this defile between the marsh and the mountain stands the modern village of *Kato-Souli*. About a quarter of a mile to the south of it, close to the road and to the foot of the mountain, are the deepest pools of the swamp; they are easily distinguished by the luxuriant vegetation that surrounds them, the tall reeds being particularly noticeable. These pools, beside which cattle find green pasture in summer when the plains are scorched and brown with heat, are fed by powerful subterranean sources, the Macaria of the ancients, about which Pausanias tells us (§ 6) the legend of Macaria, daughter of Hercules, who gave her name to the spring. Strabo tells us (viii. p. 377) that the head of Eurystheus was cut off and buried by Iolaus beside the spring Macaria under the high-road, and that hence the place was called 'the head of Eurystheus.' At *Kato-Souli*, about half-way up the slope of the hill which rises above the village, there are some shallow, niche-like excavations in the rock, not unlike mangers. It may have been these niches to which popular fancy gave the name of 'the mangers of the horses of Artaphernes' (§ 7 below). On its opposite (eastern) side the great swamp ends in a small salt-water lake, now called *Drakonera*, that is 'the dragon-water' or 'the enchanted water.' This lake discharges itself into the sea by a stream which flows exactly at the point where the sandy beach of the bay ends and the rocks of Cape Cynosura begin. Sea fish are caught in the lake, and eels in the fresh-water pools of the marsh. The salt lake has perhaps been formed since the time of Pausanias, since he describes (§ 7) only the marsh and a stream flowing from it into the sea. At the southern end of the plain of Marathon there is another, but much smaller, swamp called *Brexisa* between the sea and the foot of Mt. *Agrieliki*. Its greatest breadth is about half a mile. It is covered with reedy grass and shrubs, and is separated from the sea by a strip of sand. The high-road to Athens runs between this marsh and the foot of the mountains.

Vol. II To face page 432



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Between these two marshes, the one on the north, the other on the south, the plain of Marathon is now chiefly covered with corn-fields. But towards its southern end there is a stretch of vineyards mixed with olives and fruit-trees and dotted with a few pines and cypresses. Further north, an isolated oak-tree rising here and there, and a green belt of currant-plantations stretching from the foot of the hills to the shore of the bay, break the uniformity of the endless corn-fields. The plain is uninhabited. The villages lie at the foot of the mountains or in the neighbouring glens. On a still autumn day, under a lowering sky, the wide expanse of the solitary plain presents a chilling and dreary aspect. Not a living creature is to be seen, except perhaps a few peasants in the distance ploughing with teams of slow-paced oxen.

In this vast sweep of level ground the eye is caught by a single solitary object rising conspicuously above it. This is the famous mound, now called *Soros*, which covers the remains of the Athenians who fell in the battle. It rises from the plain a mile from the foot of the hills, half a mile from the sea, and about three-quarters of a mile north of the marsh of *Vrexisa*. It is a conical mound of light, reddish mould, about 30 feet high and 200 paces in circumference. Its top has been somewhat flattened by excavations; its sides are overgrown with low brushwood. A wild pear-tree grows at its foot. In April-June 1890 the mound was excavated under the superintendence of Mr. Staes for the Greek Government. Trenches were cut into the mound, and at the depth of about 9 feet below the present surface of the plain there was found an artificial floor, constructed of sand and other materials, about 85 feet long and 20 feet broad. On this floor there rested a layer, 2 to 10 centimetres (about 1 to 4 inches) thick, composed of ashes, charcoal, and human bones, charred by fire and mouldering away with damp. Mixed with this layer of ashes and bones were about thirty earthenware vases of the shape called *lekuthoi*, most of them broken in pieces. These vases are painted in the common black-figured style; the subjects represented are generally chariots, but in some cases horsemen and foot-soldiers. Besides these vases there was found a long-necked amphora adorned with friezes of beasts and monsters in the oriental style, and a winged figure of the oriental Artemis; and another two-handled vase of reddish-brown clay, with decorations somewhat in the Mycenaean style, was found to contain charred bones, perhaps those of a general. Further excavations made in the following year (1891) laid bare a sacrificial pit or trench about 30 feet long and 3 feet wide, extending diagonally under the mound from north to south. This trench is cased with burnt bricks (in his report in the *Mittheilungen* for 1893, p. 53, Mr. Staes says unburnt bricks, but he is doubtless wrong; the official report in the Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν says burnt bricks); and contained ashes, charcoal, and the bones of animals and birds, mixed with fragments of black-figured vases. It had originally been roofed with bricks, which had fallen in. The bones found in this trench are clearly those of the victims sacrificed to the heroic dead before the mound was heaped over their remains. The broken vases found in the trench may have been those which were used at the funeral banquet. The Greek archaeologists further dis-

covered some vestiges which led them to believe that, even after the mound had been raised, sacrifices continued to be annually offered at it. This confirms Pausanias's statement that the men who fell at the battle were worshipped as heroes by the people of Marathon. From an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 471) we learn that the Athenian lads went to the tomb, laid wreaths on it, and sacrified to the dead. The excavations have finally disproved the theory, broached by Prof. E. Curtius (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1853, p. 154) in 1853 and maintained by Prof. A. Milchhöfer as late as 1889, that the mound was prehistoric and had nothing to do with the battle of Marathon. For the black-figured vases found with the bones and ashes of the dead belong to the period of the Persian wars; the human remains can therefore be no other than those of the 192 Athenians who fell at Marathon (Herodotus, vi. 117). Prof. Curtius's erroneous theory was apparently countenanced by some imperfect excavations made by Dr. Schliemann in 1884. Many bronze arrow-heads, about an inch long and pierced with a round hole at the top for the reception of the shaft, have been picked up at the mound: also a great number of black flints, rudely chipped into shape. It has been conjectured that these flints are parts of the stone-headed arrows discharged by the Ethiopian archers in the Persian army (Herodotus, vii. 69). But against this opinion it has been urged that similar flints have been found at other ancient sites in Attica and elsewhere, especially in the oldest graves on many Greek islands, and have not been found at Thermopylae and Plataea, where, if anywhere, the stone-headed arrows may be supposed to have flown in showers.

I do not know what authority Prof. Mahaffy has for saying that the mound was once surmounted by the figure of a lion, "which has been carried off, no one knows when or whither."

This sepulchral mound, though the most striking, is not the only monument of antiquity at Marathon. Scattered about the plain and in the glens which open off it there are remains of ancient buildings, collectively considerable though individually insignificant. I shall notice the principal of these remains in topographical order, taking first the ruins in the plain, and afterwards the ruins at the foot of the hills and in the glens.

To the south of the marsh of *Vrexisa*, which terminates the plain of Marathon on the south, a large slab of Pentelic marble has been found close to the high-road, on the side of the sea. Inscribed on this slab are the names of two men, Elpines and Eunicus, who belonged to the township of Probalinthus (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 2507; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 3 (1879), p. 200 *sq.*) This inscription makes it probable that Probalinthus, which is known from Strabo (ix. p. 399) to have been situated on the coast immediately to the south of Marathon, was somewhere in this neighbourhood. Some ancient tombs were found at the same place.

In the swamp of *Vrexisa* itself there is a small island called *Nisi* near its eastern edge, close to the sea, which is covered with ancient ruins. Leake saw here "several cippi or sepulchral columns standing in a certain regular order, together with the remains of a sarcophagus,

the fragments of a female statue seated in a chair, some shafts of columns, and a Corinthian architrave." In the south-eastern corner of the island are what seem to be the quadrangular foundations of a marble edifice. H. G. Lolling remarked some unfluted columns of white and coloured marble lying about in the island or standing upright, though not in their original positions. Here too were discovered, towards the close of last century, a quantity of Roman coins, and highly finished busts of Socrates, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, and a fourth bust conjectured to be that of Herodes Atticus. It has been plausibly suggested that all these remains mark the site of the family tombs of Herodes Atticus, who belonged to Marathon, was warmly attached to the place, lived much at it, and dying there desired to be buried on the spot. His wishes, however, were disregarded. The Athenians, grateful for the many splendid edifices with which he had adorned their city, took forcible possession of his body and carried it to Athens, where they buried it at the Panathenaic stadium (see Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 30 and 37; and note on i. 19. 6). Others have conjectured that Herodes Atticus had his villa on this island, or that a temple of Athena Hellotis (*i.e.* 'Athena of the Marsh') stood on it; for we are told that Athena Hellotis had a shrine at the Marathonian marsh (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 56; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 332, *s.v.* Ἑλλωτίς). But the shrine may have been beside the great marsh at the northern end of the plain.

At a place called *Valaria* in the plain, a little to the north of the marsh of *Vrexisa*, there are considerable remains of antiquity, especially the foundations of a tolerably large oblong building with remains of columns and some pieces of architectural ornaments of the Ionic order.

In the plain about 600 yards north of the great sepulchral mound at a spot called *Pyrgo* ('tower'), marked by some cypresses, there are the foundations of a quadrangular building lying in a direction from north-west to south-east and measuring about twelve paces long by eight paces broad. On these foundations there stood till a few years ago some remains of walls constructed of large well-hewn blocks of Pentelic marble, which were preserved to a height of several courses. But in 1890 the Greek archaeologists found that these marble blocks had been removed, and that the foundations were constructed of bricks and mortar (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 65). Hence the building was probably of Roman date; it cannot have been, as archaeologists had previously conjectured, either the Greek trophy or the tomb of Miltiades, both of which are mentioned by Pausanias (§§ 4 and 5). A little to the west of *Pyrgo* a flood, which happened not long before Leake's last visit to Marathon, laid bare "the foundations of some houses, together with several vases of ancient fabric and very large dimensions, which had been sunk in the ground."

A good deal to the north-east of *Pyrgo*, at a place in the plain called *Chani*, where there is a chapel of the Panagia Misoporitissa, about halfway between the sea and the hills and half a mile south of the great swamp, may be seen the remains of a building of Hymettian (?) marble,

about thirteen paces long by nine paces wide. On its north side lies an Ionic capital of Pentelic marble.

Further, two inscriptions containing dedications to Dionysus have been found in the plain of Marathon. One of them, which has already been referred to (p. 431), contains a dedication to Dionysus by the Tetrapolitans with the names of the four priests who offered sacrifice, one from each of the four towns of the Tetrapolis. This inscription is carved on a quadrangular block of Pentelic marble and dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. It was found at a place called *Divaliaki* in the plain, about twenty-five minutes south-east of the village of *Bei* (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1324; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.* 3 (1878), pp. 259-264; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 304). The other inscription, containing a dedication to Dionysus by a certain Polydeucion, was found in a vineyard 80 or 90 yards south-east of *Pyrgo*; it is engraved on a cubical block of white marble (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 279). This Polydeucion may have been one of the three favourite pupils of Herodes Atticus (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 24; see below). These inscriptions prove that there was a sanctuary of Dionysus which the members of the four townships (the Tetrapolis) revered in common. Its site is perhaps marked by the ruins of a chapel containing many ancient blocks, about 100 yards east of the spot where the second inscription was found (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 279). Beside the sanctuary of Dionysus at Marathon there was a grave of a certain Aristomachus, who was worshipped by the people under the title of 'the Hero Physician' (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 262, line 16 *sqq.*; cp. *American Journal of Philology*, 1 (1880), p. 58 *sq.*)

So much for the remains of antiquity in the plain. We now retrace our steps southward and follow the line of mountains which bounds the plain on the west, noticing the chief ruins which lie at the foot of the hills and in the neighbouring glens.

At the south-west corner of the plain the small village of *Vrana* occupies a commanding situation. Backed by wooded mountains it stands on a height at the mouth of a wild and romantic glen. From this glen issues the torrent of *Rapentosa*, which takes its name from a deserted and partly ruinous village higher up the glen, and winding round the southern foot of the hill of *Vrana* in a deep stony bed forms a natural fortification to the place on three sides. On the height above the village stands, close to the edge of the ravine and surrounded by cypresses and pine-trees, the church of St. George. Here there are some pieces of columns, and the tombstone of a certain Archippe, daughter of Calleus, a man of Rhamnus. The tombstone is of Pentelic marble, and is adorned with a graceful relief representing a young woman holding in her left hand a small funeral urn, to which an elderly man, standing opposite her, is pointing (Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, Mon. fig. 77; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, No. 1614; Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτυμβιοί, No. 1086; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 2523). Lower down the hill than the church, but above the village, is a deserted monastery. Bursian conjectured that church and monastery

occupy the site of the precinct of Hercules, within which the Athenians bivouacked for some days before the battle of Marathon (Herodotus, vi. 108 and 116).

In the plain a little to the east of *Vrana* are six or seven sepulchral mounds, situated on the right (south) bank of the torrent. Again, about half a mile to the south-east of *Vrana*, the chapel of St. Demetrius stands on an ancient terrace in a cleft at the foot of Mt. *Agrieliki*. On the hill above the chapel is a platform bounded by supporting walls and affording a view over the whole plain of Marathon. Other terraces, divided by walls, may be traced below the chapel of St. Demetrius, descending into the plain. L. Ross appears to have found this site covered with ancient blocks of marble. Prof. A. Milchhöfer believes that the precinct of Hercules, within which the Athenians encamped, was here.

To the north of *Vrana* the valley of *Avlona* extends for about a mile in a north-westerly direction, between the steep fir-clad slopes of Mt. *Aphorismos* on the west and the rugged flat-topped Mt. *Kotroni* on the east. The valley has a uniform breadth of about a quarter of a mile and its bottom is good corn-land, though the vale is quite waterless. H. G. Lolling conjectured that the precinct of Hercules and the Athenian camp may have been in this valley. At the head of the valley a gently rising pass leads north into the much longer and more spacious valley of *Marathona*. In this pass, at the head of the valley of *Avlona*, there are some remains of an ancient gate. The gate stands exactly in the hollow through which the ancient road led from the valley of *Avlona* over the pass to the valley of *Marathona*. It seems to have been connected with the foundations of a wall rudely constructed of limestone blocks, which can be traced for a circumference of near three miles, enclosing the stony and barren ground of the pass, as well as the slopes of the hills on either side to a certain height. The wall is about 5 feet thick and 3 feet high. The gate opening into this enclosure, so far as its foundations can be distinguished among the rank underwood, was about fifteen paces wide from east to west and six paces deep. The core of the masonry consists of stones bonded with mortar; but some marble blocks seem to show that the gate was cased with marble, at least on its southern façade. An inscription, which has now disappeared, was carved on the gate to this effect: "The Gate of Immortal Unanimity. The place which you enter belongs to Herodes" (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 403; Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοί, No. 2577). The remains of two life-size statues may still be seen at the gate. They represent two male figures clad in long robes and seated in chairs, one of which is adorned with griffins carved in relief. The remains of a third statue were visible down to the middle of the present century, but have since disappeared (see Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, Mon. fig. 90). The Herodes mentioned in the inscription on the gate was doubtless Herodes Atticus; and the three statues may, as Leake conjectured, have represented his three favourite pupils, Achilles, Pollux (Polydeuces), and Memnon. For Philostratus tells us (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 24) that Herodes Atticus mourned their untimely deaths as if they had been

his sons, and set up statues of them in the character of hunters in woods and fields and beside springs, with inscriptions invoking curses on any one who should mutilate or remove them (cp. Lucian, *Demonax*, 24 and 33). A number of inscriptions in honour of one of these young men, Pollux (called in the inscriptions Polydeucion), have been found in various parts of Attica (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 810, 811, 813-818; Koumanoudes, Ἀττ. ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτυμβ. Nos. 2568, 2570-2576). One inscription, found at Cephisia and now at Oxford, begins with the mention of "the hero Polydeucion," and contains the imprecations mentioned by Philostratus (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 1418; Koumanoudes, *op. cit.* No. 2569). The pompous title of the gate ('Gate of Immortal Unanimity') marks the decline of good taste. At the present day the whole enclosure is called by the peasants 'the Old Wife's Sheepfold' (ἡ μάνδρα τῆς γραίας), because they take one of the statues to be that of a woman who had large flocks of sheep and goats, but was turned into a stone for jeering at Martis (a personification of the month of March). (Chandler and Le Bas also took one of the statues to represent a woman.)

To the north of the valley of *Avlona* a more spacious valley opens out into the plain of Marathon. Down the valley flows a stream (the ancient Charadra), which rises far to the north-west at the foot of Mt. Parnes and traverses in its course the whole of the mountainous district of northern Attica. Between the hill of *Stavrokoraki* on the north-east and *Kotroni* on the south-west, the Charadra enters the plain of Marathon and crosses it about its middle point, flowing in a broad and deeply channelled bed, filled with pebbles and boulders, which testifies to the violence with which still as of old the stream comes down in flood (see Zenobius, v. 29; Apostolius, xii. 50; Suidas, *s.vv.* Οἰναῖοι and Οἰνόη; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Οἰναῖοι). It not unfrequently overflows its banks and lays waste the neighbouring fields. At the point where the Charadra enters the plain, the village of *Bei* stands high on the left (north) bank of the stream, at the foot of Mt. *Stavrokoraki*. Opposite *Bei*, on the right bank of the river, are the ruins of *Seferi*, a village which was destroyed a good many years ago by a flood. About three quarters of a mile further up the valley is the chief place of the whole district, the village of *Marathona* (750 inhabitants in 1893), prettily situated among well-watered gardens and orchards which skirt the left bank of the river. Cypresses and other tall trees render the site of the village conspicuous even from a distance. But though the village has inherited the name of the ancient Marathon, it is of comparatively recent origin and contains no antiquities except such as have been brought from the neighbouring plain. Immediately above the village, on the opposite (southern) bank of the stream, there are considerable traces of an ancient road running westward up the valley. Still higher up, the valley expands into the triangular dale of *Ninoi*, bounded on the north by the steep rocky slopes of Mt. *Kokkinaras* or the Red Mount, so called from the colour of its rocks. The stream flows at the foot of these red slopes. On the western side of the dale are some ancient and mediaeval remains. Here, on a projecting spur of the hills, stands a ruined mediaeval or Turkish watch-tower; the walls are preserved to a considerable

height. To the north-east of the tower, in the bottom of the dale, is a Frankish church, with ancient blocks of marble and other remains, including pieces of unfluted columns and two large Ionic capitals with a base to match. West of the church a spring of clear and copious water, surrounded by fresh vegetation, issues from a rock in the side of the hill. It is enclosed by a semicircular foundation of large blocks of marble bound together with iron clamps. Many other such blocks lie scattered about; some of them have fallen into the ancient basin, forcing the water to find its way out by a new exit a few paces to the left. The modern name of this place (*Ninoi*) appears to be a transformation of Oenoe, the name of the ancient township, which most probably occupied this well-watered dale. The fertility of Oenoe seems to have been celebrated (Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 18). The township contained a sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo in which sacrifices were offered daily by the prophet or diviner while the sacred embassy was on its way to and from Delphi (Philochorus, quoted by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1047). Oenoe was a township of the tribe Aiantis; there was another township of the same name near Eleutherae which belonged to the tribe Hippothontis (Harpocration, *s.v.* Οἰνόη).

Before entering the dale of Oenoe, the Charadra sweeps in a great curve round a hill, the three sides of which descend steeply into the bed of the stream. This hill is the mountain of Pan mentioned by Pausanias (§ 7). The cave of Pan, which he has accurately described, is situated on the north-eastern face of the hill. Opposite it, separated only by the stream, are the red declivities of Mt. *Kokkinaris*. A steep and rocky ascent leads up to the cave, which lies about two-thirds up the slope. The entrance to the cavern is partially concealed by bushes and is not visible till you stand in front of it. Above it, the cliff rises perpendicularly. There are two or rather three mouths to the cave, close together and so low and narrow that a man can with difficulty creep through them. From the point where the three passages meet, the cavern expands, then divides into two chambers, which unite again deeper down. In the sides of both these large chambers there are smaller chambers of various sizes. The walls of all these compartments are encrusted with stalactites, some in the form of columns, others grouped fantastically. Water trickles here and there down the sides of the grotto or drips from the roof, forming basins in the floor. The cave is so deep and its entrance so narrow that the sunlight never penetrates it. Doubtless the stalactites on the walls and roof, and the basins in the floor, are what the popular fancy of the ancients called the goats and baths of Pan (§ 7). The distance of the cave from the village of *Marathona* is about a mile and a half.

We now retrace our steps from the cave of Pan, and returning down the valley of the Charadra past the villages of *Marathona* and *Bei* re-enter the plain of Marathon. Skirting the foot of the bare mountain of *Stavrokoraki* in a north-easterly direction we traverse the narrow defile, already described, which runs between the mountain and the great marsh, and reach the village of *Kato-Souli* at the northern end of the defile. The distance from *Bei* is about two and a half miles. Inscriptions found

at *Kato-Souli* prove that it occupies the site of Tricorythus (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 2592, 2601; Koumanoudes, *'Αττ. ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτυμβ.* No. 1192; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 309). In the garden beside the draw-well of the village is the inscription of one of the statues which Herodes Atticus erected in memory of his pupil Pollux (Polydeucion). It sets forth that "Herodes dedicated here also a statue of Polydeucion, whom he loved as a son, because here they were wont to hunt" (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 813; Koumanoudes, *'Αττ. ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτυμβ.* No. 2569). Further, built into the church of St. Athanasius in the village, is a fragmentary inscription containing the curses which Herodes Atticus called down on the head of any one who should meddle with the statues of his dead favourites (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 813; Koumanoudes, *'Αττ. ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτυμβ.* No. 2563). The village lies at the foot of an eastern spur of Mt. *Stavrokoraki*. This spur must have been the acropolis of Tricorythus, for the ancient fortification-walls still encircle it. They consist of two walls or rather dykes built of stones roughly put together. The inner wall, now mostly ruinous, is about 5 feet thick and may be traced round the upper slope of the hill in a circumference of about 460 paces. The outer wall averages about 8 feet thick. On the side of Mt. *Stavrokoraki* it approaches within a few paces of the inner wall, so that the two walls here run side by side. Towards the north, however, the outer wall descends the slope obliquely till it is half-way down the hill. At this level it continues to run above the village, but afterwards gradually ascends again. The two ring-walls are united by cross-walls at various points. At the south-west corner of the outer wall the opening of a gateway may be distinguished. Towards the south-east, where the hill overhangs the marsh, the lines of the walls are interrupted, doubtless because the stones have been removed by the inhabitants of *Kato-Souli* to build their houses with. These fortifications on the hill were probably intended, in part, to command the pass which runs between the foot of the hill and the marsh. Tricorythus was tormented by the mosquitoes bred in the adjoining swamp (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1032, with the Scholiast; Suidas, *s.v. ἐμπίς*): and in summer the inhabitants of *Kato-Souli* are still driven by the mosquitoes and the miasma to the village of *Epano-Souli* situated among the hills to the north-west.

In the plain to the north, shut in between the marsh and the hills, there are some remains of antiquity, especially on a rising ground a mile to the north-east of *Kato-Souli*, to the right of the road which leads to Rhamnus. Here there are many fragments of Pentelic marble, including hewn blocks and pieces of unfluted columns. Leake thought that these remains marked the site of Tricorythus, but Prof. Milchhöfer considers them to be merely sepulchral.

Thus of the four ancient townships which made up the Tetrapolis, the sites of two (Oenoe and Tricorythus) are identified with tolerable certainty. The sites of the other two (Marathon and Probalinthus) are less certain. At first sight it seems natural to suppose that the village of *Marathona* has succeeded to the site as well as to the name of Marathon. But Leake brought forward weighty arguments against this identification.

The village is of comparatively recent origin ; it contains no vestiges of antiquity except what can be proved to have been brought from elsewhere ; it stands in the middle of a valley without any of that natural strength of position which is generally characteristic of ancient sites ; and it is distant not more than a mile and a half from Oenoe, one of the four towns of the Tetrapolis. On the other hand, the modern village of *Vrana* occupies a commanding situation which seems marked out by nature to be that of the chief place of the district. On the ground of the natural advantages of its situation, combined with the evidence of the ancient remains at and near *Vrana*, Leake concluded that this village stands on the site of the ancient Marathon, and his view has been generally accepted by subsequent topographers, particularly L. Ross, W. Vischer, and Prof. Milchhöfer. (Bursian proposed to place Marathon a little to the east of *Vrana*, at the foot of Mt. *Agrieliki.*) The identification of Marathon with *Marathona* is indeed generally abandoned, even by H. G. Lolling, who once argued in favour of it. Probalinthus probably lay further south than *Vrana*, between the foot of Mt. *Agrieliki* and the sea, as is indicated by the inscription found to the south of the marsh of *Vrexisa* (see above, p. 434). Lolling, however, placed Probalinthus at *Vrana.*

There are two main routes from the plain of Marathon to Athens ; one of them goes by the south, the other by the north side of Mt. Pentelicus. The first route leaves the plain at its southern extremity and passing between the foot of Mt. *Agrieliki* and the marsh of *Vrexisa* runs parallel with the coast for some distance. It then turns westward and passing through the valley which divides the south of Mt. Pentelicus from the north of Hymettus enters the plain of Athens. This is by far the easiest road ; it is the only one which vehicles can traverse. The distance by this road from the great mound at Marathon to Athens is about twenty-five or twenty-six miles. The other route, by the north side of Mt. Pentelicus, goes from Oenoe (*Ninoi*) by a very steep and toilsome path to *Stamata*, a village in a high situation, surrounded by a few barren fields, among woods of pine. In many places the path is so hemmed in between cliffs and precipices that there is room only for a single horse. Trees are rare, but the stony slopes of the mountain are overgrown with shrubs of many sorts, among which the *Erica arborea* is conspicuous. In spring its masses of white blossoms perfume the whole air with their fragrance. About half an hour short of *Stamata*, at a point where there is a spring shaded by fine plane-trees, the path is joined on the left by another path, also steep and toilsome, which comes up from *Vrana.* This latter path commands a magnificent view backward down the deep ravine through which the traveller has ascended. On either side of the ravine rise the mountains, their precipitous sides covered with straggling pine-forest or evergreen copse, and terminating in bold peaks ; below is spread out the green expanse of the Marathonian plain, backed by the sea and Cape Cynosura curving into the blue water with the sweep of a scimitar. Further off, bounding the prospect, stretches the long line of the mountains of Euboea.

From *Stamata* the path skirts the north-western shoulder of Mt.

Pentelicus and enters Cephisia, from which there is a good high-road through the plain to Athens. The distance by this route from the mound at Marathon to Athens is roughly about twenty-two miles.

A third route, intermediate between the two preceding routes and shorter than either of them, goes from *Vrana* up the wild, romantic ravine of *Rapentosa* and crosses the southern shoulder of Mt. Pentelicus, the highest summit of which is left about a mile to the westward. It is a rugged and precipitous path, hardly practicable even for heavy infantry. Within a distance of little more than nine miles the route ascends and descends a ridge which rises more than 2500 feet above the plain below.

Clearly the first of these routes is the only road by which a large army with cavalry and baggage-train could march. Therefore when the Persians landed at Marathon, under the guidance of the banished Athenian tyrant Hippias, who was of course familiar with the country, they must have intended to advance on Athens by the southern road, and consequently the Athenians must have marched to meet them by the same road, for had they taken the northern route, the enemy might have given them the slip, and his cavalry might have been entering the streets of Athens (then an unwalled town) at the time when the Athenians were emerging from the defiles of Pentelicus on the plain of Marathon. Thus the traveller who drives to Marathon by the carriage road may feel sure that he is following very closely the route by which the Athenian army advanced to the battle.

With regard to the battle itself, the only trustworthy account of it which has come down to us is that of Herodotus (vi. 102-117), who probably conversed with men who had taken part in it. It is needless to tell again the story of the famous victory which has been told and discussed so often, especially as Herodotus's narrative does not enable us to determine the exact positions of the hostile armies before and during the progress of the battle. All that may be regarded as certain or fairly probable is that the Persians were posted to the north and the Athenians to the south, and that many of the defeated Persians were driven into the great swamp at the northern end of the plain. This latter fact is not recorded by Herodotus, but it was represented in the picture of the battle which was to be seen in the Painted Colonnade at Athens (Paus. i. 15. 3), and it is expressly stated by Pausanias (§ 7 below). It is further reasonable to suppose that the great mound, which covers the remains of the Athenian dead, was erected on the spot where the fight had been hottest and the Athenians had suffered most severely.

On the topography and ancient remains of Marathon see Col. Squire, 'The plain of Marathon,' in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey* (London, 1818), pp. 329-336; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, chs. 34-36, p. 159 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 157-163; Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, 2. p. 430 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 77-105; *id.*, *Northern Greece*, 2. pp. 426-433; W. Mure, *Journal*, 1. pp. 100-118; G. Finlay, 'On the battle of Marathon,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 3 (1839), pp. 363-395; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 37-42; F. G. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 129-131; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. pp. 155-161; *id.*, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, pp. 170-195; W. Vischer, *Erinner-*

ungen und Eindrücke, pp. 71-82, 86-89; Bursian, *Geogr.* I. pp. 337-341; H. G. Lolling, 'Zur Topographie von Marathon,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 67-94; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, pp. 171-178; H. Belle, *Trois Années en Grèce*, pp. 227-229; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, pp. 61-66; Baedeker, *Griechenland*,[3] pp. 127-130; *Guide-Joanne*, I. pp. 174-179; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), pp. 306-311; *id.*, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. pp. 40-54. Of these accounts the fullest and best are those of Leake, Vischer, Lolling, and Milchhöfer. As to the excavations in the sepulchral mound see Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, pp. 65-67, 123-132; *id.*, 1891, pp. 34, 67, 97; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1890), p. 365 *sq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), p. 390; *id.*, 13 (1892-93), p. 144; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 11 (1891), p. 547 *sq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 15 (1891), p. 648 *sq.*; A. Hauvette, 'Le tumulus de Marathon,' *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2 (1892), pp. 326-335; B. Staes, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), pp. 46-63, with plates ii.-v. Schliemann's excavations in the mound are described by himself in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 16 (1884), pp. 85-88.

The battle of Marathon is discussed specially by Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 203-227; Lieut.-General Jochmus, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, (London), 27 (1857), p. 16 *sqq.*; W. Watkiss Lloyd, 'The battle of Marathon,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pp. 380-395; M. Duncker, *Abhandlungen aus der griech. Geschichte*, pp. 17-40; A. Hauvette, in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2 (1892), pp. 335-344. Other memoirs on the subject are cited by G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2. p. 47.

32. 3. **the names of the fallen arranged according to tribes.** So in inscriptions containing lists of men who fell in battle the names are regularly arranged according to tribes (*C. I. A.* i. Nos. 433, 443, 446, 447, 450). The men of each tribe were enrolled in a separate regiment, so that on the field of battle the men of the same tribe stood and fell together. This is expressly said to have been the case at Marathon (Herodotus, vi. 111). The Athenians no doubt justly considered that regiments thus constituted would be animated by a stronger *esprit de corps* than regiments made up of conscripts who were bound together by no tie but that of common citizenship. On a similar principle in our country and time the system has been adopted of recruiting the line regiments from special districts and naming them after these districts, instead of recruiting them indifferently from all districts and designating them by numbers.

32. 4. **He died subsequently** etc. The events which led to the trial and death of Miltiades are narrated by Herodotus, vi. 132-136; Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, 7 *sq.*

32. 4. **Here every night you may hear horses neighing and men fighting.** W. Vischer, who slept one stormy night at the wretched hamlet of *Vrana* overlooking the battlefield, says: "Towards evening the weather again grew worse. The rain poured, the wind howled through the mountains and through the roof overhead, birds of prey screamed, dogs bayed, and now and then the sound of a shot fired at wolves that were threatening the herds fell on our ears. Without any great stretch of imagination we could picture to ourselves how the ancients fancied they heard here every night the snorting of horses and the tumult of battle" (*Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 71). It is a common superstition that the scenes of great battles are haunted by the ghosts of the slain, who rise by night to fight their battles over again.

There was a place in Boeotia where a battle was said to have been fought long ago; a river ran by the spot, and in the roar of its waters the peasants fancied they heard the snorting of phantom steeds (Plutarch, *Parallela*, 7). Shepherds feeding their flocks in the plain of Troy saw spectres in armour begrimed with dust or dabbled in blood: the ghost of Achilles was distinguished by his stature and his gleaming arms as he swept by in a whirlwind (Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 18 and 26). After a great battle fought against Attila and the Huns under the walls of Rome, the ghosts of the dead are said to have appeared and fought for three days and nights; the clash of their weapons was distinctly heard (Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 63). In Germany such stories are told about the battlefields of Charlemagne. At Frankenberg, where he is said to have defeated the Saxons in a bloody battle, and where another engagement took place in the Thirty Years' War, woodmen passing over the battlefield on a winter night have seen the spectral armies, horse and foot, locked in desperate conflict (K. Lynker, *Deutsche Sagen und Sitten*, p. 11 *sq.*) Legend says that Charlemagne gained a great victory at the foot of the Odenberg, but that when evening fell the mountain opened, and the king and his weary warriors passed into it, and the rock closed behind them. But at a certain time every seven or every hundred years you may hear the clash of weapons in the air, the snorting of horses, and the trampling of hoofs; for the army of the dead is then passing to Glisborn to water its horses at the spring (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,[4] 2. p. 783). In Thüringen it is said that the ghosts of Croats and Swedes who were slain in a certain battle awake every year at eleven at night on the anniversary of the battle and fight till the clock strikes one, when they vanish into the earth (Grimm, *op. cit.* 2. p. 785). Cp. Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamaiten*, 2. p. 140; P. Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1. p. 222. A similar superstition attaches to Neville's Cross in England. A boy in a Sunday school at Durham told his teacher that "if you walk nine times round the Cross, and then stoop down and lay your head on the turf, you'll hear the noise of the battle and the clash of the armour" (Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 308). Like tales are told of battlefields in India (*Indian Antiquary*, 9 (1880), p. 80; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, 2 (1892-93), No. 637; *id.*, 4 (1894), No. 114). In this respect the poet's fancy resembles that of the peasant and savage. On the battlefield of Marengo Heine saw, through the morning mist, a figure in a cocked hat and a grey greatcoat passing like the wind, and he heard like a burst of music far away "Allons, enfants de la patrie."

32. 4. **they worship —— Hercules** etc. Cp. i. 15. 3. The sanctuary of Hercules was one of the two most revered shrines of that hero in Attica; the other was at Cynosarges (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἡράκλεια). We have seen that the Athenians encamped in the precinct of Hercules at Marathon before the battle (Herodotus, vi. 108 and 116). Games were celebrated at Marathon in honour of Hercules; the prizes were silver cups (Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 134 *sqq.* with the Scholiast).

32. 5. **Echetlaeus.** Cp. i. 15. 3, where he is called Echetlus. On similar stories of succour given by phantom warriors see x. 23. 2 note.

32. 5. **I could find no grave.** It has been suggested that the six or seven sepulchral mounds in the plain a little to the east of the village of *Vrana* (see above, p. 437) may mark the graves of the Persians. Pausanias seems to have overlooked these mounds.

32. 6. **a spring called Macaria** etc. See above, p. 432. Some writers, taking into consideration the worship of Hercules at Marathon and the legend that Macaria was his daughter, have supposed that the name Macaria is a form of the Phoenician *Makar* or Melcarth, the Phoenician deity whom the Greeks identified with Hercules; and in the legend of Macaria's heroic suicide Movers found a reminiscence of the Phoenician custom of sacrificing maidens. See Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, 1. p. 417 *sqq.*; J. Olshausen, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 8 (1853), p. 330; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 407. The story of Eurystheus's defeat and death in Attica, whither he had marched against the children of Hercules who had found a refuge in the Tetrapolis, is told also by Strabo, viii. p. 377; Diodorus, iv. 57; Antoninus Liberalis, 33. The legend is the subject of Euripides's play *The Heraclids.* Cp. Thucydides, i. 9; Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 58 *sq.*; and H. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. Cl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1874, Heft iv. p. 51 *sqq.*, who argued that the defeat of Eurystheus is represented on the eastern frieze of the so-called Theseum at Athens.

32. 7. **a mere, most of which is marshy** etc. Cp. i. 15. 3; and see above, p. 432.

33. 1. **Brauron.** Brauron was one of the twelve ancient confederate towns of Attica before the time of Theseus (Strabo, ix. p. 397). It was situated on the east coast of Attica, the townships of Prasiae and Stiria being to the south of it, and the townships of Myrrhinutte, Probalinthus, and Marathon to the north of it (Strabo, ix. p. 399, where Strabo seems to have mentioned Myrrhinus by mistake instead of Myrrhinutte). Hence, as the positions of Prasiae and Marathon are approximately known, we have to look for Brauron at some point on the east coast between them. The position of Brauron on the coast is confirmed by the legend that the Pelasgians came in a ship and carried off the Athenian women while they were celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron (Herodotus, iv. 145, vi. 138; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 21). There was a river Erasinus at Brauron (Strabo, viii. p. 371). Now between Prasiae (*Porto Raphti*) and Marathon only two rivers fall into the sea. One of them flows into a little bay about 2 miles to the north of *Porto Raphti.* The other enters the sea about 6½ miles further north at *Raphina*; on the left (north) bank of this latter river, about three-quarters of a mile inland, are some ancient wells and vestiges of walls, the remains of Araphen, a township of the tribe Aegeis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀραφήν; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 441, line 26). In the valley of the other, more southerly, river there are two farms called Upper and Under *Vraona* (or Old and New *Vraona*), which belong to the monastery of Asomaton in Athens, but are now in ruins. As the name *Vraona* appears to be the modern equivalent of Brauron (the *b* having as usual passed into a *v*), and the situation, beside

a river between Prasiae and Marathon, agrees with that of Brauron, we may conclude that Brauron stood in the valley of this river at or near its mouth, and that the river is the ancient Erasinus. The harbour of *Vraona*, into which the river flows, is a small but deep bay, bounded on the south by the finely shaped Mt. *Peratia* which projects boldly and steeply into the sea. The ground at the head of the bay, where the river enters it, is swampy. On the north side of the bay the line of an ancient road may be traced by the chariot-ruts in the rock. Here, too, some remains of piers may be seen running out into the water; and on an eminence above this side of the bay are the foundations of an oval fortification. A little further inland, on the left (north) bank of the stream, are vestiges of the foundation walls of an ancient town. Opposite to these remains, on the southern bank of the river, rises an isolated rocky hillock, almost overgrown with wild olives. At the projecting north-west foot of the hillock stands the ruined chapel of St. George on a platform constructed of large ancient blocks of limestone. At this chapel there are four small columns, two Doric capitals of white marble, and a fragment of a small female figure seated with a lion, dog, or bear (?) on her lap. The back of the chapel is built against the rock, which is here hewn perpendicularly; and in the rock-wall, to the left of the chapel, are some holes which probably served to fasten votive offerings. A road hewn in the rock, about thirteen paces wide, leads up from near the chapel to the summit of the hillock. On this summit, which is level and of crescent shape, foundations, hewn stones, and potsherds may be seen among the thick shrubbery; in particular the foundations of a ring-wall, about 5 feet thick, may be made out. At the northern foot of the hillock, a little to the east of the chapel of St. George, a clear and copious spring issues from the rock; it seems to have been enclosed by ancient masonry. Tiny fish dart about in its sparkling water.

Inland from these ruins the cultivated and fruitful valley is occupied by gardens. At the distance of about a mile from the sea the valley divides. In the northern branch-valley are the ruins of *Palaia-Vraona* ('Old *Vraona*'). In the southern branch-valley, down which the main river comes, are the ruins of *Vraona* at a distance of about two miles from the sea. About half a mile or so further up the valley, beyond a well-preserved Byzantine watch-tower, there is a rocky knoll on the south side of the valley, between the main stream and a smaller stream which joins it from the south. On this knoll there are the remains of a double circuit-wall built of fine squared blocks, which on the north side are standing to a height of two courses. Within these circuit-walls, on a higher part of the knoll, which is here overgrown with bushes, are the foundations of a quadrangular edifice measuring ten paces by seven. The general aspect of the valley at *Vraona* is described by Wordsworth. He says: "Here the country is of a very pleasing character. A little before arriving at Braona (*Vraona*) . . . we cross a picturesque hill fringed with wood, beneath which runs a pretty stream, probably the Erasinus. It is edged with a line of white poplars. Beneath them, by the side of the stream, is a garden of fruit and vegetables—which is a rare sight in this country. To our left is a grey square tower on a hill. The landscape is softened

by the quiet light of the evening, which is now coming on. . . . This scene is worthy the pencil of Claude."

Though Pausanias (i. 23. 7) and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Βραύρων) speak of Brauron as a township, it does not appear to have been such; at least it is never mentioned as a township in any inscription. But two townships were apparently included within the district of Brauron. One of these was Philaidae, which was said to have been named after Philaeus, a son of Ajax (Plutarch, *Solon*, 10). Brauronian Artemis was worshipped at Philaidae (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 873); and here lived the bear whose slaughter was said to have moved the anger of Artemis and hence to have led to the institution of the bear dance which Athenian maidens had to perform before marriage (Suidas, *s.v.* ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις; see note on viii. 13. 1). The other township which seems to have been included within the district of Brauron was Halae Araphenides, situated near a salt-lagoon between Brauron and Marathon (Strabo, ix. p. 399; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἁλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες), on the coast nearly opposite to Carystus in Euboea (Strabo, x. p. 446). At Halae Araphenides was the temple containing the image of the Tauric Artemis which Iphigenia was said to have brought with her from Scythia (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1450 *sqq.*; Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 373 *sq.*; Strabo, ix. p. 399). Hence when Pausanias speaks of this ancient image as if it were or had been at Brauron (i. 23. 7; i. 33. 1; iii. 16. 7 *sq.*; viii. 46. 3), it would seem that he is either mistaken or means by Brauron, not the town, but the district of Brauron. The name Halae Araphenides means 'the salt-works of Araphen,' and implies that the place was situated beside salt-pans not far from Araphen, which, as we have seen, must be placed near *Raphina*, about 6½ miles north of the bay of *Vraona*. It was probably at the salt-lagoon, which is still called *Aliki* ('salt place'), situated beside the sea about four miles north of the bay of *Vraona* and two miles south of *Raphina*. There was formerly a salt-work here. On the strip of land which separates the lagoon from the sea there is a ruined chapel of St. Spiridion with some large ancient blocks beside it; and westward of the southern end of the lagoon, to the left of the road which goes straight to *Raphina*, there are the ruins of a large church (fifty paces long by thirty paces broad) hidden among bushes and fir-trees. Well cut ancient blocks of marble are built into its walls, and there are remains of small columns. Some large columns are said to have been taken from the ruin to build a church at *Keratea*. This ruined church near the lagoon probably occupies the site of an ancient sanctuary, perhaps the temple of the Tauric Artemis. L. Ross conjectured, on the other hand, that the ruins, already described, on the bay of *Vraona* are those of Halae Araphenides, and that the chapel of St. George occupies the site of the temple of the Tauric Artemis. Here, too, between the hillock and the head of the bay, there is a small lagoon, from which salt was formerly extracted. But on Ross's view Halae Araphenides must have been distant about seven miles from Araphen, from which it took its name. It is perhaps more likely that the ruins on the bay of *Vraona* are those of Brauron itself or of its township Philaidae. If they are the ruins of Philaidae, Brauron may have been further up

the valley, perhaps at *Vraona*. The scantiness of the ancient remains at *Vraona* is not decisive against the hypothesis that Brauron may once have stood here; since even in the first century of our era Brauron is said to have existed only as a name (Mela, ii. 46; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 24). Excavations might enable us to determine the sites of these various places. Five sepulchral monuments inscribed with the names of persons belonging to Halae (*i.e.* Halae Araphenides) have been found at *Vraona* (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1781, 1791-1794; Koumanoudes, *Ἀττ. ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτυμβ.* Nos. 159, 170-173). This seems to favour Ross's view that Halae Araphenides was on the bay of *Vraona*.

At the festival of Artemis held at Halae Araphenides the throat of a man was cut just so far as to draw blood (Euripides, *Iphig. in Tauris*, 1458 *sqq.*) This custom was probably a substitute for a human sacrifice. At Halae Araphenides also was the grave of Iphigenia, at which the clothes of women who died in childbed were left as an offering (Euripides, *Iphig. in Tauris*, 1464 *sqq.*)

As to Brauron, etc. see Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 529; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 22-24; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 186 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 70; L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. pp. 222-229; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. pp. 348-350; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, pp. 57-60; Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 291 *sq.*; *id.*, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. pp. 6-8.

33. 1. **in another place I will show who, in my opinion, possess the image.** See iii. 16. 7 *sq.* with the note.

33. 2. **Just sixty furlongs from Marathon is Rhamnus.** Rhamnus was a township of the tribe Aiantis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ῥαμνοῦς), situated on the east coast of Attica to the north of Tricorythus (Strabo, ix. p. 399). It was a fortress (Scylax, *Periplus*, 57). When the Athenians were alarmed by the advance of Philip of Macedonia into Phocis, orders were issued that the inhabitants of Attica should collect their property for safety into one or other of a number of fortresses, which were named, and one of these fortresses was Rhamnus (Demosthenes, xviii. 38, p. 238). When Demetrius Poliorcetes invaded Attica he captured Rhamnus (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 33: cp. *id.*, *Phocion*, 25). The place was chiefly celebrated for its temple and image of Nemesis (Strabo, ix. pp. 396, 399; Zenobius, v. 82; Mela, ii. 46; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 17; Lucan, v. 233; *Anthol. Palat.* Appendix Planudea, No. 222; Hesychius, Suidas, and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις; see below). There was also a temple of Amphiaraus at Rhamnus (Mela, ii. 46). The orator Antiphon belonged to Rhamnus (Suidas, *s.vv.* Ἀντιφῶν and Ῥαμνούσιος).

Rhamnus is one of the loneliest and most secluded, but at the same time most picturesque and verdant spots in all Attica. It lies on the north-east coast of Attica, about six and a half miles north of *Kato-Souli*, the village which occupies the site of Tricorythus (see above, p. 439 *sq.*) The distance agrees well with the sixty Greek furlongs (nearly seven miles) at which Pausanias estimates it. The road from *Kato-Souli* first goes north-east across the northern portion of the Marathonian plain, which it quits by a pass leading northward through the hills. The pass

soon opens into an upland valley, three miles long from south to north by one mile wide, enclosed on both sides by wild and barren hills. The upper slopes of these hills are scantily wooded with firs; their lower slopes are overgrown with myrtle, lentisk, and many sorts of thorny shrubs, especially the one called *rhamnus*, which gave the district its ancient name. The soil of the valley is partly under cultivation, but most of it is covered with dense underwood and oaks of the *valanidia* species. On a low flat ridge which runs across the valley from east to west there are some ancient ruins, consisting of walls and foundations of houses. There are now no permanent inhabitations in the whole valley. A few dirty hamlets, tenanted from time to time by peasants for the purpose of looking after their fields, lie at its eastern edge. The general aspect of the country is lonesome and desolate.

Towards the northern end of the valley the ground gradually rises; and where it terminates the scenery changes. Here, at the northern extremity of the valley, a deep, narrow, woody glen, about half a mile long, descends rapidly in a north-easterly direction to the sea-shore. At the head of the glen, commanding a magnificent view down its wooded depths and across the narrow channel of the Euripus to the lofty mountains of Euboea, rises a stately terrace supported by exquisitely constructed walls of white marble, which are embowered in a luxuriant growth of dark-green shrubbery and fir-trees. In this superb situation, crowning the terrace, stand side by side the ruins of two temples, the famous temple of Nemesis and a smaller temple, probably of Themis. Below, where the glen opens on the shore, an isolated rocky hill juts out into the sea; and on its sides, half buried in thickly clustering masses of evergreens, are the white marble walls and towers of Rhamnus. We shall first descend through the glen and examine this ruined fortress; afterwards we shall return to the temple of Nemesis.

The height on which are the ruins of Rhamnus, or rather of its acropolis, is a round rocky hill projecting eastward into the sea and separated on the landward side by a broad hollow or ravine from the bushy slopes of the higher hills, which form a semicircle round it. It is a place of considerable natural strength. On the side of the sea the hill ends in high precipitous rocks; on the north it descends abruptly to the deep bed of a torrent; on the south there is a small stretch of flat ground beside the sheltered bay where vessels ride at anchor. The hill is most accessible on its south-western side, where a gradual slope connects it with the glen through which the path leads up to the temples. Accordingly, the principal or only gate of the fortress stood here, at the head of the slope. With its adjacent walls and massive flanking towers the gateway is still in fair preservation. The towers are square; the one on the right, as you enter the fortress, is much the larger of the two; it is about 23 feet wide, 17 feet deep, and is standing to a height of about 9 feet. The fortification-wall can be traced nearly all round the hill, though it is only on the south and south-west sides that it is standing to a considerable height. On the south side it is over 13 feet high for a length of about 20 yards. On the seaside the wall ran along the edge of the cliffs, but only three pieces of it are tolerably

preserved. It seems that here the ground has given way at some points and slipped into the sea, carrying pieces of the wall with it. At the north-east corner, where some large rocks would have afforded foothold and cover to assailants, the fortress is strengthened by an outwork. The whole circuit of the fortress, which is roughly quadrangular in shape, is little more than half a mile; nine towers can still be distinguished. The walls and towers are finely constructed of large blocks of white marble laid in regular horizontal courses without mortar. The marble was quarried in the neighbourhood; it takes a yellowish tinge through exposure to the weather. These white marble walls rising out of, and overtopped by, the dense evergreen shrubbery, which mantles the hill with a tangled thicket, make, with the blue sea beside them and the high mountains of Euboea in the background, a charming picture.

The highest part of the hill, toward the north-west, is enclosed by an inner ring-wall so as to form a quadrangular keep about one hundred paces square. Within this keep there are large masses of masonry, the ruins of ancient buildings, perhaps of watch-towers. The hill appears to have been inhabited in antiquity, especially in Roman times: for the remains of houses are to be seen on its eastern and western slopes, as well as on the summit. These houses consisted of one, two, or more apartments. The walls, built of rough stones, are standing to a height of 3 to 6 feet. On the southern slope of the hill, not far from the gateway, the remains of a small quadrangular edifice (about 15 ft. by 8 ft.) were excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1891. The edifice was perhaps a temple of Dionysus; for a torso of an image of Dionysus, of life size and of the fine period of Greek art, was found within the building, together with four uninscribed pedestals. To the west of this sanctuary the excavations of the Society brought to light a large building divided into two quadrangular chambers (about 46 ft. by 40 ft. and 7 ft. by 7 ft.) which, from an inscription on a pedestal, seems to have been a gymnasium. As the inscription mentions archons who held office in the years 333, 332, and 331 B.C., the gymnasium may have been built about the middle of the fourth century B.C. Like the supposed temple of Dionysus, it is constructed in an inferior style of masonry. The ground to the north of this gymnasium, between it and the wall of the keep, was also excavated in 1891; it appears to have been filled with statues standing on inscribed pedestals; some fragments of these statues and inscriptions were found. One of the inscriptions proves that Lenaean Dionysus was worshipped here. On this part of the hill, a little below the wall of the keep, four marble seats had been discovered about twelve years previously. These seats were originally joined together, and they bear an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1191), from which we learn that they were dedicated to Dionysus by the priest of the Founder Hero. From another inscription, discovered in 1891, it appears that there was a theatre at Rhamnus. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Leake saw, in the middle of the enclosure of the fortress, a monument of white marble, concave on one of its sides and broken into two

pieces, on one of which were carved the words 'Rhamnusian' and 'comedians' (ΡΑΜΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΩΜΟΙΔΟΙΣ). All this points to a regular worship of Dionysus at Rhamnus, with its usual accompaniments, a theatre and theatrical performances. As no remains of a theatre have been discovered, Dr. Dörpfeld supposes that it was constructed of wood.

The fortress of Rhamnus is now called *Ovrio-Kastro*, that is 'the Hebrew Castle,' a name not uncommonly applied by the ignorant modern peasants to the ruins of ancient Greek fortresses. The town of Rhamnus probably stood on the little seaside plain at the southern foot of the castle hill, where vestiges of the ancient dwellings, which Pausanias mentions, may still be distinguished. There is no modern village here or in the neighbourhood. All is solitude and silence.

We now retrace our steps up the glen to the terrace on which stand and lie in a confused mass the remains of the two temples. The terrace or platform is 150 feet wide and faces the sea. The two walls, which support it at right angles to each other, are beautifully constructed of large blocks of white marble laid in horizontal courses, but not jointed vertically. The temples stand nearly in the middle of the terrace, side by side, but not quite parallel to each other. The larger temple is on the north side, toward the sea. The angle of the smaller temple approaches the flank of the larger temple so closely that there is no room to pass between them. The larger temple and the walls of the smaller were built of a fine white marble which was quarried close by. About 20 yards from the temple the marks of the quarrying tools can still be seen on the rock. The terrace walls, as well as the fortifications on the hill beside the sea, are constructed of the same material. The larger temple faced 15° south of east, and measured 71 feet long by 33 feet broad on the stylobate. It was of the Doric order and of the kind technically called a peripteral hexastyle, *i.e.* it was surrounded by a colonnade, and the number of columns at each of the narrow ends was six. It had twelve columns on each of the long sides. The columns of this outer colonnade (13 ft. 6 in. high and 2 ft. 4 in. thick at the bottom) are unfluted except for a very small distance at the top and bottom, which seems to show that the temple was never finished. The interior comprised a fore-temple (*pronaos*), a central chamber or *cella*, and a back chamber (*opisthodomos*), arranged in the usual way. The columns of the fore-temple (*pronaos*) were fluted on the front and planed behind; the flutes are eleven and the planes nine in number. The lower portions of seven columns on the south side and of one in the fore-temple are still standing. All the members of the cornice were painted or gilt; among the patterns introduced were the lotus and maeander. On portions of the cornice which were less exposed to the air the outline of the pattern, traced with a sharp instrument, remains deeply engraved. Pieces of every part of the superstructure are lying among the ruins and allow of a complete restoration of the edifice, including the roof and ceiling. The elegance of the architecture and of the painted ornaments renders it probable that the temple was built about the middle of the fifth century B.C. That it was the

sanctuary of Nemesis is proved by the discovery in it of an inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 811), which records that Herodes Atticus dedicated to Nemesis a statue of his favourite pupil. Pollux or Polydeuces (see above, p. 437 *sq.*) The identification is confirmed by the discovery

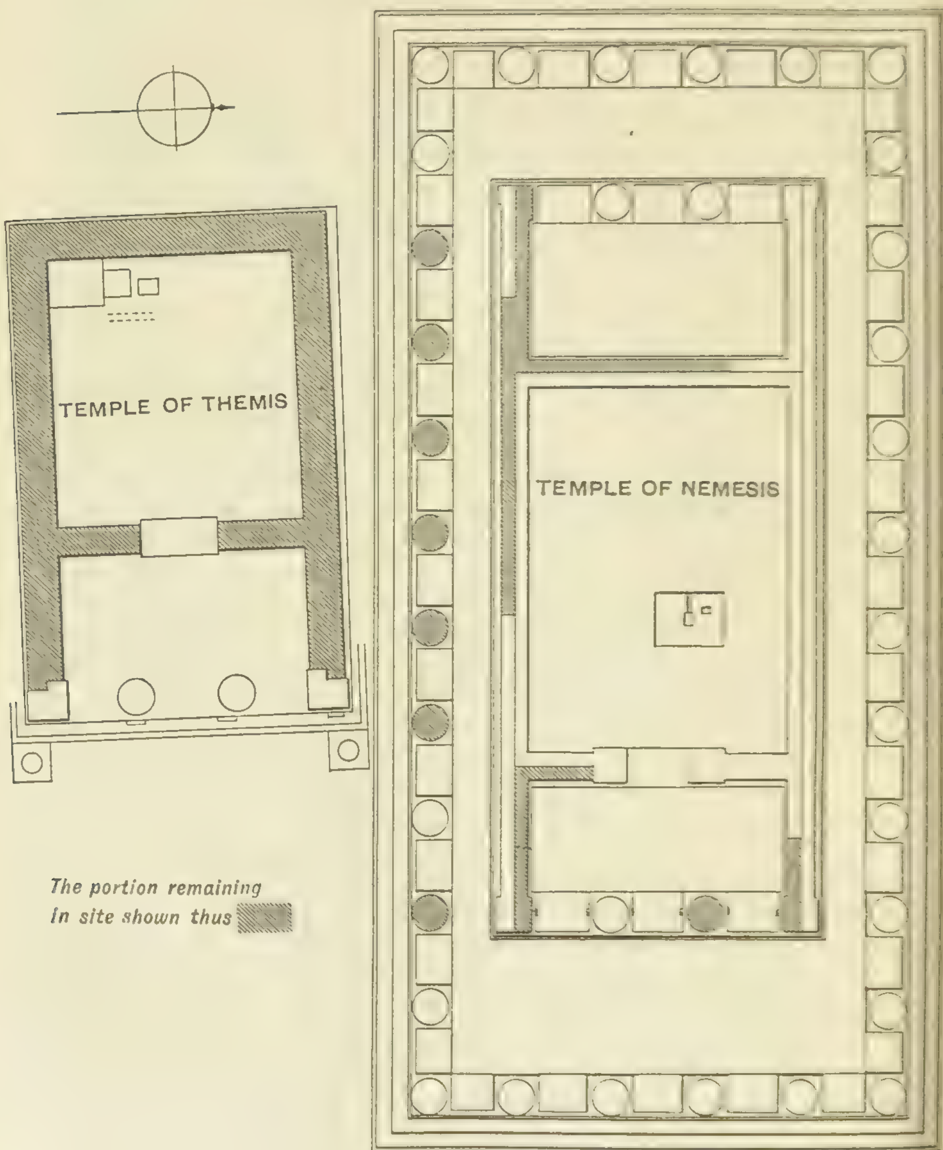


FIG. 39.—PLAN OF TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS.

in the temple of fragments of the sculptures described by Pausanias (see below).

The smaller temple, 35 feet long by 21 feet wide, consists simply of a chamber or *cella* with a portico in front, which is supported by two fluted Doric columns between *antae*. The walls, which are still standing to a height of 6 to 9 feet, are built of white marble hewn in

large polygonal blocks, fitted together with the nicest precision and polished on their outer surface. The columns, on the other hand, and all the architectural ornaments are of common stone. In the portico stood two marble chairs, one on each side of the doorway. Inscriptions on the chairs set forth that the chair on the right was dedicated to Nemesis by Sostratus when Callisto was priestess, and that the chair on the left was dedicated to Themis by Sostratus when Philostrate was priestess (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1570, 1571); the inscriptions are of the fourth century B.C. These chairs are now in the National Museum at Athens.

Further, excavations made by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1890 led to the discovery of three statues with their inscribed pedestals in the inner chamber or *cella* of the smaller temple. The pedestals were found standing in their original positions against the west wall of the chamber; but the statues were discovered lying on the ground in front of the pedestals. The inscription on the pedestal in the left-hand corner of the temple declares that the statue was dedicated to Themis by Megacles of Rhamnus, who had been crowned by his fellow-townsmen when Callisto and Philostrate were priestesses, had been successful as a trainer of boys and men in gymnastic exercises, and had won a prize with the comedy which he had put on the stage. The inscription further states that the statue was made by Chaerestratus of Rhamnus, son of Chaeredemus. The statue of Themis which occupied this pedestal is of Pentelic marble and of more than life size. It is nearly perfect, the right arm from below the elbow alone being wanting. The corresponding part of the left arm is broken off, but was found. The goddess is represented standing, her weight resting on the left foot, while the right is a little in front. She is draped in the ample folds of a loose flowing robe, thrown over the left shoulder and brought under the right, while its train is supported on her left arm. Under this robe she wears a close fitting tunic which reaches to her feet and is drawn in by a cincture under the bosom. The pose of the goddess is majestic; her features austerely beautiful; the expression stern and set. The figure is a noble embodiment of the idea of Law and Justice. From the style both of the statue and of the inscription it appears that the work dates from the early part of the third century B.C. The sculptor Chaerestratus is otherwise unknown. The reference in the inscription to a dramatic contest confirms the conclusion (see above) that there was a theatre at Rhamnus.

The inscription on the adjoining pedestal shows that the statue which it supported is that of Aristonoe priestess of Nemesis, and that it was dedicated to Themis and Nemesis by Aristonoe's son Hierocles of Rhamnus, son of Hieropoeus. The statue itself is of Pentelic marble and represents the priestess standing draped in a tunic and flowing robe, holding a shallow bowl in her right hand. It is complete except that the fingers of the left hand are wanting. The statue is a tolerable specimen of later Greek art. Mr. Cavvadias assigns it to the early part of the second century B.C. Mr. Staes considers that it is of the Roman period.

The third statue, also of Pentelic marble, represents a boy standing with his right arm raised; the upper part of the body is nude. The hands are broken off and missing. The pedestal which this statue occupied is placed exactly in the centre of the west wall of the *cella*, facing the entrance; and the inscription on it states that the statue was dedicated as a first-fruit offering by Lysiclides "to the goddess who possessed this precinct." Style and inscription combine to show that the statue is a product of the latter part of the fifth century B.C. But it is a thoroughly dull and mechanical piece of work, unworthy of the great age of Greek sculpture. All three statues, with their pedestals, are now in the National Museum at Athens.

A fourth pedestal was discovered in the *cella* of the smaller temple during the excavations of 1890. The inscription on it, in characters of the fourth century B.C., declares that "his mother Leonice dedicated (this statue of) Antiphilus son of Theodorus."

These inscriptions and statues prove that the smaller temple was in use from the fifth to the second century B.C. at least, if not later. They therefore refute the view, formerly held by some archaeologists, that the smaller temple was the original sanctuary of Nemesis which, after being destroyed by the Persians, was replaced in the fifth century by the larger temple of Nemesis. If the smaller temple was a temple of Nemesis, it at least continued in use after the new one was built. This seems hardly likely. More probably the temple was sacred to Themis, since one of the chairs and one of the statues were dedicated to her, and another statue (that of Aristonoe) was dedicated jointly to Themis and Nemesis. But no priestess of Themis is mentioned. Perhaps the priestess of Nemesis served both temples. The statue of Themis found in the temple was not, however, the worshipped image of the goddess: it was merely a votive offering, as appears both from the dedicatory inscription and from the position which the statue occupied in a corner of the temple.

A torso of an archaic female statue, clothed in close formal drapery, was also found in the smaller temple: it is now in the British Museum (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. No. 154).

A grave in the floor of the *cella* of the smaller temple, containing Roman lamps and coins of the Roman emperors, seems to show that the temple was no longer used as a place of worship under the Roman empire.

So much for the two temples on the terrace. The road leading from the temples in both directions, towards *Kato-Souli* (Tricorythus) and down the glen to the fortress, is lined with ancient tombs, many of which have been clandestinely opened and rifled of their contents. Further, remains of ancient masonry may be observed at various points in the glen which connects the temples with the fortress. Leake and Wordsworth supposed that these remains were the ruins of fortification-walls built to maintain a communication between the fortress and the temples. Vischer, on the other hand, regarded them as remnants of sanctuaries and tombs, such as are often found on the roads leading to ancient temples. Sub-

sequent research has confirmed Vischer's view. Not only have many of the ancient marble blocks here been found to belong to tombs, but the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1891 led to the discovery of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, which Mela mentions (ii. 46) as one of the things for which Rhamnus was renowned. The sanctuary is on a lofty and very steep height opposite to the fortress, on the left of the road which leads to the fortress from the temple of Nemesis. It occupies a platform hewn out of the rock and enlarged, where the rock falls away abruptly, by a wall of polygonal masonry. The platform thus constructed measures 36 feet by 15 feet. Inscriptions prove that the sanctuary was dedicated to "Amphiaraus, the Hero Physician." Two headless statues, of common workmanship, were found in the sanctuary, one of them lying on an inscribed pedestal which occupies its original position. The inscription on this pedestal proves that Amphiaraus here bore the surname of Aristomachus, which was the name of the Hero Physician at Marathon (see above, p. 436). In this sanctuary of Amphiaraus some fragments of votive reliefs were discovered, which in style and subject resemble those found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens. These sculptures have been removed to the National Museum at Athens.

See Raikes, in Walpole's *Memoirs relating to Turkey*, 1. pp. 308-310; *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (London, 1817), chs. vi. and vii. pp. 41-52, with plates giving plans, restorations, etc. of the temples of Nemesis and Themis; Leake, *Northern Greece*, 2. pp. 433-435; *id.*, *Athens*, 2. pp. 105-111; Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, pp. 26-36; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 132-134; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 160 *sq.*; *id.*, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 2. pp. 397-401; *id.*, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, p. 193 *sq.*; W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 84-86; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 341 *sq.*; H. G. Lolling, 'Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Rhamnus,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 277-286; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρ., for 1880, p. 12 *sq.*; G. J. Schneider, 'Die Akropolis von Rhamnus,' *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 4 (1884), pp. 1305-1312; P. Kastromenos, *Demen*, pp. 66-68; A. Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 316 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 130 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. pp. 179-182; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, for 1890, pp. 115-117, 134; *id.*, for 1891, pp. 98, 116 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, for 1891, pp. 45-62, with plates 4, 5, 6, 7; P. Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 1. Nos. 199, 231, 232; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, for 1890, pp. 27-30; *id.*, for 1891, pp. 13-18; *id.*, for 1892, pp. 29-31; *Athenaeum*, No. 3287, Oct. 25, 1890, p. 554 *sq.*; *id.*, No. 3293, Dec. 6, 1890, p. 783; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 6 (1890), pp. 565-568; *id.*, 8 (1893), p. 269; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 15 (1890), p. 349 *sq.*; *id.*, 18 (1893), p. 255; *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 15 (1891), p. 647 *sq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), p. 391 *sq.*; *id.*, 13 (1892-93), p. 144.

33. 3. **Of this very marble Phidias wrought an image of Nemesis etc.** The image was 10 cubits high (Zenobius, v. 82; Hesychius, *s.v.* Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις). It was much admired for its beauty and size (Strabo, ix. p. 396); Varro even preferred it to all other statues (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 17). The possession of such a treasure naturally shed lustre on the little town of Rhamnus (Mela, ii. 46). But ancient writers are not agreed as to the sculptor of this famous image. According to Pausanias, Zenobius (v. 82), Mela (ii. 46), Tzetzes (quoted by Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 838, 839), and the lexicographers (Hesychius,

Suidas, Photius, *s.v.* Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις), the image was by Phidias. According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 17) and others (Strabo, ix. p. 396), the image was by Agoracritus of Paros, a favourite pupil of Phidias. Pliny tells a story (*l.c.*) that Agoracritus and Alcamenes of Athens, another pupil of Phidias, each made an image of Aphrodite for a competition at Athens, and that Alcamenes won the prize, not through the superior merit of his work, but through the partiality of the judges, who preferred a native sculptor to a foreigner. Hence (continues Pliny) in selling his statue the indignant Agoracritus stipulated that it should not be set up in Athens and he changed the name of the statue to Nemesis: it was finally placed at Rhamnus. Some of those who held that the statue was by Phidias admitted that the sculptor, out of affection for Agoracritus, had allowed him to pass it off as his own by means of an inscription attached to the statue (Zenobius, Tzetzes, Suidas, Photius, *ll.cc.*): according to Antigonus of Carystus the inscription was engraved on a ticket which hung from the apple-branch in the goddess's hand (Zenobius, *l.c.*) The question which thus divided the ancients is one which we have no means of deciding. Prof. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff has some remarks on the subject (*Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 10 *sqq.*) The story, told by Pausanias and by poets in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.*, Appendix Planudea, Nos. 221, 222, 263), that the statue was carved out of a block of Parian marble which the Persians brought with them, intending to make a trophy out of it, is probably a popular fable or the figment of a moralising rhetorician.

Part of a colossal female head of Parian marble was found among the ruins of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus in the early part of the nineteenth century and is now in the British Museum. The fragment includes the right cheek, right eyelid, and right side of the head as far as the ear; the hair is wavy; on the crown of the head eleven holes are pierced in the marble, clearly for the purpose of attaching a diadem or other ornament. The style resembles that of the Parthenon sculptors. Thus the style, material, and place of discovery all combine to make it probable that this fragment is a piece of the famous statue of Nemesis. The crown ornamented with deers and figures of Victory, which Pausanias has described, was probably of gold or of gilt bronze, and it would be attached by means of the holes which are still to be seen in the existing fragment of the head. See A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 134 *sq.*; O. Rossbach, 'Zur Nemesis des Agorakritos,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 15 (1890), pp. 64-71; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. No. 460. Further, through the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1890 there were discovered in the temple of Nemesis a number of pieces of small figures which probably adorned the base of the statue, as described by Pausanias (§ 7 *sq.*) The figures, as the fragments (Fig. 40) prove, were of small size and in very high relief: the material is marble from one or other of the Greek islands, probably from Paros. The style of the reliefs is considered by Mr. Cavvadias to be that of the Parthenon sculptures in miniature. The pieces include two whole female heads and the upper part of a third; the head of a young man (wrongly interpreted by Mr. Staes as

the head of a woman); the head of a horse, the lips and nostrils being broken off; a female torso from the hips to the knees; a female bust,



FIG. 40.—RELIEFS FROM THE PEDESTAL OF THE IMAGE OF NEMESIS AT RHAMNUS.

without the head; a male torso from the shoulders to below the waist; fragments of drapery, etc. The horse's head probably belonged to the

horse mentioned by Pausanias (§ 8); the identification of the other fragments with the figures described by Pausanias can only be a matter of conjecture. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 115 sq.; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1891, pp. 63-70; P. Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 1. Nos. 203-214; P. Wolters, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 15 (1890), p. 349; E. A. Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 12 (1891), p. 391; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 383; L. Pallat, 'Die Basis der Nemesis von Rhamnus,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 9 (1894), pp. 1-22. Leake seems to have seen these or other fragments of the reliefs described by Pausanias. He says: "Several fragments of figures, in high relief, have been found among the ruins of the temple of Nemesis; they are of white marble, about one foot in height, and are wrought with such perfection, that we may easily believe them to have been a part of that composition. in relief. on the basis of the statue of Nemesis, which, as well as the statue itself, was the work of Phidias" (Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 109 *sq.*) On a coin of Cyprus of the period between 371 and 335 B.C. there is represented a very fine figure of a goddess which, from its correspondence with Pausanias's description, may possibly be a copy of the Nemesis of Rhamnus. The goddess stands holding in her right hand a bowl and in her left a branch of a tree; on her head is a wreath; she wears a tunic drawn in at the waist; a mantle hangs from her shoulders behind. The figure is massive and in high relief. See J. P. Six, 'Aphrodité-Némésis,' *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3d series, 2 (1882), pp. 89-102; P. Gardner. *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 170, with pl. x. 27; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner. *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 151. Prof. A. Furtwängler conjectures that the colossal statue of Ceres in the Vatican is a copy of the Nemesis of Rhamnus (*Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, p. 119).

33. 3. **a crown ornamented with deers and small figures of Victory.** These figures of Victory have been explained as symbolical of the victory of Marathon (L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 2. p. 308 note 4; F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 3. p. 28). Prof. Studniczka supposes that, taken along with the deers, they represent the 'Mistress of the Beasts' (πότνια θηρῶν), a winged goddess who is often depicted in archaic Greek art, her dominion over the beasts being indicated by the wild creatures whom she grasps by the paws, the tail, or the throat (Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 153 *sqq.*, especially p. 159 *sqq.*) But it does not appear that these figures of Victory on the crown of Nemesis were represented grasping the deer.

33. 3. **a bowl, on which are worked figures of Ethiopians** etc. L. Ross conjectured that these figures of Ethiopians symbolised the vanquished host of Orientals (*Archäologische Aufsätze*, 2. p. 308 note 4). There were Ethiopians in the army of Xerxes (Herodotus, vii. 69). The black races of Africa are figured not uncommonly in Greek and Roman art. See *Monumenti Inediti*, 1. pl. xxxv.; *id.*, 8. pl. xvi.; *Gazette Archéologique*, 3 (1877), pl. 19; *id.*, 5 (1879), p. 209 *sq.*, with pl. 28; *id.*, 9 (1884), pp. 204-206, with pl. 27 (fine bronze head of a negro); *id.*, 10 (1885), pp. 335-337; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, pp. 121-128, with pl. 6.

33. 3. **Ocean is the father of Nemesis.** Cp. vii. 5. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 88.

33. 4. **the Fish-eaters.** Their manner of life is described in detail by Diodorus (iii. 15-20).

33. 4. **the Table of the Sun.** Cp. vi. 26. 2. The Table of the Sun was in the land of the Long-lived Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Southern Sea (the Indian Ocean). It was said to be a meadow in the suburb of their city; every night the rulers set forth great piles of the boiled flesh of all kinds of quadrupeds, and every day all who chose came and partook of the meat, in the belief that it was produced spontaneously from the ground. King Cambyses sent spies among these Ethiopians to see and report on the Table of the Sun (Herodotus, iii. 17 *sq.*; Mela, iii. 87; Solinus, xxx. 10, p. 147, ed. Mommsen).

33. 5. **The Nasamonians are called Atlantes by Herodotus** etc. Herodotus says (iv. 184) that the inhabitants of Mt. Atlas were called Atlantes, but he does not identify the Atlantes with the Nasamonians, whose manner of life he describes (iv. 172 and 182). He tells us that in summer the Nasamonians left their flocks beside the sea and went up to a place called Augila, where they gathered the dates in a forest of stately palms. They also caught locusts, dried them in the sun, and ate them with milk. Cp. Diodorus, iii. 49; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 33. The Nasamonians "were one of the most restless desert tribes of antiquity. They dwelt beside the Great Syrtis, sometimes near the coast, sometimes further inland; by their robberies by sea and land they made the whole country unsafe (Silius Italicus, i. 408; Quintus Curtius, iv. 7. 19; Lucan, ix. 431-441), whereby they often drew attacks on themselves. The trade between the coast and the interior was in their hands, hence they were justly considered to have the best knowledge of the Sahara. It has been proposed to recognise their descendants in the people, now called Nefzâwa by the Arabs, who inhabit the same districts" (A. Wiedemann, note on Herodotus, ii. 32). The Lixitae, whom Pausanias considered identical with the Nasamonians, would seem to have been a totally different tribe. They were a nomad and pastoral people on the shore of the Atlantic, dwelling beside a great river called the Lixus, which was probably either the Wady Nun or the Wady Draa in the south of Morocco. Hanno the Carthaginian, on his exploring voyage down the west coast of Africa, stayed among the Lixitae for a time, and took some of the men with him as interpreters when he resumed his voyage (Hanno, *Periplus*, 6-8, 11, with C. Müller's note on 6).

33. 6. **The water of Atlas is turbid, and at the spring there were crocodiles** etc. There seem to be no crocodiles now in the region of the Atlas mountains (see Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, 11. p. 685 *sq.*); but Polybius, who explored the west coast of Africa in command of a Roman squadron, while his patron and friend Scipio was besieging Carthage, found crocodiles in two West African rivers, the Darat and the Bambotus; the latter river swarmed with hippopotamuses as well as crocodiles (Pliny, *N. H.* v. 9 *sq.*) The Bambotus is probably

the Senegal, which of course lies far to the south of the Atlas. Hanno the Carthaginian seems to have found crocodiles and hippopotamuses in the same river (Hanno, *Periplus*, 10, with C. Müller's note). Pausanias may have heard vaguely of the crocodiles of West Africa and have wrongly supposed that they were to be found in the Atlas. His use of the past tense in speaking of the crocodiles ("there were crocodiles — they plunged into the spring") seems to show that he is copying from some narrative of travels. But this narrative can hardly have been Polybius's lost journal of his voyage, since Pausanias asserts that no one had ever voyaged along the western seaboard of the Atlas. Apparently he had never heard of, or he had forgotten, the exploring voyages of Hanno and Polybius, not to speak of the Phoenician and Persian voyages mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 42 *sq.*) The report that crocodiles were to be found in the rivers of West Africa appears to have given rise to the notion, mentioned by Pausanias, that the sources of the Nile were in this region. Strabo, speaking of Mauretania, says (xvii. p. 826): "They say that the rivers contain crocodiles and other kinds of beasts like those in the Nile; some people even imagine that the sources of the Nile are near the frontiers of Mauretania." Cp. Mela. iii. 96.

33. 6. **Atlas is so lofty that it is said to touch the sky** etc. According to Herodotus (iv. 184) Atlas was so lofty that its summit could not be seen, being always hidden by clouds, both summer and winter. Pliny, who calls Atlas the most fabulous of African mountains, mentions the belief that the peak of the mountain soared not only above the clouds, but even into the neighbourhood of the moon's orbit (*N. H.* v. 5 and 7; cp. Solinus, xxiv. 8, p. 122 *sq.*, ed. Mommsen). Mela informs us (iii. 101) that Atlas was said not only to touch but to support the sky and the stars. Suetonius Paulinus, the first Roman general who crossed the Atlas, reported that its top was hidden by thick clouds even in summer, and that dense forests of tall trees of an unknown species, with leaves like those of the cypress, stretched along the foot of the mountain (Pliny, *N. H.* v. 14). The highest peak of the Atlas is not less than 15,000 feet high; it is now called *Tizi-n Tamjurt* (Joseph Thomson, *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco*, p. 462).

33. 7. **the most holy wooden images at Smyrna.** Cp. vii. 5. 3 with the note; ix. 35. 6.

33. 7. **They say that Nemesis was the mother of Helen** etc. The story went that Nemesis, to shun the importunities of Zeus, turned herself into a goose; that Zeus, not to be baffled, turned himself into a swan; and that as the result of this amour Nemesis laid an egg, which a shepherd found and brought to Leda, who put it in a box, and when the egg was hatched, Helen came forth (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 7; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 88). According to one writer, the meeting of Zeus and Nemesis, in bird shape, took place at Rhamnus (Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 25).

33. 8. **Oenoe, from whom the township gets its name.** There were two townships called Oenoe in Attica (see note on i. 15. 1). The

one to which Pausanias here refers is probably the Oenoe near Marathon (see i. 32. 3 note).

Before accompanying Pausanias to Oropus, it may be fitting here to notice a township in this district of Attica which he has omitted to mention but at which some remains of antiquity have been discovered in recent years. This is Icaria or Icarium, famous in legend as the first seat of the worship of Dionysus in Attica. (The form Icaria is attested by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.*; the form Icarium by Athenaeus, ii. p. 40 a; Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 10; and Suidas, *s.vv.* Θέσπις and Μάγνης. Thus the form Icarium seems to be the more correct, though modern writers have adopted the other.) Icaria was a township of the tribe Aegeis; it was believed to take its name from Icarius the father of Erigone (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἰκαρία). When Dionysus first visited Attica, Icarius received him hospitably; so the god rewarded him with a gift of wine, and bade him communicate the blessing to mankind. Icarius obeyed; but some shepherds, drinking themselves drunk on the new liquor, imagined that Icarius had poisoned them; so they incontinently knocked him on the head. His disconsolate daughter Erigone, led to the body of her murdered father by the faithful dog Maera, hung herself on a tree beside him. To atone for these deaths the Athenians instituted a festival at which people, or puppets in their stead, were swung to and fro on swings. See Apollodorus, iii. 14. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 130; *id.*, *Astronomica*, ii. 4; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 389; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xviii. 2; E. Maass, *Analecta Eratosthenica*, p. 59 *sqq.*; C. Bötticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen*, pp. 80-89; Leist, *Graeco-Italische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 271 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. xxxviii. *sqq.* Cp. Paus. i. 2. 5 with the notes. It was in the woods of Marathon, according to Statius (*Theb.* xi. 644-647), that Erigone found her father's corpse and hung herself on a forest-tree. This goes to show that Icaria, the home of Icarius, was not far from Marathon. Tragedy and comedy were said to have been invented in Icaria (Athenaeus, ii. p. 40 a); and here a goat was sacrificed for the first time because it had nibbled at the vine (Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 10). The tragic poet Thespis and the comic poet Magnes were both natives of Icaria (Suidas, *s.vv.* Θέσπις and Μάγνης).

The situation of Icaria, the earliest home of Dionysus in Attica, is solitary but pleasing. It lies in a wooded dell at the foot of the northern forest-clad slopes of Mt. Pentelicus. A reminiscence of the Dionysiac worship for which Icaria was famous in antiquity survives in the name *Dionysos*, by which the place is still known to the people of the neighbourhood. There is no village here, only a long straggling house occasionally inhabited by the peasants who come hither to gather resin in the surrounding pine woods. Eastward the ground slopes in terraces, intersected by runnels and shaded by plane-trees, to a wooded glen where, not far from a cave in the side of the ravine, a stream tumbles over rocks in a picturesque cascade. Similar glens, their sides clothed with luxuriant vegetation, divide *Dionysos* from the deserted village of *Rapentosa* situated only about a mile to the east, the inhabitants of which were forced to flee before the bands of robbers who, not many years ago,

infested this wild and secluded district. A pleasant excursion can be made from Athens to Icaria and back in a day by taking a morning train to Cephisia on the south side of Mt. Pentelicus, then walking or riding round the north-west shoulder of the mountain, and so through the beautiful woods and dingles at its northern foot to Icaria. (I understand that these woods have suffered greatly by fire since I walked through them on a summer day in 1890.) The distance from Cephisia to Icaria is about seven miles.

The site of Icaria was first identified by Prof. A. Milchhöfer on May 9th, 1887. It has since been excavated by the archaeologists of the American School. The ruins, inconsiderable in extent, lie in the open glade surrounded by woods and thickets. A ruined chapel which occupied part of the site has been demolished in the course of the excavations. Among the ancient remains is a semi-circular monument of marble erected, as the inscription informs us (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1317; Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, No. 985), by Aenias, Xanthippus, and Xanthides for a victory which they had obtained, probably with a chorus in a dramatic competition. There are also some remains of a small temple which faced south-east. It consisted of a sacred chamber or *cella*, about 21 feet square, with a portico. In the middle of the *cella* is a square pedestal or altar formed of four slabs of mica-schist enclosing a mass of small stones. On the stone which forms the threshold of the temple there is an inscription in letters of the fourth century B.C. stating that the temple is "the Pythium of the Icarians." This shows that the temple was a sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo. It is unusual, if not unparalleled, for a Greek temple to have its name thus inscribed on its threshold. In front of the temple, but not parallel with it, is a large basement or platform composed of at least twenty marble slabs, fifteen of which are still in their original places. This may have been the great altar. A little beyond this basement, to the south-east, are two massive marble seats. Other seats of the same sort were found near the chapel. They seem originally to have stood together in a row of five to the south-east of the great altar. Among the sculptures found on the site are the fragments (head, torso, feet, and one hand) of a colossal seated statue of a very archaic type, probably a Dionysus; the face is bearded and the hair over the brow is curled, the hand grasps a goblet. There is also an archaic torso of a male figure resembling the so-called Apollos which have been found at Tenea, Thera, Orchomenus etc. (see note on ii. 5. 4). Some graceful reliefs, apparently votive and sepulchral, have also been discovered. Amongst them may be noted one which seems to represent Hercules, distinguished by his club, surrounded by the Muses; and a tombstone adorned with the headless figure of a warrior in flat relief, resembling very closely the well-known tombstone of Aristion (see A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 139 *sqq.*, where the two tombstones are figured side by side; cp. also Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 386 *sq.*) All the sculptures appear to be of Pentelic marble. Among the inscriptions which have been found is one containing a decree of the Icarians thanking their mayor Nicon for the way in which he had managed

the festival and games of Dionysus; another contains a fragment of a decree of the Icarians about the legal process called 'exchange of goods' (*antidosis*) which has puzzled modern scholars; two others relate to the making and dedication of images of Dionysus and Aphrodite; another is a dedication to Dionysus by Cephisius of Icaria; another is a dedication to Dionysus by a man Archippus who had won the prize with a chorus; another is a dedication by three men (Ergasus, Phanomachus, and Diognetus) who had won a prize with a tragic chorus. These inscriptions abundantly prove that the place where they were found was a seat of the worship of Dionysus and that the place was Icaria.

See A. Milchhöfer, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 7 (1887), pp. 770-772; *id.*, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 311 *sq.*; *id.*, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 55 *sq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), pp. 44-48, 421-426; *id.*, 5 (1889), pp. 9-33, 154-181, 304-319, 461-477.

34. 1. **The land of Oropus, between Attica and the territory of Tanagra** etc. The district of Oropus, situated on the borders of Attica and Boeotia, was long a bone of contention between the two states (cp. Strabo, ix. p. 399). Geographically regarded, it belongs to Boeotia rather than to Attica, since it occupies the maritime plain through which the Asopus flows into the sea, and all the upper valley of the Asopus is in Boeotia. At what time the Athenians first gained possession of Oropus is not definitely known; probably it was in 507 B.C. when they conquered Chalcis in Euboea (Herodotus, v. 77). When the Persians were advancing against Eretria in 490 B.C., an Athenian force, falling back before them, crossed the strait to Oropus and so marched home (Herodotus, vi. 101), which implies that Oropus then belonged to Athens. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.) and for a good many years afterwards Oropus was subject to the Athenians (Thucydides, ii. 23, iv. 99). But in 412 B.C. it fell into the hands of the Boeotians (Thucydides, viii. 60), who seem, however, to have left it independent. Party strife led in 402 B.C. to the intervention of the Thebans, who removed the population to a distance of about seven Greek furlongs from the sea, and sometime afterwards annexed the district to the Boeotian federation (Diodorus, xiv. 17). Not very many years later, perhaps in 383 B.C. after the Spartans had seized the citadel of Thebes, the Oropians voluntarily surrendered their land to the Athenians (Isocrates, xiv. 20). In 366 B.C. the Thebans succeeded in regaining possession of Oropus (Diodorus, xv. 76; cp. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 4. 1; Aeschines, ii. 85); but after his conquest of Thebes in 338 B.C. Philip of Macedonia restored Oropus to Athens, as we learn from the present passage of Pausanias. The hilly part of the country was divided between the Attic tribes Acamantis and Hippothontis; and when both tribes laid claim to the same hill, the question in dispute was submitted to the oracle of Amphiaraus (Hyperides, *Pro Euxenippo*, p. 40, ed. Blass). Pausanias seems to imply that from 338 B.C. down to his own time the Athenians remained in undisturbed possession of

Oropus. But if this is his meaning, he is wrong; for by 319 B.C. Oropus was independent (Diodorus, xviii. 56), having been probably detached from Athens in 322 B.C. at the close of the Lamian war. In 313 or 312 B.C. Cassander captured Oropus and placed a garrison in it; but the place was soon afterwards retaken by Ptolemy, who restored it to Boeotia (Diodorus, xix. 77 and 78). From this time down to the close of the first century B.C. Oropus appears to have been generally either a member of the Boeotian federation or independent. Many Oropian inscriptions belonging to this period are dated by the year of office of the federal archon of Boeotia (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 246, 247, 251, 254, 255, 261, etc.), proving that at the time when they were engraved Oropus belonged to the Boeotian federation (cp. F. Dürrbach, *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro*, p. 47 *sqq.*) Two inscriptions, dated by the year of the archon of Oropus and the priest of Amphiaraus, without any mention of the federal archon, seem to show that when they were engraved Oropus was independent; they may date from a time when the Boeotian league had been dissolved by the Romans (Dürrbach, *op. cit.* p. 52 *sqq.*) About 156 B.C. the whole population of Oropus was expelled by the Athenians, but was shortly afterwards restored through the intervention of the Achaean League (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 411; Pausanias, vii. 11 *sq.* with the notes). An inscription, which seems to date from the latter part of the second century B.C. or the first part of the first century B.C., mentions that the Athenian lads were conducted to the sanctuary of Amphiaraus (at Oropus), and, after being told how their fathers had of old been lords and guardians of the shrine, offered sacrifices and then returned on the same day to their own land (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 471, cp. Köhler, *ib.* p. 287). In Strabo's time, at the end of the first century B.C., Oropus was still reckoned to Boeotia (Strabo, ix. pp. 391, 403). But in Pausanias's time it once more belonged to Attica: when the restoration took place we do not know. And it continued to belong to Attica in the days of Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* ii. 37). The rhetorician Aristides, a contemporary of Pausanias, speaks of the Oropian oracle of Amphiaraus as in Boeotia (*Or.* vii. vol. 1. p. 78, ed. Dindorf), but this is probably a slip.

The Oropians were reputed to be a race of hucksters, mean, avaricious, and grasping, with rough and truculent manners. Their custom-house officers were especially notorious for their exorbitant demands; an exasperated poet, who had probably suffered at their hands, declared that "all the Oropians are custom-house officers and all of them are rapacious. May they perish miserably!" (Dicaearchus, i. 7 and 25).

The plain of Oropus extends along the shore for about five miles; inland it narrows to a point, two or three miles from the shore, where the Asopus issues from a beautiful defile (see note on ix. 20. 1). At this inner angle of the plain stand the modern villages of *Oropo* and *Sykamino* on opposite sides of the river. But the territory of Oropus included some at least of the low hills which environ the plain, for we have seen (p. 463) that the hills of Oropus were at one time divided between two Attic tribes. Moreover, the sanctuary of Amphiaraus,

which belonged to Oropus, stands in hilly ground to the east of the plain. The whole of this district, lying between the Euripus and the northern declivities of Mt. Parnes, is of great natural beauty. It is an undulating and richly wooded country, where the road runs between soft green hills and knolls, with charming and varied prospects across the winding waters of the Euripus to the blue mountains of Euboea, among which the lofty *Delph* may be seen glistering white with snow even in the hot days of summer. The traveller who comes direct from the monotonous and sterile plain of Athens is struck, on emerging from the wooded pass of Decelea, by the contrast between the scene which he has left behind and that which is suddenly unrolled at his feet. In antiquity this road, which went by Aphidna (see above, p. 163) and could be traversed on foot in a day, was noted for the number and excellence of its inns (Dicaearchus, i. 6), a distinction which it certainly does not enjoy now.

The country between Oropus and Rhamnus, through which Pausanias conducts his readers, is of similar character. Parallel chains of hills run from Mt. Parnes to the high, steep coast; and between them are fruitful valleys watered by pleasant brooks and embowered in luxuriant vegetation, with thickets where the song of the nightingale may be heard.

The site of the city of Oropus is now occupied by *Skala Oropou*, *i.e.* 'the port of *Oropo*,' a small hamlet prettily situated among gardens, meadows and springs, on the shore of a bay which is formed by two low projecting points about two miles asunder. Across the water the white houses of Eretria are clearly visible on the shore of Euboea; the mountains above them, when seen at evening from Oropus, are of a deep azure blue. In the sea at *Skala Oropou* are the remains of an ancient breakwater extending parallel to the shore. Built into the village well is an inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 464), and some architectural fragments have been observed in the ruined church of the Holy Apostles. At the back of the hamlet rises a steep hill of moderate height, on the summit of which are some ancient foundation-walls, probably the vestiges of the acropolis. In the bed of a small stream, or at the foot of the hill, nearer the sea, Leake saw some ancient blocks. Among the remains of antiquity which have been found at *Skala Oropou* is a beautiful marble relief of the best period of Greek sculpture, representing Amphiaraus and his charioteer Baton driving in a car drawn by four horses; the moment chosen by the sculptor is that when the earth gaped to receive the prophet; the horses are starting back in terror at the sight of the abyss which yawns at their feet (F. G. Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 2. pp. 172-181, with pl. ix. 15, x. 16).

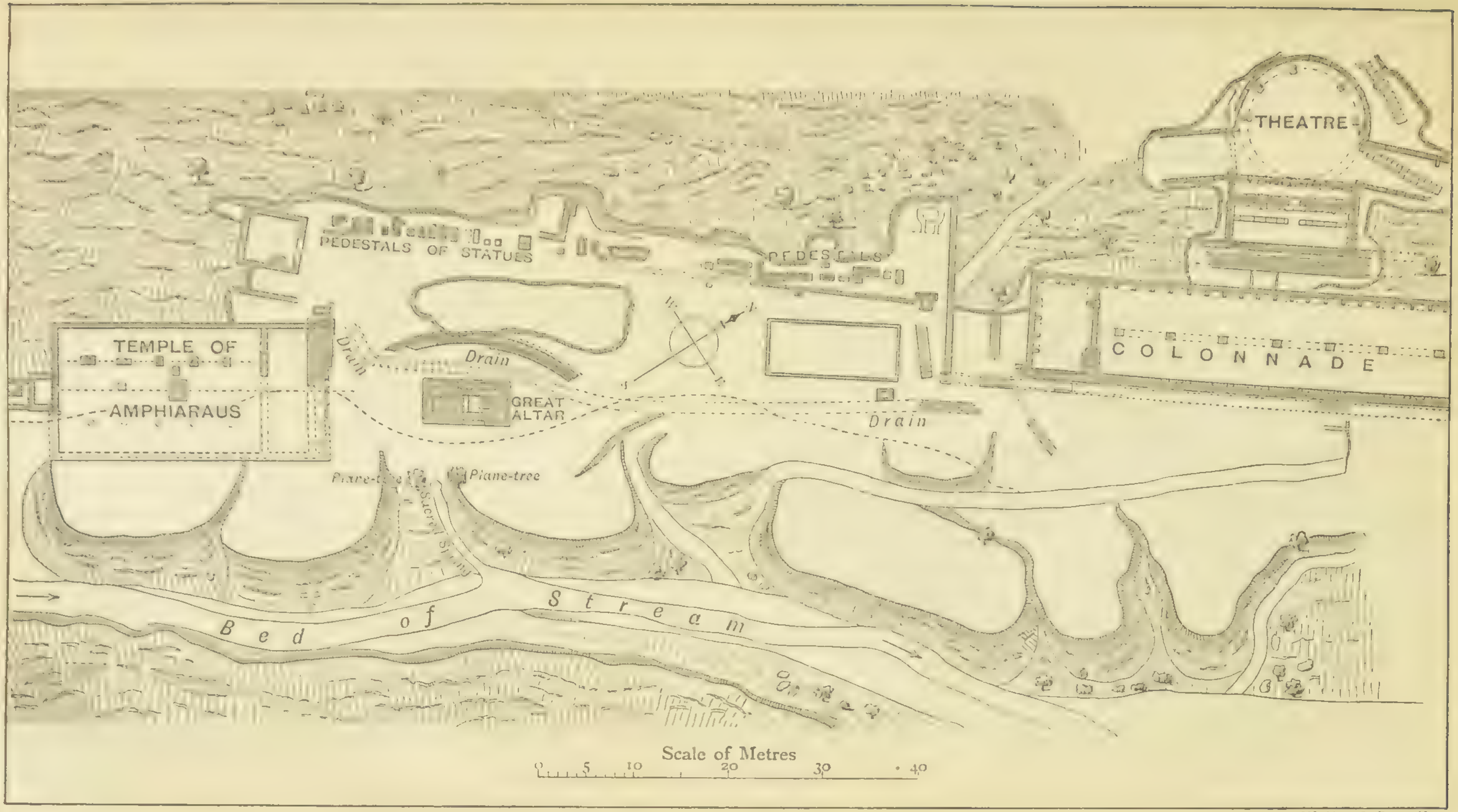
The situation of *Skala Oropou* agrees well with the description of Strabo, who says (ix. p. 403) that Oropus was opposite to Eretria and that the distance between them across the strait was forty Greek furlongs. The actual width of the channel between the two points is about five miles. Thucydides, however, puts the distance across the sea at sixty Greek furlongs (viii. 95), which is too much. The situation of Oropus at *Skala Oropou* is confirmed by Dr. Lolling's discovery of

the remains of an ancient harbour at *Kamaraki*, a place on the coast about an hour to the east of *Skala Oropou.* The remains are under water, but can be seen from a boat in calm weather or from the steep hill on the shore. These remains are doubtless those of the sacred harbour called Delphinium, which lay twenty Greek furlongs to the east of Oropus (Strabo, ix. p. 403). See H. G. Lolling, 'Das Delphinion bei Oropos und der Demos Psaphis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 350 *sqq.* Leake, indeed, inclined to place Oropus at *Oropo*, the modern village which has inherited the ancient name, situated two or three miles inland on one of the lower heights of a range of pine-clad hills, on the right bank of the Asopus, where the river issues from its rocky gorge. But the testimony of Herodotus (vi. 101), Thucydides (iii. 91, viii. 60 and 95), Strabo (ix. p. 403), Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 167), and Pausanias proves decisively that Oropus was on the coast, not inland; and the statement of Diodorus (xiv. 17) that in 402 B.C. the Thebans removed Oropus from the seashore implies the same thing. We may suppose that the removal was only temporary; when the Athenians regained possession of the district not many years afterwards, they probably shifted the people back to the old city. Certainly Strabo and Pausanias found the town beside the sea. And if it was on the sea-coast, it can hardly have been anywhere than on the bay at *Skala Oropou*, where ancient remains have been found. For in the alluvial plain westward from *Skala Oropou* there appear to be no vestiges of an ancient site, nor any place suitable for the construction of a city or the formation of a harbour.

The sanctuary of Amphiaraus, described by Pausanias, lies in a pleasant little glen, neither wide nor deep, among low hills partially wooded with pine. The place, now called *Mavrodhilisi*, is distant about four miles south-east of Oropus (*Skala Oropou*); Pausanias has greatly understated the distance. The path to it first goes through cornfields near the sea, then turns inland and ascends through woods. A brook flows through the glen and finds its way between banks fringed by plane-trees and oleanders to the sea, which is more than a mile off. The clumps of trees and shrubs which tuft the sides of the glen and in which the nightingale warbles, the stretch of green meadow at the bottom, the stillness and seclusion of the place, and its sheltered and sunny aspect, all fitted it to be the resort of invalids, who thronged thither to consult the healing god. So sheltered indeed is the spot that even on a May morning the heat in the airless glen, with the Greek sun beating down out of a cloudless sky, is apt to be felt by a northerner as somewhat overpowering. But to a Greek it was no doubt agreeable. The oracle, as we shall see, was open only in summer; and Livy (xlv. 27) speaks of "the ancient temple delightfully situated among springs and brooks."

The ruins of the sanctuary, excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1884, 1886, and 1887, lie on the narrow strip of flat ground on the northern (left) bank of the stream. They have been described, with ground plans, by Dr. Dörpfeld and Mr. Leonardos. The remains of the temple of Amphiaraus, mentioned by Pausanias (§ 2), are at the

Plate IX.

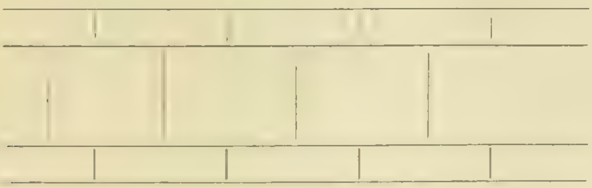


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Vol. II. to face page 466

SANCTUARY OF AMPHIARAUS AT OROPUS.

western end of the sacred precinct. Nearly the whole southern half of the building has disappeared, having been carried away by floods, when the stream, which flows beside it, has been swollen with rain. It appears to have been a Doric temple, about 95 feet long by 43 feet wide, consisting of a chamber or *cella* with a columned portico at the east end. The portico apparently had six Doric columns in front between two *antae*, but the temple was not peripteral, *i.e.* it was not surrounded by a colonnade. Over the columns of the portico there was a Doric entablature, comprising an architrave, frieze, *geison*, and gable or pediment. The *cella* was divided into three aisles, a central aisle and two side ones, by two rows of columns, five columns in each row. The foundations of the five columns of the northern row are still in their places; on one of them is the unfluted drum of a column of common stone. The southern row of columns, with its foundations, has been completely swept away by the torrent. In the central aisle of the temple, somewhat nearer the eastern than the western end of the *cella*, is a large square base, about 5 ft. 4 in. wide; one of the upper stones of the base is still in position. On this base probably stood the image of Amphiaraus mentioned by Pausanias (§ 2). A piece of an arm of colossal size found within the temple may have been part of the image. The northern and a great part of the western wall of the temple are still standing. The lower part of each wall is composed of a socle of squared blocks laid in three courses thus:



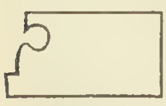
The upper part of each wall is constructed of small stones bonded with mortar or clay. In the middle of the western wall is a doorway leading into a small compartment (about 8 feet by 5), which Dr. Dörpfeld supposed to be an inner shrine; but the subsequent discovery of two small unfluted columns at the angles seems to show that it was a porch. Only the foundations of the walls of this porch are standing. At the north-eastern angle of the temple some pedestals are still in their original positions. One of them, as we learn from the inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 264), supported a statue of Sulla. From the style of the architectural fragments the temple seems to have been built in the Macedonian or early Roman period.

In front of the eastern face of the temple and distant about 30 feet from it are the remains of a large quadrangular base, about 28 feet long by 14 feet wide. The foundations are constructed of large blocks of common stone; a portion of the superstructure, built of limestone, is still in its place. These are doubtless the remains of the large altar, dedicated to many gods, which Pausanias has described (§ 3). Under it were discovered two older fragments of altars, proving that separate

altars stood here originally and were at a later period united in one large altar. On the north side of the altar are three steps of common stone, extending in a long crescent-shaped curve. Spectators probably stood or sat on these steps to watch the sacrifices.

On the south side of the great altar, a few feet from it, grow two fine plane-trees, and between them rises the sacred spring, described by Pausanias (§ 4), into which patients who had been made whole used to throw money. When I was there in hot weather at the end of May, the water of the spring was not visible at the roots of the plane-trees, but oozed up in the dry bed of the stream a few feet below. An oleander in bloom grew beside one of the planes.

Between 70 and 80 yards east of the temple a long colonnade begins and extends eastward for a length of about 360 feet. Its depth is about 36 feet. The colonnade was open to the south, towards the stream; on the other sides it was closed by walls constructed in the same style as the walls of the temple. These walls are well-preserved. Of the open south front of the colonnade nothing but the stylobate remains in position; but from fragments found lying about it appears to have been adorned with a row of Doric columns, of which Mr. Leonardos calculates that there were forty-nine. On the frieze over the columns was an inscription in large letters, one letter being placed in each metope. Only three letters of the inscription (ΠO and N) have been found. The interior of the colonnade was divided by two cross-walls into three sections, namely, a large central hall (about 310 feet long) and two small wings at the east and west ends. In the middle of each cross-wall an aperture, closed apparently by a grating, gave access from the central hall to the wings. The central hall itself was divided lengthwise, from east to west, into two aisles by a row of seventeen Ionic columns. The foundations of almost all these columns and the base of one of them are still in their places. A continuous row of marble benches ran all round the inner side of the three walls of the colonnade. The benches rested on fifty-three stone supports of this shape,



placed at regular intervals along the wall. Forty-four of these supports are preserved. Of the marble benches themselves only five are in their places, two about the middle of the back wall, and three running round the north-east corner. The inner surface of the walls of the colonnade was coated with stucco and painted; traces of a wavy maeander pattern in red and green have been discerned at the north-east corner.

This colonnade or the central part of it may have been the dormitory mentioned in an inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 235), where the patients slept, the men on the east side and the women on the west side of an altar, expecting revelations in dreams. We know from Pausanias (§ 5) that they slept on the skins of the rams which they had sacrificed to Amphiaraus.

The open level space between the west end of the colonnade and the temple is lined on its northern side by a continuous row of pedestals which once supported statues and still bear many inscriptions. Behind them the ground rises, forming the north side of the glen.

Beyond the colonnade, at its eastern end, and separated from it by a space of about 2 feet, are the foundations of a building about 52 feet square, constructed of massive blocks accurately jointed in the good Greek style. The building is divided into ten apartments which served as bath-rooms. In two of these rooms the rows of small pillars, which supported the floor so as to allow the hot air to circulate under it, are still standing; they are made of bricks and are about 20 inches high. A drain or conduit leads from the neighbourhood of the temple to the baths. Both baths and drain are mentioned in an inscription which has been found in the sanctuary (see below). The remains of the baths prove that, though built before the third century B.C., they must have been altered and repaired in Roman times. Coins of Aurelian, Probus, Numerianus, etc., were found in or near them.

Scooped out in the side of the glen, at the back or north side of the colonnade, is a small theatre. The orchestra is circular and measures about 12 metres (39 feet) across. The stage-buildings are about 40 feet long by 20 feet deep. Their foundations are preserved. The front of the stage is adorned by a row of eight fluted half-columns of the Doric order with a pilaster at each end of the row. The half-columns and the pilasters are all standing; they are monoliths of white marble and rest on a marble stylobate. They are 1.883 metres (about 6 feet high). All the spaces between these columns, with the exception of the space between the two central ones, were closed with boards or slabs of stone. In the sides of each half-column, behind the flutes, are seen the grooves in which the boards or slabs fitted. The space between the two central half-columns was open, and formed a doorway leading from the stage-buildings to the orchestra. The half-columns and pilasters supported an entablature of white marble, of which four inscribed fragments have been found. The fragmentary inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 423 a, p. 745) declares that so-and-so "having been director of the games (dedicated) the stage (*proskenion*) and the boards." Between the theatre and the back wall of the long colonnade were found other marble pieces of a Doric entablature bearing a fragmentary inscription, which states that so-and-so "having been priest (?) (dedicated) the scene (*skene*) and the doorways to Amphiaraus" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 423). The exact position which this latter entablature occupied has not been determined.

The orchestra was not paved, and there are no traces in it of an altar (*thymele*). Of the seats there have been found only five chairs of white marble, standing at intervals in a semicircle round the orchestra, facing the stage. The sides of the chairs are decorated with ornaments carved in relief; and in front, between the legs of each chair, is the inscription, "Nicon, son of Nicon, having been priest, dedicated (this chair) to Amphiaraus" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 423 b, p. 745). Each chair stands on a marble base.

Such are the principal remains of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, so far as it has been excavated. A small museum, which has been erected on the spot, to the west of the colonnade, contains some triglyphs, unsculptured metopes, Ionic capitals, *guttae*, and sepulchral reliefs.

In addition to these architectural remains there have been found in the sanctuary a great many inscriptions which shed some light on its history and arrangement, on the statues and votive-offerings which it contained, on the duties and privileges of the priest, on the rules observed by persons consulting the oracle, and on the games celebrated at the festival of Amphiaraus. None of the inscriptions yet discovered is older than the beginning of the fourth century B.C. This goes, along with other evidence, to show that the sanctuary was founded towards the end of the fifth century B.C. (See note on ix. 8. 3.)

The following are some of the particulars which we gather from the inscriptions. The priest of Amphiaraus was to attend at the sanctuary not less than ten days in each month from the end of winter to the season of ploughing; during this period he was never to be absent more than three days at a time, and he was to see to it that the sacristan attended to his duties. For any breach of rules committed in the sanctuary the priest might inflict a fine of five drachms (about 3s. 6d.), but not more. Every patient who sought the advice of the god had first of all to pay a fee of not less than nine obols (about a shilling) of good silver into the treasury, in presence of the sacristan. When the priest was present he prayed over the victims and laid their flesh on the altar: but in his absence the person who presented the sacrifice might perform these offices himself. The skin of every animal sacrificed in the sanctuary was a perquisite of the priest. Every one was free to sacrifice any victim he chose; but the flesh might not be taken out of the sacred precinct. The priest received the shoulder of every victim sacrificed by a private person, except when the festival of the god was being held: for then he received the shoulders of the public victims. Every person who complied with the rules was allowed to sleep in the sanctuary for the purpose of receiving an oracle in a dream. When he paid the fee, his name and the name of his city were entered by the sacristan in a register, which was open to public inspection. All these details are gathered from a single inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 235; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 93 *sqq.*; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in *Hermes*, 21 (1886), p. 91 *sqq.*)

From another inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 4255) we learn that there were separate baths for men and women, and that the drainage of the water from the men's bath having been impeded by the rise of the stream in rainy weather, it was resolved to construct a covered drain of stone "from the pavement of the bridge as far as the descent beside the women's bath." The baths of Amphiaraus had been already known from ancient writers (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 13. 3; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.vv.* Ἅρμα and Ὠρωπός; cp. Athenaeus, ii. p. 46 c d; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 81, line 24). Another inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 3499), found not far from the sacred spring, mentions "the cistern beside the sanctuary of Ammon," "the cistern in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus," and the bringing of water in pipes to one or both of these cisterns. On a boundary-stone found within the sanctuary there is an inscription forbidding any private person to build within the bounds (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 422; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*

3 (1879), p. 437 *sqq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 361).

Another inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 3498; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 2 *sqq.*, No. 26; Bruno Keil, in *Hermes*, 25 (1890), pp. 598-623) contains a list of the gold and silver treasures belonging to the god Amphiaraus; among the articles mentioned are sacred tables, lamps, sacred censers (one of them with a Love on the lid), cups, bowls, jugs, a golden olive-tree, and a great many pieces representing men's breasts, offered no doubt by patients who had been or hoped to be cured of diseases of the breast. Another inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 303; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part ii., No. clx.) contains a decree enacting that a survey shall be made of such of the votive-offerings in the sanctuary as are useless or out of repair, and that such offerings as need repair shall be repaired, and that such offerings as may be condemned shall be melted down and made into new vessels for the use of the god; this was to be done by three commissioners chosen by the people. Among the worn-out articles is mentioned the golden cup with which the priest offered libations; it was to be replaced by a new one made out of gold bullion and gold coin which were to be melted down for the purpose. Other battered old treasures represented parts of the human body (face, hand, breast, etc.), the offerings of grateful or sanguine sufferers. Another inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 412) records that two men, who had been respectively priest and libation-bearer, dedicated a lintel and threshold of white marble, etc., to Amphiaraus and the goddess Health. Among the statues which we know from inscriptions to have stood in the sanctuary were those of Queen Arsinoe, Sulla and his wife Metella, Publius Servilius Isauricus (consul in 79 B.C.), Appius Claudius (consul in 54 B.C.), Q. Fufius Calenus (one of Caesar's lieutenants), the assassin Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 297, 264, 372, 244, 428, 380, 383, 349). There was a statue dedicated by King Lysimachus (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 279), and an offering of Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 433).

Another inscription (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 4252) contains a copy of a decree of the Athenian people, passed in 332/1 B.C., enacting that a golden wreath be presented to the divine Amphiaraus in recognition of his kind attentions to the Athenians who sought health and salvation at his shrine. From another inscription (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1892, p. 41 *sqq.*, No. 70; imperfectly edited in *C. I. G. G. S.* No. 349) we learn that the town of Acraephnium in Boeotia had been sending round a deputation to the cities of Boeotia inviting them to increase their contributions to the sanctuary of the Ptoan Apollo (see ix. 23. 6 note). The deputation, consisting of the priest and the prophet of the sanctuary with three other men, addressed a public assembly at Oropus; and in response to their stirring appeal the Oropians, with generous enthusiasm, voted to send a cow regularly for sacrifice at the Ptoan festival, the animal to be accompanied by the magistrates in procession.

Another inscription refers to a dispute between the people of Oropus and the Roman tax-gatherers which had been referred for decision to

the Roman senate. It appears that Sulla, in fulfilment of a vow, had added to the sacred precinct of Amphiaraus all the ground round about the sanctuary within an area of a square mile, and that he had further consecrated to the god Amphiaraus all the revenues which the Romans derived from the town, district, and harbours of Oropus, with a provision that these revenues were to be devoted to the celebration both of the customary games and sacrifices in honour of Amphiaraus and of such additional games and sacrifices as the Oropians should afterwards celebrate in honour of the Roman victories. This ordinance of Sulla was confirmed by a decree of the senate. In virtue of this ordinance, so confirmed, the Oropians claimed immunity from taxation. But their claim was denied by the Roman tax-gatherers, who maintained that the exemptions granted by Sulla applied only to lands consecrated to gods, and that Amphiaraus was no god, since he had admittedly once been a man (cp. Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 49). The Oropians appealed to the senate, who referred the question to the consuls. On the 14th October 73 B.C. the case was tried in the Basilica Porcia before the consuls of the year, Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus and Caius Cassius Longinus, assisted by sixteen assessors, among whom were Sulla and Cicero, then a young man of thirty-three. The consuls, after hearing both sides, confirmed the exemption granted by Sulla, and reported this decision in a letter to the people of Oropus. This letter, or rather a literal translation of it into Greek, is preserved in the inscription found in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus. Many years afterwards Cicero, writing his work 'On the Nature of the Gods,' referred to the question which the Roman tax-gatherers had raised as to the divinity of Amphiaraus and which he himself had helped to decide in the affirmative (*De nat. deor.*, *l.c.*) See *C. I. G. G. S.* No. 413; *'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1884, pp. 97-120; Th. Mommsen, 'Oropos und die römischen Steuerpächter,' *Hermes*, 20 (1885), pp. 268-287; Bruns, *Fontes Juris Romani Antiqui*,' ed. Th. Mommsen, p. 162 *sqq.*

The festival of Amphiaraus was celebrated at Oropus at least as early as the middle of the fourth century B.C.; for an inscription of that date (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 414) contains a list of the victors in the various competitions, musical, literary, and athletic, which formed part of the festival. In the first century B.C., doubtless in honour of Sulla's victories (see above), the festival was extended and went by the name of 'the Amphiaraian and Roman festival.' Lists of victors in the very various competitions held at these later festivals are preserved in inscriptions (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 416-420). The competitions seem to have been popular; for among the victors are mentioned natives of Italy, Sicily, and distant cities of Asia, including Tyre and Tarsus. The festival was held every fourth year (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 4253); it included a procession in honour of Amphiaraus (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 4254). The Amphiaraian games of Oropus are mentioned in an inscription of Megara (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 48), and the Amphiaraian and Roman games in an inscription of Halicarnassus (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 398).

Amphiaraus seems to have been sometimes styled Zeus Amphiaraus

at Oropus (Dicaearchus, i. 6). The oracle continued to be consulted in the time of Philostratus, who tells us (*Vit. Apollon.* ii. 37) that persons desirous of consulting the oracle were obliged by the priests to abstain from food for one day and from wine for three days before receiving the revelation.

On Oropus and the sanctuary of Amphiaraus see Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. pp. 440-447; *id.*, *Athens*, 2. pp. 111-121; Wordsworth, *Athens*, p. 18 *sq.*; G. Finlay, 'On the position of the Oropian Amphiaraeion,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 3 (1839), pp. 406-421; F. G. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. p. 101; Preller, 'Ueber Oropos und das Amphiaraeion,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl. 5 (1852), pp. 140-148; W. Vischer, *Epigraphische und archaeologische Beiträge aus Griechenland*, pp. 62-68; *id.*, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 679-681; C. T. Newton, 'On some inscriptions at Mavrodhilissi, the site of the Amphiaraion,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second series, 5 (1856), pp. 107-152; *id.*, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 1. pp. 29-34; C. Bursian, in *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.*, Philolog. hist. Cl. 11 (1859), p. 111 *sq.*; *id.*, *Geogr.* 1. p. 220 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 186; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 2 *sq.*; B. I. Leonardos and W. Dörpfeld, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1884, pp. 10-13, 88-93; Leonardos, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1887, pp. 51-56; *id.*, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1887, pp. 59-63; *id.*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), pp. 54-56; *id.*, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1890, pp. 31-33; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, pp. 98-130; *id.*, 1885, pp. 93-110, 153-158; *id.*, 1886, pp. 53-74; *id.*, 1889, pp. 1-50; *id.*, 1891, pp. 71-142; *id.*, 1892, pp. 33-56; F. Dürrbach, *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro* (Paris, 1890).

34. 2. **at a place Harma.** See ix. 19. 4 note. Cp. ix. 8. 3.

34. 2. **Eleus in Chersonese is dedicated to Protesilaus.** At Eleus or Elaeus in the Thracian Chersonese there was a grave of Protesilaus within a sacred precinct; the votive-offerings at this shrine, consisting of gold and silver cups, bronze vessels, garments, etc., were carried off by the Persian Artauctes (Herodotus, ix. 116; cp. Paus. iii. 4. 6). There were few remains of the sanctuary in the days of Philostratus; but a hillock was pointed out which was believed to cover the hero's bones. Elms grew round the hillock; and it was said that the leaves of the elms which faced towards Troy, where Protesilaus had perished, bloomed early, but withered and fell untimely like the hero himself (Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 1 *sq.*; cp. Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 238). Tzetzes says that Protesilaus was worshipped as a god by the natives of the Thracian Chersonese (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 532).

34. 2. **Lebadea —— to Trophonius.** Cp. ix. 39 with the notes.

34. 3. **The altar is divided into parts** etc. The existing remains of this altar, as we have seen (p. 467 *sq.*), seem to show that it was formed by uniting several separate altars which had stood side by side. It was a very common practice with the ancients to dedicate an altar to more than one deity. Numerous examples of this practice are collected by C. Maurer, *De aribus Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* (Darmstadt, 1885). Why the worship of all the divinities here enumerated by Pausanias should have been united at a single altar can only be a matter of conjecture. Cp. C. Maurer, *op. cit.* p. 55 *sqq.*; F. Dürrbach, *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro*, p. 110 *sqq.*

34. 3. **Paeon Apollo.** The meaning of this epithet applied to Apollo is discussed by Macrobius, i. 17. 15 *sqq.* Cp. Preller, *Griech.*

Mythologie,[4] 1. p. 241. Prof. Ad. Bastian, like Macrobius, explains the word to mean 'the striker' (from *paio*), and supposes it to refer to a primitive method of cure, which consists in beating the sick person in order to drive out the devil by whom he is supposed to be possessed (*Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 4. p. 11). But this explanation of the epithet is at best extremely doubtful.

34. 3. **Amphiaraus, and the children of Amphilochus.** The names of Amphiaraus and Amphilochus are engraved on a small plate of white marble found in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 421; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 155).

34. 3. **Health —— and Pan.** A small relief, found near the base of Sulla's statue in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, represents the goddess Health seated on a rock beside Amphiaraus; above them is carved a head of Pan playing on his pipes (*Πρακτικὰ τῆς* Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρ. 1887, p. 62 *sq.*) We have seen (p. 471) that an inscription, found in the sanctuary, mentions the dedication of a lintel and threshold of white marble to Amphiaraus and Health.

34. 3. **Achelous.** Cp. i. 41. 2 note.

34. 3. **at Mallus in Cilicia he has the most infallible of all the oracles of the present day.** The oracles of Amphilochus at Mallus, like those of his father Amphiaraus at Oropus, were imparted in dreams, according to Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 45) and Dio Cassius (lxxii. 7). Lucian says (*Philopseudes*, 38) that the inquirer wrote down his question on a tablet, which he handed to the prophet. The charge for one of these infallible communications of Amphilochus was only two obols or twopence halfpenny (Lucian, *Alexander*, 19; *id.*, *Deorum concilium*, 12), which compares very favourably with his father's tariff at Oropus (see above, p. 470). Cp. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 3. p. 341 *sqq.* Amphilochus and Mopsus were said to have founded Mallus (Strabo, xiv. p. 675; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 40. 88; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 440-442).

34. 4. **to drop silver and gold coins into the spring.** The custom of throwing an offering of money into springs, rivers, and lakes, especially as a thank-offering for recovered health, has been practised very widely. The younger Pliny speaks of the coins which could be seen lying among the pebbles at the bottom of the clear water of the Clitumnian spring (*Epist.* viii. 8. 2). All ranks at Rome threw money annually into the lake of Curtius in fulfilment of a vow made for the health of Augustus (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57; cp. Seneca, *De beneficiis*, vii. 4. 6). The Egyptian priests, when a certain festival came round, threw money into the Nile (Seneca, *Quaest. Nat.* iv. 2. 7). Proof of the prevalence of such customs in antiquity is furnished by the quantities of ancient money which have been found in springs and lakes.

At the bottom of the hot medicinal spring of Vicarello, on the Lago di Bracciano (the ancient *Lacus Sabatinus*), many thousands of Roman coins as well as more than 1200 pounds weight of unstamped copper, the oldest Italian money, were found about the middle of this century, showing that the custom of throwing money into the spring, doubtless as a thank-offering for restored health, had prevailed here for many

centuries. See W. Henzen, 'Alterthümer von Vicarello,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 9 (1854), p. 20 *sqq.* In Rome itself there is a fountain (the Fontana di Trevi) into the basin of which people still throw coins in the belief that by doing so they ensure their return to the Eternal City. The present writer did not scruple to comply with this custom.

In one of the hot sulphur springs of Amélie-les-Bains, near Arles, Roman coins, together with inscribed leaden tablets, have been discovered (*Revue Archéologique*, 4 (1847), pp. 409-414).

At holy wells in Scotland it was the custom, not long ago, to drop into the water a small coin, or a pin, or a pebble with the name of the patient attached to it (Sir Arthur Mitchell, *On various superstitions in the North-west Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 23). It is said that sick children are still sometimes brought to the Grenge Well at Dunkeld, and that silver coins have occasionally been cast into the water in return for supposed cures (E. J. Guthrie, *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 222). In 1870, when St. Querdon's Well, in the parish of Troqueer, Kirkcudbrightshire, was cleaned, hundreds of copper coins were found at the bottom of it ; the oldest were of the reign of Elizabeth (Ch. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, 3. p. 207 *sq.*) Epileptic patients used to repair to St. Tegla's Well, between Wrexham and Ruthin in Wales ; they washed in it after sunset and deposited fourpence in the water (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1 (1846), p. 53). In the Isle of Man there are wells the water of which is used for bathing sore eyes, and the patient drops coins into them (*Folklore*, 5 (1894), pp. 222, 226 *sq.*)

The spring of St. Morand, in the commune of Chevaigné, Brittany, is supposed to possess the property of curing fever ; but the patient must resort to it fasting and without speaking. Not many years ago small coins were thrown into the water ; now they are dropped into a poor's box (P. Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1. p. 67). At Monterfil in Brittany there is a spring of St. Genou to which people go on pilgrimage ; money used to be thrown into the water (P. Sébillot, *op. cit.* 1. p. 69). In Esthonia there are many springs which are believed to heal diseases of the eyes. Before drawing the water for his eyes the patient must make a small offering to the spring, such as a copper coin, a rag, a feather, or a little wool. If he is too poor to make any of these offerings, he scrapes a little metal from a coin into the water (Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche*, p. 8). Small coins used to be thrown into a spring in Esthonia in order to protect the crops from hail-storms (Kreutzwald und Neus, *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten*, p. 115).

Among some of the South Slavs a bride soon after her marriage is conducted with much ceremony to the village well to draw water ; she carries in her mouth an old gold coin, which she must spit into the well before she draws the water (F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Süd-Slaven*, p. 451). Cp. J. M. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* (Glasgow, 1893), p. 188 *sqq.*

34. 4. **their skill lay in the interpretation of dreams** etc. Artemidorus Daldianus, a contemporary of Pausanias, wrote an elaborate work in five books on the interpretation of dreams (*Onirocrita*), which is

still extant. There is a special work by B. Büchsenschütz on the ancient system of dream-interpretation (*Traum und Traumdeutung im Alterthume*, Berlin, 1868). As to omens taken from the flight of birds, see note on x. 6. 1. The Tahitians, like the Greeks and Romans, drew omens from the appearance of the entrails of the sacrificed victims; a quick or continued movement of the heart or liver was an omen of success in war (W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1. pp. 303, 371). Cp. note on vi. 2. 4.

34. 5. **they sacrifice a ram, and spreading the skin under them go to sleep, awaiting a revelation in a dream.** Similarly the soothsayer Calchas was worshipped at Drium in Apulia, and persons who wished to inquire of him sacrificed a black ram and slept on the skin (Strabo, vi. p. 284). Virgil (*Aen.* vii. 81 *sqq.*) and Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 649 *sqq.*) have described an ancient and much revered Italian oracle of Faunus, at which the mode of consultation was similar: sheep were sacrificed, their skins were spread on the ground, and the inquirer slept on them and received an oracle in a dream. No doubt the skin of the sacrificed animal was believed to exercise a sanctifying and protective influence over a person who lay on it or wrapt himself in it. This belief explains the analogous use of the skins of sacrificed animals in other religious rites. Thus at the great temple of the Syrian goddess in Hierapolis the worshipper, after sacrificing a sheep, used to spread its skin on the ground, kneel on it, draw the sheep's feet and head over his own head, and pray the goddess to accept the sacrifice (Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 55). At Athens a person who was being purified stood with his left foot on the skin of a sheep that had been sacrificed to Zeus (see note on i. 37. 4). At the marriage of the Flamen and Flaminica at Rome the skin of the sheep which had been sacrificed was spread on two seats placed side by side, and the couple sat down on it (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 374). A similar custom was perhaps observed at all Roman weddings (Festus, *s.v. in pella lanata*, p. 114 ed. Müller). The use of shoes made out of the skin of sacrificed animals is to be explained on the same principle. (For examples see note on ix. 39. 8.)

These practices are illustrated by the monuments. Thus on a relief at Naples, representing a scene of initiation, the novice is seated, with his head muffled, on the skin of a sheep or ram, while a priest pours a libation on an altar (Schreiber, *Bilderatlas*, 1. pl. xiv. 1). Again, on a vase-painting Ulysses evoking the shade of Tiresias is represented sitting with his feet on the skin of the sacrificed ram (*Monumenti Inediti*, 4. pl. xix.) See also note on i. 37. 4.

Customs of this sort were not confined to the ancient world. In the highlands of Scotland a man desirous of receiving an oracle used sometimes to lie all night in a lonely place wrapt up in a cow's skin (Martin, 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 3. p. 610; cp. Miss Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, p. 174). The Algonquin Indians of New England tell of a man who could divine everything by dreaming on a magic bear skin (C. G. Leland, *The Algonquin legends of New England*, p. 344). Among the Basutos of South Africa "as soon as a woman is with child a sheep is sacrificed, in order to render the gods propitious to her; and the skin of the animal

is rendered supple and made into an apron, which serves to screen her from witchcraft" (Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 251). Again, among the same tribe when a woman is being purified after childbirth, her parents sacrifice a sheep, and make the skin into a kind of scarf, which serves to hold the child at the mother's back till it is weaned (Casalis, *op. cit.* p. 192). Some of the aborigines of Queensland carefully flay their slain foes and preserve the skin with the hairy scalp and even the finger nails attached. "They look upon it as a powerful 'medicine' and cover their patients with it as with a blanket" (Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 223 note).

35. 1. the island of Patroclus. See i. 1. 1 note.

35. 1. another beyond Sunium etc. This is the island now called *Makronisi* ('long island'), which lies off the south-east coast of Attica. It consists of a bare and rugged ridge of rock, eight miles long from south to north, extending parallel to the coast from opposite Cape Sunium to a point beyond Thoricus. Strabo, following Artemidorus, says (ix. p. 399, x. p. 485) that the island was 60 Greek furlongs in length, which is too short. The distance of the island from the shore varies from 2 to 4 miles. Its highest point is about 920 feet above the sea. The island is inhabited only in summer, when herdsmen cross over from the mainland with their flocks. There are wells at various places in it. The island appears not to have been permanently inhabited in antiquity, for Strabo (ix. p. 399) and Pausanias (viii. 14. 12) speak of it as desert. The isle of Cranae in which, according to Homer (*Il.* iii. 445), Paris enjoyed Helen on their flight from Sparta, was by some identified with this island off the coast of Attica (Euripides, *Helene*, 1670 *sqq.*; Strabo, ix. p. 399; Mela, ii. 109; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* iii. 445). But Pausanias identified Cranae with an island off Gytheum (iii. 22. 1). Stephanus Byzantius, agreeing with or following Pausanias, says (*s.v.* Ἑλένη) that Helene was so called because Helen had landed on it after the taking of Troy. He says that the island was also called Macris ('long') on account of its length.

See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 66 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 356.

35. 2. Salamis. The island of Salamis has the shape of an irregular and much indented crescent, the horns of which are turned towards the west. Its length from north to south is about 9 miles; its greatest breadth from east to west about 10 miles. The horns of the crescent consist of two chains of hills which are united at the middle by a low isthmus only a mile and a quarter wide. The northern horn stretches like a bar across the southern side of the bay of Eleusis, leaving only a narrow and tortuous channel into the bay at its eastern and western ends. Thus the bay presents from many points of view the appearance of an inland lake. The hills of Salamis are low; the highest point is only about 1250 feet above the sea. Their sides are sparsely wooded with pines and shrubs, and are furrowed by numerous small water-courses, which are generally dry. The most considerable of these streams is at the south-western corner of the island; it is probably the Bocarus or Bocalia of the ancients (Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 451; Strabo, ix. p. 394). The soil even of the isthmus is thin and

stony, but is adapted for the cultivation of the vine and the olive. In antiquity the island produced honey (Euripides, *Troades*, 794) and cheese (Strabo, ix. p. 395). There was a tradition that Athena had first created the olive in Salamis (Euripides, *Troades*, 799). At present the island grows corn and vines.

Strabo (*l.c.*) describes the city of Salamis as situated beside a bay, on a peninsula which jutted out towards Attica. The bay to which he refers is the bay of *Ambelaki* on the eastern coast of the island, facing towards Piraeus. It is bounded on the north and south by two peninsulas, of which the southern one is much the longer. At the head of the bay, a little way from the shore, is the modern village of *Ambelaki*. In the water of the bay may be seen numerous remains of the ancient harbour; and on the peninsula, now crowned by a windmill, which bounds the bay on the north, are the foundations of ancient buildings and extensive, though insignificant, remains of the walls and towers of the city of Salamis. Strabo says (ix. p. 393) that there was a still older city named Salamis on the south side of the island, facing towards Aegina. Near a small port in the south-western part of the island Dodwell observed, at the foot of the hills, some ancient traces and foundations of considerable extent, but so overgrown with shrubs and bushes that he could not examine them properly. Possibly these may be the remains of the older Salamis. H. G. Lolling, however, believed that Salamis was always on the bay of *Ambelaki*, but that originally the city extended more to the south, being connected by walls with the long, narrow, rugged promontory which bounds the bay on the south. This southern promontory, the sharp extremity of which is now called Cape *Varvari*, is probably the ancient Cynosura (Herodotus, viii. 76 *sq.*) A round hill which projects conspicuously into the bay of *Ambelaki* from the north side of the promontory was supposed by Lolling to be what Sophocles called "the Cychrean hill" (Sophocles, *Teucer*, quoted by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυχρεῖος πάγος; cp. Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 451); it is now called *Magoula*. Its summit is crowned by a prehistoric tumulus. On its northern slope are some graves and squared blocks; on its southern side are remains of ancient walls; on its western face are numerous sea-caves into which, in rough weather, the waves break. These caves may be "the caverns of Cychreus," mentioned by Lycophron (*Cassandra*, 451); for Cychreus, as a son of the sea-god Poseidon (Apollodorus, iii. 12. 7; Diodorus, iv. 72), would naturally have his home beside the sea. The walls at the southern foot of the hill may be, as Lolling conjectured, the remains of the sanctuary of Cychreus mentioned by Pausanias (i. 36. 1).

In the market-place of Salamis there was a statue of Solon. He was represented as if haranguing the people, with one hand in his robe, perhaps in the attitude of the noble statue of Sophocles which adorns the Lateran. The statue was erected in the early part of the fourth century B.C. (Aeschines, i. 25; Demosthenes, xix. 251, p. 420). The heroine Salamis, the mythical ancestress of the Salaminians, seems to have had a sanctuary dedicated to her in the city of Salamis; for in 1882 there was fished up out of the bay a pedestal of Hymettian marble

inscribed with a dedication to Salamis by the cavalry. The pedestal probably supported a statue of Salamis and stood in her sanctuary (H. G. Lolling, 'Inschrift aus Salamis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 40-44).

At two other places in the island of Salamis there are some ancient remains which may be noticed. One of these places is close to a cape about two miles north of the ruins of Salamis, at the northern end of the eastern strait which unites the bay of Eleusis with the sea. A short way to the north of the cape lies the island of *Nera*. The vestiges of antiquity are to be seen a little to the south of the headland. Here at the foot of a perpendicular cliff of grey rock, in the clefts of which birds of prey build their nests, is an inscription carved in the rock (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 1071, pp. 244, 513), which states that the presidents of the tribe Hippothontis inscribed their names here "out of respect to the goddess." In front of this cliff, with its inscription, is a roughly constructed terrace about 40 feet long, which may have supported an altar. A little to the south, half way up the side of the hill (*Arapis*) which here advances to the sea, are two terraces, one above the other, the supporting walls of which are constructed of fine polygonal masonry in good preservation. The lower terrace is about 145 feet long and 11 feet high. The upper terrace, which rests on the lower as on a pedestal, is large enough to contain a small temple. Some well-hewn blocks lying about on it may have belonged to the building which the terraces were built to support. At the back of the terraces the hillside rises very rugged and steep. Eastward the upper terrace is prolonged beyond the supporting walls. On this prolongation of the terrace are the foundations of a quadrangular building, about 40 feet long by 20 feet wide; they are standing to the height of one course above the ground. H. G. Lolling conjectured, with great probability, that the sanctuary of Sciradian Athena, which we know to have been on the coast of Salamis (Herodotus, viii. 94; cp. Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate*, 39), stood on the upper terrace; and that the foundations on the eastern prolongation of the terrace are those of the sanctuary of the war-god Enyalius, which Solon founded near Cape Sciradium in Salamis to commemorate a victory which he won here over the Megarians (Plutarch, *Solon*, 9). Thus the headland a little to the north of the ruins is probably Cape Sciradium; and the goddess mentioned in the rock-cut inscription is Sciradian Athena.

The second place where some notable ruins are to be seen is at and near the monastery of the Panagia Phaneromene ('Virgin brought to light'), which stands in a narrow plain by the shore, on the north-western promontory of Salamis, commanding views of surpassing loveliness across the bay to the coasts of Attica and Megara. The strait is here so narrow that, about a mile to the west of the monastery, a ferry plies regularly and gives its modern name (*Perama*, 'the ferry') to the extremity of the promontory. The monastery, an irregular but picturesque pile of turrets, cupolas, and battlements, is still much frequented by the pious, and probably occupies the site of an ancient temple; for many large squared blocks are to be seen at it,

together with some fragments of Doric columns. Leake supposed that the monastery stands on the site of the temple of Sciradian Athena. On the summit of the hill which rises to the south of the monastery are considerable remains of an ancient fortress, consisting of foundations of walls and of towers, both round and square, of considerable thickness and strength. They are constructed of a mixture of small stones and large unhewn blocks. The ruins are no doubt those of Budorum, a fort which Thucydides (ii. 93) describes as situated on the promontory of Salamis, which looks towards Megara; the Athenians garrisoned it and kept three guard-ships here to prevent the Megarians from sailing into the bay of Eleusis. The Peloponnesians captured it in 429 B.C., but were obliged to evacuate it precipitately the next day (Thucydides, ii. 93 *sq.*; Diodorus, xii. 49; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Βούδωρον).

On Salamis see Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. pp. 574-580; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 166-176; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 221; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. pp. 362-365; H. Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, p. 243 *sq.*; H. G. Lolling, 'Der Tempel der Athene Skiras und das Vorgebirge Skiradion auf Salamis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), pp. 127-138; *id.*, 'Die Meerenge von Salamis,' *Hist. u. philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 3-10; Baedeker,[3] p. 117. On some inscriptions of Salamis see P. Monceaux, 'Inscriptions de Salamine,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 6 (1882), pp. 521-539. On coins of Salamis see U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 250 *sqq.* As to the battle of Salamis see below, i. 36. 2 note.

35. 2. **It is said that Cychreus first called the island by its present name** etc. The island of Salamis is said to have been originally called Sciras and Cychrea, after the heroes Scirus and Cychreus (Strabo, ix. p. 393; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυχρεῖος πάγος; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius*, 507, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 2. p. 314; as to Cychreus see below, i. 36. 1 note). Aeschylus speaks of "the Cychrean shores" (*Persians*, 570), meaning thereby the coast of Salamis. A mutilated inscription, which has already been often referred to in the present volume (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 169 *sq.*), seems to speak of "the ancient city surnamed Cychrea" in Salamis. As to "the Cychrean hill" see above, p. 478. Diodorus says (iv. 72) that Salamis, one of the twelve daughters of Asopus, was carried off by Poseidon to the island which afterwards bore her name, and in which she had by the god a son Cychreus, who became king of the island.

35. 2. **Philaeus, the son of Eurysaces —— surrendered the island to the Athenians** etc. When the dispute between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis was submitted to the arbitration of the Lacedaemonians, Solon is said to have alleged, in support of the Athenian claim, that Philaeus and Eurysaces, two sons of Ajax, received the Athenian citizenship, surrendered the island to Athens, and settled in Attica, one of them at Brauron, the other in Melite, and that Philaeus gave his name to the Attic township of Philaidae, to which Pisistratus belonged (Plutarch, *Solon*, 10). Pausanias makes Philaeus a son of Eurysaces and grandson of Ajax. But Pherecydes (quoted by Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis*, 3, in Westermann's *Biographi Graeci*, p. 187)

and Herodotus (vi. 35), with whom later writers agree (Plutarch, *l.c.*; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φιλαΐδαι; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 53), make Philaeus a son of Ajax. Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 269 *sqq.*

35. 2. **the Athenians expelled the Salaminians, on the ground that they had purposely been slack in the war with Cassander.** While Cassander was besieging Salamis he gained a naval victory over an Athenian fleet, and all the Salaminians whom he captured on board the Athenian ships he released without ransom. This lenity gained him the confidence of the Salaminians, and they surrendered their city and island to him (Polyaenus, iv. 11). This seems to have happened in 318 B.C. (Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] ii. 1. p. 230). Cassander had a short time previously been forced by Polysperchon to raise the siege of Salamis (Diodorus, xviii. 69). Cp. Paus. i. 25. 6. From 318 B.C. onward Salamis seems to have been occupied by a Macedonian garrison for nearly ninety years. In 229 B.C. Aratus succeeded in restoring it to Athens (Plutarch, *Aratus*, 34; Paus. ii. 8. 6; Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*,[2] iii. 2. p. 57). It was probably after thus recovering the island that the Athenians punished the Salaminians in the way here described by Pausanias.

35. 2. **had been chosen general of Salamis.** The general of Salamis is mentioned in Attic inscriptions (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 469, 595). Along with the archon of Salamis, who was appointed by lot (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 54), he superintended the sacrifices offered by the Athenian lads to Ajax at Salamis (see below).

35. 3. **honours continue to be paid by the Athenians to Ajax.** A festival of Ajax, comprising a procession, a sacrifice to Ajax, athletic sports, and a regatta, was annually celebrated in Salamis. On these occasions the Athenian lads (*epheboi*) regularly rowed over to the island and took part in the ceremonies and contests (Hesychius, *s.v.* Αἰάντεια; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 467-471); on one occasion at least they beat the Salaminians in 'the long race' (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 470). It may have been at this festival that the Athenians used to set out a suit of armour on a couch in honour of Ajax (Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 19); but more probably perhaps the ceremony was performed beside the statue of Ajax in Athens (Paus. i. 5. 1 *sq.*) Cp. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 411 *sq.*; Töpffer, *s.v.* 'Aianteia,' *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie*,[2] 1. p. 926 *sqq.*

35. 3. **there is an altar of Eurysaces at Athens.** The Eurysaceum or sanctuary of Eurysaces was in the quarter of Melite, on or near the Market Hill, beside or in the market-place (Harpocration, *s.vv.* Εὐρυσάκειον and Κολωνέτας; Suidas, *s.v.* Εὐρυσάκης; *Second Argument to Sophocles's Oedipus Coloneus*, Dindorf's *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, p. 51; Pollux, vii. 132 *sq.*)

35. 4. **The inhabitants of Salamis say that when Ajax died, the flower appeared for the first time in their land** etc. The common legend was that when Ajax fell on his sword at Troy, the purple hyacinth sprang from his blood inscribed with the letters AI AI, which form at once the first syllable, twice repeated, of his name in Greek and

an exclamation of sorrow (Ovid, *Met.* x. 210 *sqq.*, xiii. 391 *sqq.*; Pliny, *N. H.* xxi. 66; Schol. on Theocritus, x. 28; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* ii. 557, p. 285). The legend here recorded by Pausanias differs from the common one in two respects: it represents the flower as having sprouted in Salamis instead of at Troy, and as not being the hyacinth. Pausanias recognised the letters on the hyacinth, but referred them to the myth of Hyacinth (iii. 19. 5). A vase-painting, which depicts Ajax about to commit suicide, shows the flower growing from the ground inscribed with the full name of Ajax (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), for 1861, p. 139). Milton calls the hyacinth "that sanguine flower inscribed with woe" (*Lycidas*, 106).

35. 4. the arms were washed ashore at the grave of Ajax. "When Ulysses was shipwrecked, the shield of Achilles was washed ashore at the tomb of Ajax, and having been set up on the grave it was struck by lightning on the morrow" (Ptolemaeus, *Nov. Hist.* 5 in *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 192). Cp. *Anthol. Palatina*, ix. 115 and 116.

35. 5. As to the size of Ajax, a man of Mysia said that etc. The following story of the discovery of Ajax's bones is told also by Philostratus (*Heroica*, ii. 3), who says that the emperor Hadrian went to Troy, embraced and kissed the bones, and raised a new tomb over them. The bones, according to Philostratus, were said to be those of a man eleven cubits tall. It is said that Agamemnon would not suffer the body of the suicide Ajax to be burned in the usual way: and that therefore of all the Greeks who fell at Troy Ajax was the only one whose remains were laid in a coffin (Apollodorus, *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. Wagner, p. 67; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Wagner, 1. p. 205; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xiii. 7; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* ii. 557, p. 285). The grave of Ajax was at Rhaeteum in the Troad (Apollodorus, *l.c.*; Quintus Smyrnaeus, v. 653 *sqq.*); besides the tomb there was here a sanctuary of the hero and a statue of him which Mark Antony carried off and Augustus restored (Strabo, xiii. p. 595).

35. 5. the remotest tribe of Celts called Cabarenses. The name Cabarenses (Καβαρεῖς) may perhaps be akin to Cavari, the name of a Gallic tribe in the valley of the Rhone (Strabo, iv. p. 186).

35. 6. Protophanes. Cp. v. 21. 10.

35. 6. Asterius. Cp. vii. 2. 5.

35. 7. Temenothyrae. From the evidence of inscriptions and coins it appears that Temenothyrae was at or near the modern *Ushak*. See W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 148 *sq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 265. Pausanias's story of the recovery of the bones of Hyllus at Temenothyrae may have been read by Philostratus, who says (*Heroica*, ii. 7) that the bones of Hyllus son of Hercules was to be seen in Phrygia. Temenothyrae, which Pausanias calls a city of Upper Lydia, is placed by all the Byzantine lists in Phrygia (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 148). The river Hyllus which flowed near Temenothyrae (§ 8) was a tributary of the Hermus (Homer, *Il.* xx. 322, Herodotus, i. 8; Strabo, xiii. p. 626). Other stories of the discovery of giants' bones are told by Strabo (xvii. p. 829), Philostratus

(*Heroica*, ii.), Phlegon (*Mirabilia*, 11 *sqq*., in *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 136 *sqq*.), Pliny (*N. H.* vii. 73 *sq*.), and Solinus (i. 90 *sq*.) Such stories probably sometimes originated in the discovery of the fossil bones of large animals. "Tales of giants and monsters, which stand in direct connexion with the finding of great fossil bones, are scattered broadcast over the mythology of the world. Huge bones, found at Punto Santo Elena, in the north of Guayaquil, have served as a foundation for the story of a colony of giants who dwelt there. The whole area of the Pampas is a great sepulchre of enormous extinct animals; no wonder that one great plain should be called the 'Field of the giants,' and that such names as 'the hill of the giant,' 'the stream of the animal,' should be guides to the geologist in his search for fossil bones" (E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*,[3] p. 322). In Sicily vast quantities of bones of animals long extinct in the island (including mammoths, elephants, and hippopotamuses) have been found and have given rise to the usual fable of giants that dwelt in the land long ago (A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, 1. pp. 57, 356). The story that the war between the gods and giants took place in the great plain of Megalopolis in Arcadia seems to have been due, at least in part, to the discovery of mammoth bones there. See viii. 29. 1 note. Fossil bones of animals such as are now only observed in Eastern Africa have been found in abundance in the bed of a stream near the village of *Pikermi* in Attica, to the south-east of Mt. Pentelicus (Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, iii.-vi. p. 38).

35. 8. **Geryon is at Cadiz** etc. Erythea, the island of Geryon, was commonly identified by the ancients with the island on which Cadiz stands or with another island near it (Herodotus, iv. 8; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 10; Strabo, iii. p. 169; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* v. 4 *sq*.; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 120; Silius Italicus, xvi. 195). Two trees, of a species not known elsewhere, were said to grow on Geryon's grave and to drip blood; they were called Geryon's trees and are described as differing in appearance both from the *pinus pinea* (πίτυς) and the *pinus maritima* (πεύκη) (Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* v. 5). Hecataeus denied that Erythea was the island of Cadiz and maintained that it was an island off the coast of Ambracia (Arrian, ii. 16. 5). Cp. K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1. p. 130 *sqq*.

36. 1. **a trophy of the victory which Themistocles** etc. When the festival of Ajax was being held at Salamis the Athenian lads (*epheboi*) used occasionally, if not regularly, to row to the trophy and offer sacrifice to Zeus of the Trophy (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 467). The battle of Salamis (Aeschylus, *Persae*, 350 *sqq*.; Herodotus, viii. 78 *sqq*.; Diodorus, xi. 15 *sqq*.) has been much discussed by modern writers. It would be out of place to go into the subject here. Cp. Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 228-272; G. Loeschcke, 'Die Schlacht bei Salamis,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 23 (1877), pp. 25-32; W. W. Goodwin, 'The battle of Salamis,' *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1 (1882-1883), pp. 249-262; Wecklein, 'Ueber Themistokles und die Seeschlacht bei Salamis,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philosoph. philolog. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1892, pp. 2-35; A. Hauvette, in

Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques, 2 (1892), pp. 345-354. Other references to the literature of the subject are given by G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, 2. p. 170 *sq.* In 1884 the bottom of the strait of Salamis was explored by divers in hope of discovering some relics of the battle, but the enterprise was not successful (Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1884, p. 14 *sqq.*)

36. I. **a sanctuary of Cychreus.** During the dispute between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis Solon sailed across to the island by night and sacrificed to the heroes Periphemus and Cychreus (Plutarch, *Solon*, 10). Cychreus enjoyed divine honours at Athens (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10). According to some, he slew an enormous serpent which had devastated the island of Salamis (Apollodorus, iii. 12. 7; Diodorus, iv. 72; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 110, 175, 451). According to another form of the legend the serpent was bred by Cychreus and was called the serpent of Cychreus, but it was expelled by Eurylochus because it ravaged the island; Demeter, however, received the serpent at Eleusis and it became an attendant of the goddess (Hesiod, cited by Strabo, ix. p. 393). A later rationalistic version of the legend was that Cychreus himself was surnamed Serpent (Ophis) on account of his cruelty, for which he was expelled by Eurylochus (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυχρεῖος πάγος; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius*, 507, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 2. p. 314). These tales, combined with the statement of Pausanias in the present passage that Cychreus was believed to have appeared in serpent form at the battle of Salamis, point clearly to the conclusion that in the original form of the myth Cychreus was himself the serpent. Cp. Otto Jahn, in Heydemann's *Iliupersis*, p. 12; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 272 *sq.*

36. 2. **an island called Psyttalia** etc. Psyttalia, now called *Leipsokoutali*, is a rocky island about a mile long, but low and narrow, at the southern entrance to the strait of Salamis (Bursian, *Geogr.* I. p. 365; A. Hauvette, in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 2 (1892), p. 350 *sq.*) Strabo describes it (ix. p. 395) as "a small island, uninhabited and rocky, which some call the eye-sore of Piraeus." It was supposed to be haunted by Pan (Aeschylus, *Persae*, 447 *sqq.*) As to the landing of the Persians in it and their massacre after the battle, see Aeschylus, *l.c.*; Herodotus, viii. 76 and 95; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 9; cp. Pausanias, iv. 36. 6. The number of the Persians who landed in Psyttalia is mentioned by Pausanias alone.

36. 3. **the road from Athens to Eleusis, which the Athenians call the Sacred Way.** Having completed his description of the Attic islands, Pausanias returns to Athens and sets out thence for Eleusis along the Sacred Way. This was the road by which the initiated went from Athens to Eleusis: the antiquary Polemo devoted a whole book to a description of the road (Harpocration, *s.v.* ἱερὰ ὁδός; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 469 *s.v.* ἱερὰ ὁδός; Dicaearchus, quoted by Athenaeus, xiii. p. 594 f; [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 837 c). The present highroad from Athens to Eleusis follows very closely the line of the Sacred Way. Of the monuments, mostly sepulchral, which lined the ancient road a few remains still exist at various points along the route. The distance

of Eleusis from Athens by this road is about 12 miles. The Sacred Way seems to have started from the Dipylum. This may be inferred from the fact that the first monument mentioned by Pausanias on the Sacred Way is the tomb of Anthemocritus; for Plutarch tells us (*Pericles*, 30) that Anthemocritus was buried "beside the Thriasian gate, which is now called the Dipylum." It is possible that the Sacred Way started from the Sacred Gate, which was near the Piraeic gate (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 14), and that the Sacred Gate is to be identified with the gate-like opening in the city-wall about 60 yards to the south-west of the Dipylum (see note on i. 2. 4). Even if the latter view be adopted, it is not surprising that the tomb of Anthemocritus on the Sacred Way should have been described by Plutarch as beside the Dipylum. For, on this hypothesis, the two gates were very near each other: the roads leading from them may have converged and met at a short distance from the walls; and if the tomb in question was at the meeting of the roads, it may have been equidistant from the two gates. However, it is unlikely that religious processions passed out through the Sacred Gate, since, as we have seen above (p. 44), the dead were carried out by that gate, and hence it would probably be shunned as polluted and ill-omened. The ordinary highroad to Eleusis most likely started from the Dipylum; for Thria, from which the Dipylum took its old name of the Thriasian gate, was between Athens and Eleusis. Two boundary-stones, each bearing the inscription "boundary of the road to Eleusis" (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1075; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 505 a, p. 51), have been found near the church of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada) a little way outside of the two gates in question. One at least of the boundary-stones was not found in its original situation.

From whichever of the two gates the Sacred Way started, it must have followed approximately the line of the modern highroad to Eleusis. This road, running in a north-westerly direction, soon passes on the left the Botanic Garden, conspicuous by its tall and stately poplars, and enters the broad belt of olive-wood which still extends, as it doubtless extended in antiquity, along both sides of the Cephisus for mile after mile. Through this wood of ancient olives, with their massive gnarled trunks and pale green foliage, the road runs for more than a mile, crossing several arms of the Cephisus, which are generally dry and dusty, the water being diverted in many petty rivulets to feed the olive-yards and gardens. Beyond the olive-wood the road at first gradually ascends through a bare stony tract where nothing grows but thistles; then it climbs more steeply the arid and rocky slopes of Mt. Aegaleus, which it crosses by a narrow but easy pass, enclosed on both sides by low and desolate heights. Near the summit of the pass a round, isolated hill, crowned by a church of St. Elias, rises conspicuously on the right. From this point of the road there is a famous view backward over the Athenian plain. The scene is especially striking at sunset, when the Acropolis, rising high above the olive-woods, with its temples lit up by the dying splendour of the sun, stands out against a background of purple mountains. A little further on the road turns and begins to descend, and Athens is lost to sight.

About a mile further on we pass the deserted monastery of *Daphni*, which probably occupies the site of the sanctuary of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (i. 37. 6 note). It stands on the left of the road enclosed by a high battlemented wall above which rises the dome of its Byzantine church. Beyond the monastery the road descends rapidly towards the shore. Here the ancient road may be traced for a long way on the north side of the pass, running parallel to the modern highroad on the left bank of a dry water-course which descends from the monastery. The road was partly cut in the rock, partly supported by a wall of rough stones on the side of the water-course. As the road descends the sea appears at the further end of it, framed between the stony slopes of the hills which enclose the pass. Further on, the pass opening out, we see stretched below us, like a lake, the deep blue waters of the landlocked Gulf of Salamis, shut in on the south by the bare but beautifully outlined hills of Salamis, on the north by a graceful sweep of the Attic coast, and backed by the distant heights of Cithaeron and the mountains of Megara on the west. Through a dip between the hills of Salamis and the mainland may be seen in clear weather the far conspicuous peak of Cyllene in Arcadia with its crown of snow.

A mile or so after passing the monastery we see on the right of the road some ancient masonry and large blocks of stone at the foot of a rugged wall of rock, in the face of which many niches are cut. This is the sanctuary of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias (i. 37. 7 note). Soon after this point the hills retire on both sides and the pass ends in a little plain, barren and waterless but partially planted with olives, beside the shore. Here the road turns sharply to the right and, following the shore, runs northward, hemmed in between the sea on the one side and the grey, arid slopes of Mt. Aegaleus on the other. Soon, however, the hills trend inland a little, leaving between the foot of their declivities and the road a small lake or large pond of clear salt-water, fed by a number of copious salt springs, the ancient Rhiti (Pausanias, i. 38. 1). The pond is formed by damming up the water of these springs by means of a stone dyke or embankment, beside which the modern road runs on a narrow strip of sand between the pond on the right and the sea on the left. Fiedler observed flying-fish of the size of herrings rising from the surface of the pool: he says their flesh is white and succulent, better than that of the sea fish in the neighbouring bay. In antiquity, as Pausanias tells us, the right of fishing here was strictly preserved by the priests of Eleusis. A strong stream, turning a mill, flows out of the pool into the sea. At the further end of the pond Mt. Aegaleus sends down its last spur close to the road; after passing it the road skirts on the right another salt-pool and enters the Thriasian plain. The stream which issues from the second of the two salt-ponds turns, or rather used to turn, another mill. Opinions have differed as to whether the ancient road ran, like the modern road, between the salt-pools and the sea, or skirted the foot of the hills, making a circuit round the pools. The latter was Leake's view. He says that the marks of the ancient chariot-wheels are visible on the rocks at the foot of the hills on the inner side of the pools. On the other hand, there are vestiges of

the ancient road which seem to lead directly into the southern of the two pools. Mr. Philios, who has studied the spot repeatedly, says that the ancient road, after turning inland and following the foot of the hill for some distance, struck straight through the middle of the pool, parallel to the modern road and at a distance of 40 to 50 paces from it. The traces of it have been observed as far as the first mill (see Mr. D. Philios, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), p. 165 *sqq.*) In any case it seems probable that in antiquity the water of the salt-springs was not dammed up as at present so as to form pools, but was allowed to flow directly into the sea in brooks which hence received the name of Rhiti ('streams').

After entering the Thriasian plain the road continues to skirt the shore. As the ground is here low and marshy, the road is raised on a causeway, which consists of ancient materials mixed with those of later ages. This causeway therefore marks the line of the Sacred Way. On the right of it, about half a mile beyond the salt-pools, where the road to Eleutherae branches off across the plain to the right, there are remains of an ancient monument, which appears to have consisted originally of a cubical mass of earth, cased with white marble and supporting a tombstone. An inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 1778) proves that the monument marked the tomb of one Strato, his wife Polla (Paula) Munatia, and his son Isidotus. This sepulchre, one of the many sepulchres which lined the Sacred Way in antiquity, is not mentioned by Pausanias.

The Thriasian plain (Herodotus, viii. 65, ix. 7; Thucydides, ii. 19 and 21), through which the Sacred Way led to Eleusis, is surrounded by mountains and hills except on the south, where it is bounded by the Gulf of Salamis. It is about nine miles long from east to west, and five miles wide at the broadest part, from north to south. The northern and western parts of the plain are stony and barren. Nearer the sea there is a tract of fertile cornland, but it does not extend much to the north of Eleusis itself. The monotony of the otherwise treeless expanse is broken here and there by some scattered olive-trees and oaks. In spring and early summer the plain is gaily carpeted in places with anemones, red, purple, and blue.

See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 425 *sqq.*; Chandler, *Travels*, p. 184 *sqq.*; *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (London, 1817), p. 3 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 285 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 168 *sqq.*; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 381 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Athens*, 2. p. 135 *sqq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 80 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 107 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 89 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 92 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 29 *sqq.*; L. Preller, 'De via sacra Eleusinia,' *Ausgewahlte Aufsatze*, pp. 117-135; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 326 *sqq.*; Fr. Lenormant, *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* (Paris, 1864); H. Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, p. 44 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erlaut. Text*, Heft ii. pp. 15-17, 46-49; Baedeker,[3] pp. 110, 118 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 196 *sqq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 195. The view of Athens from the pass of *Daphni* is described by Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, 1. p. 166 *sqq.*; W. Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 43 *sq.*; and Fr. Lenormant, *op. cit.* p. 455 *sqq.*

36. 3. **the tomb of Anthemocritus** etc. Shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war Anthemocritus was sent by Pericles to

Megara and Sparta to complain that the Megarians were encroaching on the sacred land. He died on the embassy; and the Athenians, believing that the Megarians had murdered him, declared war against Megara and voted that Anthemocritus should be buried beside the Thriasian gate, that is, the Dipylum. The Megarians, however, protested their innocence. See Plutarch, *Pericles*, 30, and above, p. 465. Demosthenes says (xii. 4. p. 159) that on account of this supposed murder the Athenians excluded the Megarians from the mysteries and set up a statue of Anthemocritus in front of the gate, that is, the Thriasian gate or Dipylum (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀνθεμόκριτος). The statue probably formed part of the sepulchral monument. There were baths beside the statue (Isaeus, quoted by Harpocration, *l.c.*) These baths were probably supplied with water by the aqueducts which traversed the city. The courses of these aqueducts are now known (see E. Ziller, 'Untersuchungen über die antiken Wasserleitungen in Athen,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 107-131). Two of these aqueducts seem to have met near a cistern a little to the west of the church of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada) outside the Dipylum. Prof. Milchhöfer accordingly conjectures that the baths and the tomb of Anthemocritus were in this neighbourhood (*Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 15).

36. 3. **whom even the Emperor Hadrian could not make to thrive.** Hadrian was a benefactor of Megara (Paus. i. 42. 5; i. 44. 6) and was styled by the Megarians their "founder, legislator, and nourisher" (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 70-71); but from Pausanias's present remark it would seem that the emperor's benefits had no permanent effect. Cp. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 308.

36. 4. **the grave of Molottus** etc. When Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria in Euboea, was threatened by Philip of Macedonia in 350 B.C., the Athenians despatched a force under Phocion to his assistance. Phocion was afterwards superseded by Molottus who, however, fell into the hands of the enemy. See Plutarch, *Phocion*, 12-14.

36. 4. **a place which is called Scirum** etc. The situation of this place can be approximately determined. We learn from Pausanias that it was beside a torrent called the Scirus between Athens and the Cephisus: for Pausanias begins his description of the Sacred Way just outside Athens and does not reach the Cephisus till i. 37. 3. Now the only torrent which approaches the Sacred Way between Athens and the Cephisus is the stream which rises in the hills called *Tourko-Vouni* to the north of Lycabettus and flows round the north side of Athens in a deep bed. At the present day the course of this stream has been diverted in a north-westerly direction to supply some oil-presses, so that it does not now approach the Sacred Way till near the Arboretum, immediately beyond the Botanic Garden on the road to Eleusis; the water is however lost in the olive-grove before it reaches the road. But before this diversion, which seems to be recent, was made, the stream must have crossed the road to Eleusis at a point a little short of the Botanic Garden. Here then, at a distance of about half a mile or so from the Dipylum, was

probably the place called Scirum. See Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 40, 41; Milchhöfer, in *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 15 *sq.*

Scirum was a notorious haunt of rakes, gamblers, and prostitutes (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σκίρος; Alciphron, *Epist.* iii. 8 and 25; Theopompus, cited by Harpocration, *s.v.* Σκιράφια). Diviners also plied their trade here (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Σκίρον). On the twelfth day of the month of Scirophorion, which would fall not far from Midsummer Day, a festival called Scira was celebrated, at which the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and the priest of the Sun went in procession from the Acropolis to Scirum. The priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus carried a white umbrella in the procession (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Σκίρον; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 18; cp. Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.vv.* Σκίρον and Σκίρος). A sacred ploughing took place at Scirum once a year in memory of the origin of agriculture (Plutarch, *Conjugalia Praecepta*, 42). This ploughing may very well have formed part of the Midsummer festival of the Scira; for Xenophon advises the farmer to break up his fallow land at Midsummer (*Oeconomicus*, xvi. 13 *sq.*) Some late writers of antiquity speak of a temple or sanctuary of Sciradian Athena at Scirum (Pollux, ix. 96; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 300, line 25 *sqq.*; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* i. 107, p. 1397). But they probably confused Scirum with the temple of Sciradian Athena at Phalerum (see i. 1. 4 note). If there had been a temple of Sciradian Athena at Scirum, Pausanias would probably have mentioned it. Other geographical writers who mention Scirum (Strabo, ix. p. 393; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σκίρος) are equally silent as to a temple or sanctuary of Sciradian Athena at the place. The name Scirum and the epithet Sciradian (*Skiras*) applied to Athena seem to be derived from a word meaning 'white earth,' 'gypsum' (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 926; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Σκίρος; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 304, line 8 *sqq.*)

On the festival, the meaning of the name, and the question whether there was a temple of Sciradian Athena at Scirum see K. O. Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, 2. p. 162 *sqq.*; K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, § 61. 14; G. F. Schömann, *Griech. Alterthümer*, 2. p. 474 *sqq.*; Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, p. 179 *sqq.*; K. Bötticher, in *Philologus*, 22 (1865), p. 238 *sqq.*; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 440 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Die attische Skirabräuche,' *Philologus*, 50 (1891), pp. 108-136; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, 1. p. 441 *sqq.*; C. Robert, 'Athena Skiras und die Skirophorien,' *Hermes*, 20 (1885), pp. 349-379; E. Rohde, in *Hermes*, 21 (1886), pp. 116-125; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 204 *sqq.*; P. Stengel, *Griech. Sakralaltertümer*, § 124, p. 170.

36. 4. **a soothsayer from Dodona named Scirus.** Philochorus in the second book of his *Atthis* represented Scirus as an Eleusinian soothsayer: Praxion, on the other hand, derived the name Scirum from the notorious Sciron (Harpocration, *s.v.* Σκίρον; as to Sciron cp. Paus. i. 39. 6; i. 44. 6 and 8). Others derived the name from the Salaminian hero Scirus (Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Σκίρος). See i. 39. 6, note on 'Sciron.'

36. 5. **the tomb of Cephisodorus.** We learn from Polybius (xvii. 10) that the embassy of Cephisodorus to Rome, mentioned by

Pausanias (§ 6), took place in Ol. 145. 3 (198/7 B.C.), shortly before the battle of Cynoscephalae, in which Philip V. of Macedonia was defeated by the Romans under Flamininus. Nothing seems to be known of Cephisodorus beyond what Pausanias tells us here.

36. 6. **after he had slain Alexander, son of Cassander.** See i. 10. 1.

37. 1. **Heliodorus Halis, whose picture** etc. Nothing more is known of this man. It is not even certain from Pausanias's expression whether the picture was a portrait of Heliodorus or a painting by him. Preller (*Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 120) and Schubart (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 9 (1863), p. 301) understood Pausanias's expression in the latter way. An ancient painter of this name is not known from any other source. In favour of understanding Pausanias to mean a portrait of Cephisodorus might be quoted a parallel expression in ix. 22. 3.

37. 1. **Acestium —— the daughter of Xenocles** etc. This lady is mentioned as "Acestium daughter of Xenocles, a man of the township of Acharnae" in a list of noble ladies preserved in an inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 956). From another inscription, found in the precinct of Demeter at Eleusis, we learn that a statue of Sophocles, brother of Acestium, was set up there by his wife. The inscription runs as follows (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1414): "Ctesiclea, member of an orgiastic society, daughter of Apollonius, a man of the township of Acharnae, dedicated (this statue of) her husband Sophocles son of Xenocles of the township of Acharnae; he was twice torchbearer to Demeter and the Maid." This inscription therefore confirms Pausanias's statement that Sophocles son of Xenocles had held the office of torchbearer. The same Sophocles seems to be mentioned in another inscription which is, however, mutilated (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1047). Acestium and her brother Sophocles apparently lived about the beginning of the first century B.C. Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 73.

The torchbearer was one of the two chief dignitaries who officiated at the Eleusinian mysteries, the other being the hierophant, who ranked above him. The office of torchbearer was throughout the whole period of classical antiquity hereditary in the family of the Ceryces or 'heralds' (Paus. i. 38. 3). From the present passage of Pausanias, indeed, taken in conjunction with a passage of Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 1), it has often been inferred that at some time, the family of the Ceryces becoming extinct, the office of torchbearer was transferred to the family of the Lycomids. For Themistocles belonged to the Lycomids (Plutarch, *l.c.*), and here Pausanias informs us that the office of torchbearer was held by many of Themistocles's descendants. But Pausanias does not tell us whether the descendants of Themistocles who held the office were descended from him in the male or in the female line. If they were descended from him in the male line, they must of course have been Lycomids, and the supposed transference of the office from the Ceryces to the Lycomids must have taken place. But the inscriptions cited above, by showing that the descendants in question belonged to the township of Acharnae, prove that they were descended from Themistocles in the female line. For Themistocles belonged to the township of

Phreari (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 1), not of Acharnae; and if Sophocles, Xenocles, and the rest of his descendants mentioned by Pausanias had been descended from him in the male line, they also must have belonged to the township of Phreari. As they did not, they must have been descendants in the female line, and cannot therefore have been Lycomids. From which it follows that the supposed transference of the office of torchbearer from the Ceryces to the Lycomids did not take place. See W. Dittenberger, in *Hermes*, 20 (1885), p. 10 *sqq.* The old error is, with others on the same subject, repeated in some recent books.

37. 2. **a precinct of the hero Lacius, and a township named Laciadae.** K. O. Müller (*Die Dorier*,[2] 1. pp. 114 *sq.*, 227 *sqq.*) identified Lacius with Rhacius, as to whom see vii. 3. 1 *sq.*, ix. 33. 2. Three or four hundred yards to the right (north) of the road to Eleusis, just before you come to the Botanic Garden, there is a small ruined church of St. David built on the site and with the materials of an ancient edifice. Fr. Lenormant thought that this church marked the site of the precinct of Lacius (*La Voie Sacrée*, p. 205). The township Laciadae belonged to the tribe Oeneis (Stephanus Byzantius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Λακιάδαι). It produced radishes (Hesychius, *s.v.* Λακιάδαι; Suidas, *s.v.* ὦ Λακιάδαι). Among its members were Miltiades and Cimon (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 4; *id.*, *Alcibiades*, 22).

37. 2. **the goddess gave him the fig-tree.** The spot on the Sacred Way where Phytalus was supposed to have received the first fig-tree from Demeter was called Hiera Syce, *i.e.* 'Sacred Fig' (Athenaeus, iii. p. 74 d; cp. Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xxiv. 341, p. 1964; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 4. 4; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἱερά; Photius, *s.v.* ἱερὰ συκῆ; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 469, *s.v.* ἱερὰ συκῆ). The processions stopped and rested at the place on their return from Eleusis (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 20. 3). The sophist Apollonius was buried here (Philostratus, *l.c.*) It has been conjectured that the site of the sanctuary of Demeter, Proserpine, and Poseidon, which stood at this point of the road, is marked by the church of St. Sabas in the wood of olives on the road to Eleusis (L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 126; Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, p. 227 *sqq.*) The church certainly contains remains of antiquity and probably occupies an ancient site; but as it stands to the west of what seems to have been the main arm of the Cephisus in antiquity, the site which it occupies can hardly be that of the sanctuary of Demeter which, from the order of Pausanias's description, clearly stood on the eastern side of the Cephisus. See below, note on § 4, 'an ancient altar of Gracious Zeus.' An inscription found at Eleusis mentions the expense of making or repairing the tiled roof over the sacred fig-tree (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 225 c, p. 169; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, p. 50). If the sacred fig-tree referred to in this inscription is, as is probable, the one on the Sacred Way, the inscription proves that the tree was protected from the weather by a roof. That the epitaph quoted by Pausanias was of late origin is proved by the incorrect form of Demeter's name (Δήμητραν) which appears in the second line and is necessary to the metre. This was pointed out by Prof. van Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*, N. S. 15 (1887), p. 52).

37. 3. **Before you cross the Cephisus.** The Cephisus is a river which, in spite of the assertion of Strabo to the contrary (ix. p. 400), never dries up even in the most scorching heat of summer. Its sources are at the southern foot of Mt. Parnes and the western foot of Mt. Pentelicus. One fine spring is at the Church of the Holy Saviour near Cephisia. Here a stream of beautifully clear water, three feet wide even in the driest season, rushes impetuously from the ground, and finds its way in a south-westerly direction to the plain through the gardens and olive-groves of Cephisia. At the point, however, where the road to Eleusis crosses the Cephisus, the stream flows in three separate channels, which have been made for the purpose of irrigating the olives. Thus it is impossible to say with certainty which of these channels is the old bed of the river. But on the whole the central channel, about 300 yards east of the church of St. Sabas, appears to have the best claim to represent the ancient river-bed. Here, therefore, at the point where the road to Eleusis crosses it, probably stood the ancient bridge which a Rhodian, Xenocles of Lindus, built for the convenience of the pilgrims to Eleusis, in order that they might cross dryshod and in safety even when the river was in flood (*Anthol. Palat.* ix. 147). In the eighteenth century Chandler saw some piers which he took to be those of the ancient bridge. When the long procession of pilgrims was defiling over the bridge on its way to or from the solemn ceremonies at Eleusis, a crowd of idlers used to gather on the bridge and assail the pilgrims with a running fire of jeers and gibes, which the pilgrims returned with vigour (Hesychius, *s.v.* *γεφυρισταί*; Strabo, ix. p. 400; cp. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 384 *sqq.*; *Etymol. Magn.* p. 229 *s.v.* Γεφυρεῖς). The custom has been compared with the licence of the Carnival and with the railleries exchanged between the crowd and the occupants of carriages returning from the Derby. But probably it had a superstitious origin. For abusive language is believed in certain circumstances to bring good luck to the person against whom it is directed. Thus in India "much virtue is ascribed to abuse in this district of Behar. It is supposed to bring good luck in some cases. On occasion of marriages, people who accompany the marriage procession to the bride's house are often vilely abused by the women folk of the bride's family, in the belief that it will lead on to the good fortune of the newly-married couple. In the same way on the occasion of the *Jamadwitiya Day* in Behar . . . brothers are abused by sisters to their heart's content, and this is done under the impression that it will prolong the lives of the brothers and bring good luck to them" (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 2 (1892), p. 598 *sq.*) Esthonian fishermen believe that they never have such good luck as when some one is angry with them and curses them; they think that every curse brings at least three fish into the net (Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche*, p. 90 *sq.*) When a Greek sower sowed cummin he had to curse and swear all the time, otherwise the crop would turn out ill (Theophrastus, *Histor. Plant.* viii. 3; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 2. 2).

See Chandler, *Travels*, p. 184 *sq.*; *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, p. 3; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 476 *sq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 140, 141 *sq.*; Preller, *Ausgewählte*

Aufsätze, p. 120 *sqq.*; Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, p. 234 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 16.

37. 3. **the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his time.** Theodorus lived in the first half of the fourth century B.C. The orator Aeschines in his youth acted with him, taking the inferior parts (Demosthenes, xix. 246, p. 418). Theodorus often played in the *Antigone* of Sophocles (Demosthenes, *l.c.*) His acting in the play of *Merope* was so pathetic that even the stony-hearted tyrant Alexander of Pherae was melted, burst into tears, and rushed out of the theatre (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 40). It was a rule with Theodorus never to allow another actor to appear before him in a play; he thought that the tone of the audience was determined by the first actor who appeared (Aristotle, *Polit.* vii. 17. 11, p. 1336 b, 27 *sqq.*, Berlin ed.) His voice never seemed to be feigned, but always to be the true and natural voice of the character he was representing (Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 2. p. 1404 b, 22 *sqq.*) Cp. Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium*, 6; *id.*, *De se ipsum laudando*, 17; *id.*, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 1. 2.

37. 3. **Mnesimache.** She was a daughter of Dexamenus. When she was about to be married by force to the centaur Eurytion, Hercules delivered her by slaying the centaur (Apollodorus, ii. 5. 5). Fr. Lenormant indulged in a vein of speculation on the subject of Mnesimache, whom he supposed to be a form of Proserpine (*La Voie Sacrée*, p. 294 *sqq.*)

37. 3. **shearing his hair in honour of the Cephisus.** On this custom see note on viii. 41. 3. The passage of Homer to which Pausanias here refers is *Iliad*, xxiii. 141 *sqq.*

37. 4. **an ancient altar of Gracious Zeus** etc. The site of this altar is perhaps marked by the church of St. Sabas which stands with a few houses clustered about it in the olive-wood to the west of the middle branch of the Cephisus. The spot, which is distant about a mile and a half from the Dipylum, is a favourite resort of Athenian holiday-makers. The church seems certainly to occupy an ancient site: its walls contain many ancient wrought stones, apparently all taken from tombs. See Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, p. 227 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 16. That the descendants of Phytalus purified Theseus at the Cephisus from the stain of bloodshed is mentioned also by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 12, cp. 23). As to Gracious Zeus (*Zeus Meilichios*) see ii. 9. 6; ii. 20. 1. He appears to have been especially resorted to in expiatory and purificatory ceremonies. At an annual purification, performed towards the end of the month of Maemacterion (November-December), a sheep was sacrificed to Gracious Zeus, and the skin of the ram so sacrificed was preserved and used in purificatory ceremonies, being spread under the left foot of the person who was being purified (Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xxii. 481, p. 1935; Hesychius and Suidas, *s.v.* Διὸς κῴδιον; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 7, line 15 *sqq.*; Polemo, ed. Preller, p. 140 *sqq.*) Theseus was probably supposed to have been purified by the Phytalids in this manner. A scene on a red-figured vase was interpreted by de Witte as the purification of Theseus. It represents a man, naked except for

a fillet round his head, kneeling with his right foot, placed on a semi-circular object (the ram's skin ?), while the left foot, which is fixed with a rough shoe of a very peculiar sort, rests on the ground. Before and behind him are women engaged in various ceremonies. See J. de Witte, 'L'expiation ou la purification de Thésée,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 9 (1884), p. 352 *sq.*, with pl. 44, 45, 46. When Xenophon returned from the expedition of the Ten Thousand, he offered whole burnt-offerings of pigs to Gracious Zeus at Lampsacus (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vii. 8. 3-5). A great festival called the Diasia was annually celebrated outside Athens on the 23rd day of the month of Anthesterion (February-March) in honour of Gracious Zeus (Thucydides, i. 126; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 408; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 379 *sqq.*). A votive tablet adorned with a relief and inscribed with a dedication to Gracious Zeus was found at Piraeus. The relief represents Zeus seated on a throne with a sceptre in his left hand and a bowl in his right. In front of him is a square altar, and beyond it three worshippers (a man, woman, and child) are approaching the god. Other votive tablets have been found inscribed with dedications to Gracious Zeus, each accompanied by the figure of a serpent carved in relief. See P. Foucart, 'Bas-relief du Pirée. Culte de Zeus Milichios,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 7 (1883), pp. 507-514. On Gracious Zeus see Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 130 note 4.

37. 4. the grave of Theodectes of Phaselis. Theodectes was a rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates: he afterwards wrote tragedies ([Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 837 c; Suidas, *s.v.* Θεοδέκτης). The author of the *Vit. X. Oratorum* says (*l.c.*) that the tomb of Theodectes "is as you go toward the shrine of Cyamites by the Sacred Way to Eleusis: it is now fallen into ruins." Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Φασηλίς) has preserved the epitaph, in four verses, which was carved on the tomb. It sets forth that in thirteen poetical contests Theodectes had won eight prizes.

37. 4. images, amongst others an image of Iacchus. Prof. U. Köhler has conjectured that these images may have been the group of Demeter, Proserpine, and Iacchus in the temple of Demeter at Athens (Paus. i. 2. 4). See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 80 *sq.*, and the note on i. 2. 4.

37. 4. a small temple called the temple of Cyamites. At the western edge of the olive-wood, on the north side of the road to Eleusis, there is a small chapel of St. George or of the Saviour, which is mostly built of stones taken from ancient tombs. It may occupy the site of the temple of Cyamites. Fr. Lenormant, who called it a chapel of St. Blase, thought it occupied the site of the altar of Gracious Zeus, and identified as the ruins of the temple of Cyamites some ancient foundations on the north side of the road to Eleusis, at the point where two rivulets, descending from Mt. Aegaleus, unite and cross the Sacred Way. See Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 142; Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, pp. 311 *sq.*, 337; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 16. Nothing is known of the hero Cyamites beyond what Pausanias tells us here (cp. [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 837 c; Hesychius and Photius, *Lexicon*,

s.v. Κυαμίτης; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 274, line 14 *sq.*) Fr. Lenormant again gave the reins to his fancy on this topic (*La Voie Sacrée*, p. 337 *sqq.*) In remarking that "the discovery of beans cannot be attributed to Demeter," etc., Pausanias is referring to the Eleusinian and Orphic prohibition to eat beans. See viii. 15. 4 note.

37. 5. **Among the largest and stateliest of the tombs is one of a Rhodian** etc. Fr. Lenormant conjectured that this Rhodian may have been Xenocles of Lindus who built the bridge over the Cephisus (*La Voie Sacrée*, pp. 234 *sq.*, 446 : see above, p. 492).

37. 5. **another was erected by the Macedonian Harpalus** etc. Pythionice or Pythonice (as the name was also spelt), to whom her lover Harpalus erected this magnificent tomb, had been originally a slave of an Athenian flute-girl named Bacchis, and had gained a livelihood by prostitution (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 595 a b). When Alexander the Great, setting out on his expedition to India, left Harpalus behind in charge of his treasures, Harpalus caused Pythionice to be sent to him at Babylon, treated her like a queen, and on her death erected two sumptuous tombs to her memory, one at Babylon, the other near Athens on the Sacred Way to Eleusis : the two tombs together cost more than 200 talents, or about £42,000 (Diodorus, xvii. 108 ; Athenaeus, xiii. p. 595 b). The superintendence of the construction of the tomb on the Sacred Way was entrusted, in Harpalus's absence, to Charicles ; the bill of costs sent in by him to Harpalus amounted to 30 talents or about £6300. Plutarch, who mentions this (*Phocion*, 22), adds disparagingly that the tomb was not worth the money.

The situation of the tomb is described exactly by Dicaearchus (quoted by Athenaeus, xiii. pp. 594 e-595 a). He says : "A similar feeling would be roused in any one who came to Athens by what is called the Sacred Way from Eleusis. For standing at the point where the temple of Athena and the city first come into sight, he will see built beside the road a tomb of which the like or anything even approaching it in size does not exist. Naturally he would say at first, 'Surely this is the tomb of Miltiades or of Pericles or of Cimon or of some other great man, and it must have been built by the nation at the public expense.' But when on examination he finds that it is the tomb of the courtesan Pythionice, what must his feelings be ?" This proves that the tomb stood in the pass of *Daphni*, at the point where to a traveller coming from Eleusis the view of Athens and the Acropolis first bursts upon him (see above, p. 485). Here on the south side of the road, opposite the conical height which rises on the other side of the road crowned by the white walls of the church of St. Elias, the remains of an ancient tomb were excavated in 1854. Fr. Lenormant believed that this was the tomb of Pythionice ; but it seems to have been a common tomb, cheaply constructed of inferior masonry with a coating of stucco scored to imitate blocks of marble.

Not content with erecting a stately mausoleum to his dead leman on the Sacred Way, Harpalus built a temple and altar to her under the title of Pythionice Aphrodite. All these facts were set forth in a letter, full of bitter invectives against the profligacy and extravagance of

Harpalus, which Theopompus sent to Harpalus's master Alexander. An extract from the letter has been preserved by Athenaeus (xiii. p. 595 a b c).

The district in which the tomb of Pythionice stood belonged to Hermus, a township of the tribe Acamantis (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 22; Harpocration, Suidas, and Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἑρμος). There was also a stream called Hermus in the district (Harpocration, s.v.). It is doubtless the water-course near the deserted hamlet of *Chaidari* to the north of the isolated hill on which the church of St. Elias stands. The remains of walls and aqueducts near the village make it probable that the township of Hermus was here. A headless image of Hermes, inscribed with a couplet which is preserved in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* vi. 138), was found at *Chaidari* (*C. I. A.* i. No. 381).

See Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, p. 446 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 46 *sq.* As to Harpalus, cp. Paus. ii. 33. 3 *sqq.*

37. 6. the sanctuary was originally made for Apollo alone. The site of this sanctuary of Apollo is probably occupied by the monastery of *Daphni*, which stands about the middle of the pass over Mt. Aegaleus, on the southern side of the road, at a height of about 300 feet above the sea. The monastery seems to have been founded in the thirteenth century by the Burgundian Dukes of Athens of the La Roche family. In common with many monasteries of the Middle Ages it is fortified, being surrounded by a high battlemented wall, from which towers project at intervals. The monastery consists of a courtyard surrounded by a cloister and cells, with a fine church, built on the Byzantine model, on the north side. The church is in the form of a Greek cross with a lofty dome in the middle. The old paintings which formerly covered the walls are mostly faded. The interior of the dome is adorned with a colossal bust of Christ worked in mosaic on a gold ground. Lower down, at the springing of the vault, are figures of the Twelve Apostles; and lower still, between the windows which light the dome, are the Prophets, all in mosaic. Like most Byzantine mosaics, these figures are somewhat stiff and angular; but in the twilight, when they are seen glimmering dimly from their golden background through the deepening gloom, while the solitary lamp burns before the holy picture, and the air is heavy with the lingering scent of incense, the effect is solemn and impressive.

Both the church and the wall which encloses the monastery are largely built of ancient squared blocks of marble. Down to 1801 three fluted Ionic columns stood immured in one of the walls of the church. In that year they were removed by Lord Elgin and are now in the British Museum. These columns, with some fragments of Ionic columns which are still to be seen at the monastery, seem to show that the sanctuary of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias comprised a temple of the Ionic order. In a niche in the church are two sarcophaguses: on one of them are carved the lilies of the Burgundian Dukes. Excavations conducted at the monastery by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1892 brought to light the marble torso of a female statue, life-size and of good style; a piece of a frieze representing a warrior striking down another; and some fragmentary inscriptions of little importance.

The old frontier between Athens and Megara would seem to have been here; at least Philochorus (cited by Strabo, ix. p. 392) said that in the days of Nisus, king of Megara, the Megarian territory extended from the Isthmus of Corinth to the Pythium or sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo, which may have been identical with this sanctuary of Apollo on Mt. Aegaleus. Pandion, king of Athens, is said to have divided his kingdom into four parts among his four sons: Aegeus received the district which extended from Athens to the Pythium (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 58). Sophocles apparently alludes to this sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo (*Oed. Colon.* 1047).

See Chandler, *Travels*, p. 185 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 169; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 385 *sq.*; *id.*, *Athens*, 2. p. 144 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 95 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 93 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 32 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 326 *sq.*; Fr. Lenormant, *La Voie Sacrée*, p. 478 *sqq.*; H. Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, p. 53 *sqq.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 47; Baedeker,[3] p. 118; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 197 *sq.*; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1892, pp. 5, 37-39, 49, 72; *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας*, 1891, p. 12 *sq.*; *id.*, 1892, pp. 10 *sq.*, 15 *sq.*; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), p. 265 *sq.*

37. 6. **Cephalus —— was the first to inhabit the island which is now called Cephallenia.** This legendary connexion of the Attic hero Cephalus with the island of Cephallenia was probably based merely on the similarity of the names. The tradition is, however, as old as Aristotle, who in his *Polity of Ithaca* spoke of Cephalus as residing in the islands which were called Cephallenian after him (*Etymol. Magn.* p. 144, *s.v.* Ἀρκείσιος; Aristotle, *Frag.* 507, ed. V. Rose). The story of the joint expedition of Cephalus and Amphitryo against the Teleboans and the subsequent settlement of Cephalus in Cephallenia is told also by Strabo (x. p. 456) and in the *Etymol. Magnum* (p. 507, *s.v.* Κεφαλληνία). On coins of Pale in Cephallenia the hero Cephalus is represented sitting naked on a rock, with a spear in his hand (Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 358). In the *Cabinet des medailles* at Paris there is a bronze figure, which resembles the Cephalus on the coins of Pale so closely that it may be taken to represent that hero; it seems to have formed part of a composition in relief (*Gazette Archéologique*, 2 (1876), p. 144 *sq.*, with pl. 36). Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 263 *sq.*

37. 7. **a temple of Aphrodite.** The remains of the temple or sanctuary of Aphrodite are to be seen in the pass of *Daphni* about a mile to the west of the monastery of that name. They are situated on the northern side of the modern highroad, in front of a rugged wall of rock, in the face of which a number of niches of various sizes have been cut for the reception of votive offerings. Under some of these niches are carved inscriptions, much defaced, containing dedications to Aphrodite (Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 170; *C. I. G.* Nos. 507-509; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 3823). Some marble doves and a pair of bronze doves billing have been found at the foot of the rock. No doubt they were votive offerings to the goddess, and probably occupied some of the rock-cut niches. Immediately in front of the rock are the remains of the precinct

of Aphrodite. They were fully excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1891 and 1892. The sacred precinct occupied a space about 210 feet long by about 60 feet wide, enclosed on the north-east by the rock and on the other sides by walls. Within this enclosure there seem to have been several divisions, but no foundations of a regular temple have been discovered. However, some fragments of triglyphs of white marble, observed here by L. Ross, appear to show that there was a small Doric temple. The chief entrance to the sacred enclosure was apparently on the south, opposite to the votive niches in the rock. The excavations of 1891-92 brought to light some mutilated marble statuettes of Aphrodite, marble doves, and other votive offerings inscribed with dedications to Aphrodite by women. Four bases were also found with dedicatory inscriptions; two of the dedications are to Aphrodite; one is to Persuasion by a certain Callimachus of Soli.

Outside of the sacred precinct, at its south-eastern corner, are the foundations of a quadrangular building about 82 feet long by 31 feet wide. These foundation-walls, nearly 30 feet thick, are constructed of great rude masses of stone in the style of the walls of Tiryns. This is doubtless the building described by Pausanias as "a wall (or 'fort,' τεῖχος) of unwrought stones that is worth seeing in front of the temple." It is probably an ancient fort built to defend the pass. The Sacred Way ran between it and the precinct of Aphrodite. A well-preserved piece of the ancient road was cleared in the recent excavations; and on it was found, beside the fort, one of the square effigies of Hermes, headless, with an inscription of Roman date, Z ΕΞΑΣΤΕΩΣ, 'Seven (miles) from the city.' About 30 yards to the west of the fort are the foundations of a square tower of similar construction. It probably formed part of the works which defended the pass.

Above the rock in which are the votive niches a footpath hewn in the rock leads to a small plateau, which may have been a place of sacrifice.

We are told that a certain Adimantus of Lampsacus, a toady of Demetrius Poliorcetes, built a temple at Thria in Attica, calling it the temple of Phila Aphrodite and the place Philaeum in honour of Phila the wife of Demetrius (Athenaeus, vi. p. 255 c, where *μητρὸς* is a mistake for *γυναικός*; cp. *ib.* p. 254 a). Hence, relying on two of the rock-cut inscriptions mentioned above, which contain dedications to Aphrodite by a certain Phila and a certain Phile (different forms of the same name), some scholars have inferred that the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way was the one founded by Adimantus in honour of the wife of Demetrius. But the name Phila or Phile was too common to allow us to base this inference on its occurrence in these inscriptions. And moreover Thria, though certainly in this neighbourhood, seems not to have been here but at *Kalyvia*, a village in the Thriasian plain about four miles away (Milchhöfer, 'Antikenbericht aus Attika,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 12 (1887), p. 326; *id.*, 'Demenordnung des Kleisthenes,' p. 28).

Another of the rock-cut inscriptions (*C. I. G.* No. 508; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 3823) mentions a certain Pythonice, who cannot, however, have

been the mistress of Harpalus (see above, i. 37. 5), since the inscription is of Roman date.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 169 *sqq.*; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 384 *sq.*; *id.*, *Athens*, 2. p. 145 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 2. p. 97 *sq.*; Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, Itinéraire, pl. 8; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 95; Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 130 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 327; Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 30 *sq.*, with pl. viii. 3; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläut. Text*, Heft ii. p. 47 *sq.*; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, p. 114; *id.*, 1892, p. 4 *sq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1892, pp. 10-13; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst, in Athen*, 17 (1892), p. 93 *sq.*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-3), p. 143; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1893), p. 266.

38. 1. **the Rhiti.** See above, p. 486 *sq.* The first skirmish in the Peloponnesian war took place here in 431 B.C.; it resulted in the defeat of the Athenian cavalry (Thucydides, ii. 19; see above, p. 429 *sq.*) The accounts which the ancient lexicographers give of these salt-streams or pools are less exact than that of Pausanias. Hesychius says (*s.v.* Ῥειτοί): "The Rhiti at Eleusis are two clefts in Attica. The one beside the sea is deemed sacred to the elder goddess (Demeter), and the one towards the city is deemed sacred to the younger goddess (Proserpine). Whence the troops of worshippers are purified in these baths" (? reading τοῖς λουτροῖς for τοὺς λουτρούς). Photius (*Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ῥειτά) says: "What are called the Rhita (*sic*) are two rivulets flowing from one spring. Sophocles used the word in this sense." The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* says (p. 703, *s.v.* Ῥείτης): "The Rhiti are two rivers flowing through a chasm under ground in the Thriasian plain near Eleusis." The notion that the Rhiti flowed underground from the Euripus, which Pausanias repeats elsewhere (ii. 24. 6), is of course absurd. As to a stone bridge which was perhaps constructed over one of these ponds in the fifth century B.C. see below, note on i. 38. 5 'the Cephisus.'

38. 2. **the palace of Crocon** etc. Crocon was the legendary ancestor of the "sacred family" of the Croconids at Athens (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, 1. p. 273, line 7 *sqq.*; Harpocration, *s.v.* Κοιρωνίδαι; Suidas, *s.v.* Κοιρωνίδαι). The tradition which Pausanias mentions as current in the township of Scambonidae that Crocon married Saesara, daughter of Celeus, is irreconcileable with the tradition that Crocon was a son of Triptolemus (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, *l.c.*), since Triptolemus himself was a son of Celeus (Paus. i. 14. 2). Saesara appears not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer; but an old name of Eleusis is said to have been Saesaria (Hesychius, *s.v.* Σαισαρία). Cp. J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 101 *sqq.* The township of Scambonidae belonged to the tribe Leontis (Harpocration and Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σκαμβωνίδαι). It seems to have been near Athens, perhaps at the beginning of the Sacred Way (Milchhöfer, *Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 19; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in *Hermes*, 22 (1887), p. 120 *sq.*)

38. 2. **Eumolpus came from Thrace, and —— was a son of Poseidon and Chione.** The tradition that Eumolpus was a son of Poseidon and Chione is mentioned also by Lycurgus (*c. Leocr.* 98),

Apollodorus (iii. 15. 4), and the scholiast on Euripides (*Phoeniss.* 854). Other writers simply say that he was a son of Poseidon (Isocrates, iv. 68, xii. 193; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46). On the lineage of Eumolpus and the tradition that he was a Thracian see Hiller de Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus*, p. 11 *sqq.*; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 24 *sqq.*

38. 2. **Homer —— calls him 'manly.'** Eumolpus is mentioned neither in the Iliad nor in the Odyssey. The passage to which Pausanias here refers is in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, *v.* 154, where, however, in our texts Eumolpus is called 'blameless' (ἀμύμονος), not 'manly' (ἀγήνορος). But the latter epithet occurs in the following line, being there applied to Celeus. It would seem that in Pausanias's copy of the hymn the epithets were transposed.

38. 3. **In a battle between the Eleusinians and the Athenians etc.** The prevalent tradition was that in the war between Athens and Eleusis the general of the Eleusinians was Eumolpus (Thucydides, ii. 19; Plato, *Menexenus*, p. 239 b; Isocrates, iv. 68, xii. 193; Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 98; Philochorus, Frag. 14, in *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 386; [Demosthenes,] lx. 8; Apollodorus, iii. 15. 4; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 4; Harpocration, *s.v.* Βοηδρόμια; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 490; Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1053; Schol. on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 854; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46), and that he was slain by Erechtheus (Apollodorus, iii. 15. 4; Schol. on Euripides, *l.c.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46; cp. Paus. i. 27. 4, note). By asserting here and elsewhere (i. 5. 2; i. 27. 4) that it was not Eumolpus but his son Immaradus who was slain by Erechtheus, Pausanias might be thought to imply that Immaradus, not Eumolpus, was the leader of the Eleusinians in the war; but this implication is not necessary. The tradition of the war between Athens and Eleusis most probably rested on a basis of fact. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 206 *sqq.*; Hiller de Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus*, p. 12 *sqq.*; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 41 *sqq.*

38. 3. **Pamphos and Homer agree in calling these damsels Diogenia, Pammerope, and Saesara.** In our text of the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*v.* 105 *sqq.*) it is said that the daughters of Celeus were four in number, and that their names were Callidice, Cleisidice, Demo, and Callithoe. Here again, therefore, it would seem that Pausanias's text of the hymn differed from ours. Cp. Baumeister's note on the passage in his edition of the Homeric hymns, p. 293 *sq.*

38. 3. **the Ceryces themselves say that Ceryx was a son of Hermes by Aglaurus etc.** According to others Ceryx was a son of Hermes and Herse, daughter of Cecrops (*C. I. G.* No. 6280; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1046), or of Hermes and Pandrosus, another daughter of Cecrops (Pollux, viii. 103; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* i. 334). Other authorities simply say that Ceryx was a son of Hermes (Harpocration, Hesychius, and Suidas, *s.v.* Κήρυκες). The tradition that Ceryx was a son of Eumolpus is mentioned by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 1053). On the family of the Ceryces see W. Ditten-

berger, 'Die eleusinischen Keryken,' *Hermes*, 20 (1885), pp. 1-40; J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 80-92.

38. 4. **a shrine of the hero Hippothoon** etc. Cp. i. 5. 2; i. 39. 3. His shrine (*heröon*) is mentioned by Hesychius (*s.v.* Ἱπποθοώντειον), and by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ζάρηξ), who here copies Pausanias. A priest of Hippothoon is mentioned in an inscription of Eleusis (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 125 *sq.*)

38. 4. **Zarex —— Zarax.** According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 580) Zarex was a son of Carystus or of Caryx, the son of Chiron; he married Rhoeo, the daughter of Staphylus, and had two children by her. As to Zarax see iii. 21. 7; iii. 24. 1.

38. 5. **the Cephisus, a more impetuous stream** etc. The Eleusinian Cephisus is the stream which, rising in Mt. Cithaeron, near Eleutherae, flows into the sea a little to the east of Eleusis. For the greater part of the year the bed of the stream is either quite dry or can at most show only three or four slender rills trickling among the gravel. But occasionally it is filled with a broad and raging torrent, which overflows its banks and spreads devastation over the plain. This, as Pausanias justly remarks, contrasts with the gentler flow of the Athenian Cephisus. Demosthenes speaks (liv. 28, p. 1279) of the havoc wrought by floods among the fields at Eleusis. After one of these destructive floods the emperor Hadrian, who was wintering at Athens and had been initiated in the mysteries at Eleusis, caused an embankment to be raised for the protection of Eleusis against inundations of the river (Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. 2. p. 166, ed. Schöne). In the plain about a mile to the north of Eleusis remains of two ancient mounds may still be seen. One of them was clearly constructed for the purpose of diverting some of the superfluous water into the north-west corner of the bay; the other, extending along the western bank of the stream, was intended to protect the eastern side of the town from the torrent. These are probably remains of Hadrian's embankment. See *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, p. 5; Leake, *Athens*, 2. pp. 139, 154 *sqq.*; Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 133. An inscription found at the sanctuary of Eleusis contains a decree of the year 421-420 B.C. relating to the construction of a bridge over τὸν Ῥειτὸν τὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἄστεως, *i.e.* 'the stream (or pool) beside (or as you come from) the city.' It is doubtful whether the stream or pool in question was the Eleusinian Cephisus or one of the two salt-pools called Rhiti (see above, pp. 486 *sq.*, 499). The decree enacts that the bridge shall be constructed with "the stones which have been taken down from the old temple and have not been used in the construction of the fortification-wall." The object of the bridge is said to be "that the priestesses may carry the sacred objects in safety"; and it is ordained that the width of the bridge shall be only 5 feet, "in order that waggons may not drive over it, but that it may be used by persons going on foot to the sacred rites." See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 163-171. From another inscription found at Eleusis we learn that in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. a certain Xenocles constructed at his own expense a stone bridge "for the safety of the crowd of worshippers coming to Eleusis and to

the sanctuary, as well as of the inhabitants of the suburb, and of the farmers" (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1892, p. 101 *sqq.*) Remains of an ancient stone bridge are still to be seen in the old bed of the Eleusinian Cephisus, at the place called 'the fair well' (*kalon phreari*), where the villagers draw water (Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1892, p. 106).

38. 5. **a place which they call Erineus.** Plato in the *Theaetetus* (p. 143 b) represents Euclides as having escorted the sick and wounded Theaetetus from the port of Megara, as far as Erineus, on the road to Athens. The distance from Nisaea the port of Megara to the Eleusinian Cephisus, on the bank of which was the spot called Erineus, is about fourteen miles. So Euclides had had a long walk; and he admitted that he would be glad to rest. As to the scene of the rape of Proserpine, which Pausanias places at Erineus, see below, p. 507.

38. 5. **At this Cephisus a robber named Polypemon** etc. Ovid also represents Procrustes as dwelling beside the Cephisus (*Met.* vii. 438). But according to Plutarch (*Theseus*, 11) and Diodorus (iv. 59) the robber Procrustes had his hold at Hermes or Hermus, on Mt. Corydallus (see above, p. 430). Plutarch and Hesychius (*s.v.* Δαμαστής) say that Procrustes's real name was Damastes, not Polypemon. In the epitome of Apollodorus, which was recently discovered in the Vatican, both the robber's names are mentioned. The passage runs thus: "Sixthly he (Theseus) slew Damastes, whom some call Polypemon. This Damastes dwelt beside the road, and he spread two beds, one small and the other large. He offered hospitality to the passers-by: and the short men he laid on the large bed and hammered them out till they were as long as the bed; but the tall men he laid on the little bed and sawed off their extremities" (Apollodorus, *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 54 *sq.*) A parallel to the story of Procrustes occurs in the Talmud, where it is said that the wicked citizens of Sodom had a particular bed provided for travellers; if the traveller was too short for the bed, they stretched him out; if he was too long, they cut him down to the length of the bed. When Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, visited Sodom, he was invited to sleep on this bed, but evaded compliance on the pretext that since his mother's death he had made a vow not to sleep in a bed. The passage occurs in the Talmud, *Sanhedrim*, p. 109 b, as I am informed by Dr. Schechter, Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge, who has also pointed out to me references to this Talmudic legend in B. Beer's *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, p. 41; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, p. 135. A trace of the same story appears in a Persian poem in which the princess Nighara says to the disguised poet Kurroglu, "I will fetch thee one of my father's robes; and if it should be too short for thee I will have thy legs chopped off just at the place to which the robe will reach: if it should be too long, I will direct a nail to be driven into each of thy heels, that thou mayest become taller." To this the poet replies, "Then thou would'st treat me after Abú Hurera's code?" See W. A. Clouston, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 3 (1886), No. 860.

38. 6. **The Eleusinians have a temple of Triptolemus** etc.

Eleusis was one of the twelve originally independent cities of Attica which Theseus is said to have united in a single state (Strabo, ix. p. 397). The poor and fever-haunted village of *Levsina*, with about 1200 inhabitants, mostly Albanians, stands on the site and has preserved the name of the ancient city. Eleusis was situated near the south-western corner of the Thriasian plain, at the eastern end of a low rocky hill, a mile long, which runs parallel to the sea-shore at a distance of a few hundred yards. On the west the hill is separated by a narrow branch of the plain from the mountains which form the western boundary of the Thriasian plain. The narrow ridge of this low hill was the ancient acropolis of Eleusis ; the fortifications may be traced along its northern side and less clearly along the southern side, as far as the square Frankish tower which occupies the most westerly and the highest point of the ridge. This mediaeval tower stands on ancient foundations and is partially built, especially in its lower courses, of large ancient blocks. The view from this point over the beautiful landlocked bay to Salamis, and across the plain to the mountains which encircle it on three sides, is very fine. On the ridge, between the fortification-walls, there are some ancient cisterns cut in the rock. On the southern side of the hill, facing the sea, Chandler last century saw some traces of a theatre, but these have now disappeared. That there was a theatre at Eleusis is known from inscriptions (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 83, 111 *sq.* ; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), p. 180). There was also a stadium near the theatre, as we learn from an inscription (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, *l.c.*) The town of Eleusis lay on the level ground at the foot of the hill, especially between the south-eastern extremity of the hill and the sea. Traces of the two town-walls which extended from the acropolis to the sea may still be seen. The eastern of these two walls was built along the summit of an artificial embankment, which was here carried across the marshy flat. This wall, in accordance with a practice often adopted by Greek military engineers, was prolonged into the sea, so as to make a breakwater for the harbour. The harbour of Eleusis, small in size and nearly circular in shape, was formed artificially by two curved moles, which ran out into the sea for about 100 yards. The breakwater, formed by the continuation of the town-wall, jutted into the middle of the harbour, dividing it into two, but not reaching so far out into the water as the two outer moles. Remains of walls and buildings may be seen along the shore to the west of the harbour.

The remains of the sanctuary of Demeter, to which Eleusis owed its fame in antiquity, are situated at the eastern foot of the hill. The rock has here been cut away perpendicularly and levelled horizontally, so as to form an artificial terrace ; and on this terrace the group of buildings which composed the sanctuary was placed. The site was partially excavated by the Dilettanti Society in the early part of the present century ; and some further excavations were made by Fr. Lenormant in 1860. But the honour of completely clearing the site belongs to the Greek Archaeological Society. The work was begun in 1882 and practically finished in 1887, though some supplementary excavations

have since been made. Mr. D. Philios superintended and reported on the excavations: Dr. W. Dörpfeld executed the plans.

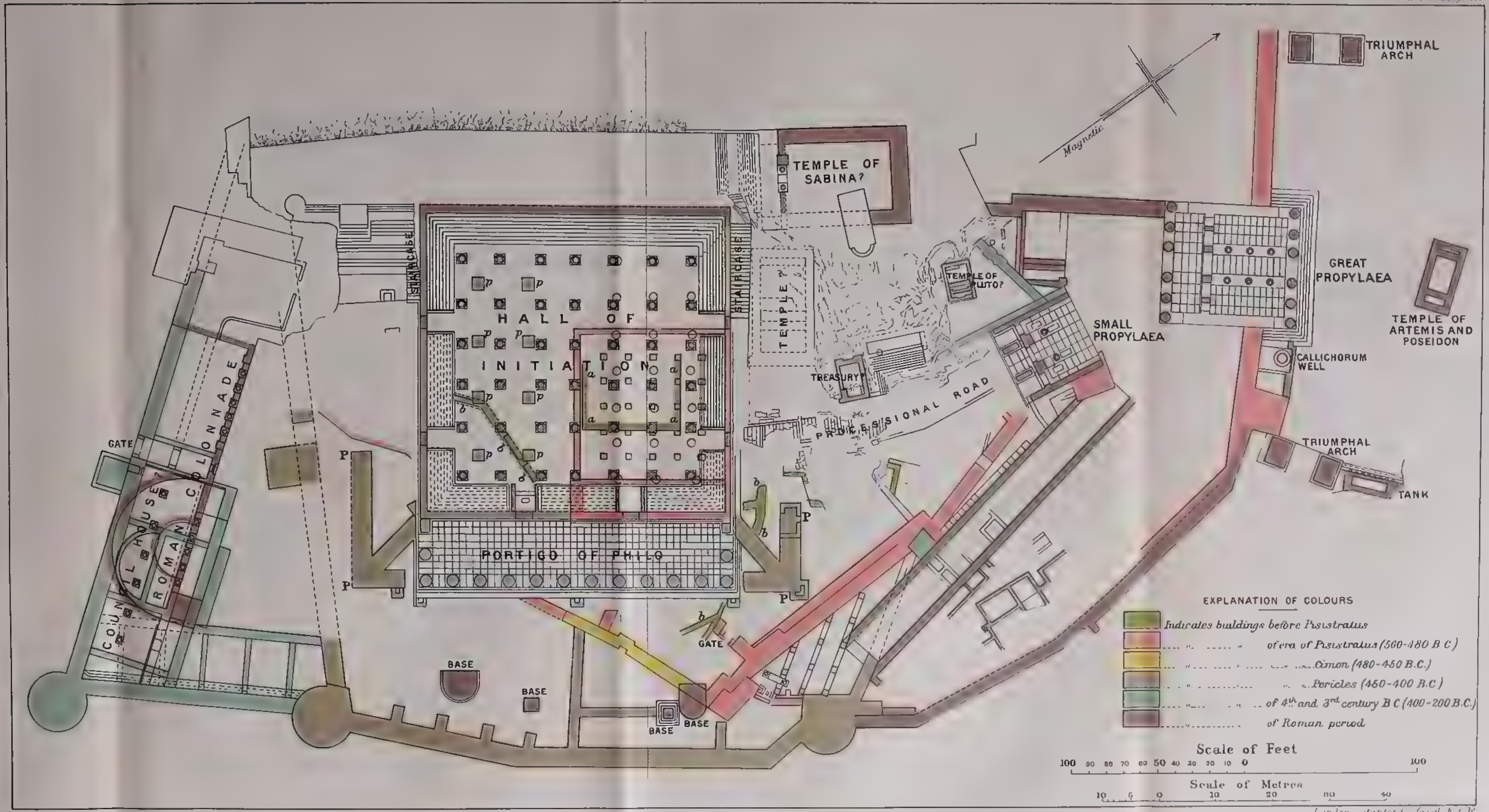
The earliest mention of the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis occurs in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*v.* 270 *sqq.*), where the goddess is represented bidding the people of Eleusis build her a great temple and altar on a projecting hill, at the foot of the citadel, and above Callichorum (as to which see below). The old sanctuary was burnt by the Persians in 480 or 479 B.C. (Herodotus, ix. 65). The new sanctuary was built, or at least begun, under the administration of Pericles. According to Strabo and Vitruvius the architect was Ictinus, who built the Parthenon. Strabo says (ix. p. 395): "Next comes Eleusis, in which is the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter and the mystic close (ὁ *μυστικὸς σηκός*), which Ictinus constructed capable of holding such a crowd as would fill a theatre." Vitruvius says (vii. Praef. 16): "Ictinus constructed the shrine (*cella*) of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis of an enormous size, in the Doric style, without external columns." Plutarch agrees with Strabo and Vitruvius in representing the new sanctuary as built or begun in the age of Pericles, but he has given a different account of the architects by whom the work was designed and executed. He says (*Pericles*, 13): "Coroebus began to build the Hall of Initiation (*telesterion*) at Eleusis. He set up the columns on the floor and united them by the epistyles. After his death Metagenes the Xypetian put on the frieze and the upper columns. But the *opaion* on the *anaktoron* was completed by Xenocles the Cholargian." (What the *opaion* and *anaktoron* were is uncertain. The architect of the Dilettanti Society understood *opaion* to be the pannelled ceiling and *anaktoron* to be only another name for the *telesterion* or Hall of Initiation.) Plutarch's detailed account is probably to be preferred to the summary accounts of Strabo and Vitruvius. So famous a building, designed or executed in the age of Pericles, might naturally, though incorrectly, be ascribed by popular report to Ictinus, the most illustrious architect of the age. Vitruvius (*l.c.*) reckons the building, along with the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the temple of Apollo at Miletus, and the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, as among the finest examples of sacred architecture in marble.

The general arrangement of the sanctuary will be best understood from the accompanying plan. The following remarks are meant to explain and supplement the plan.

The sacred precinct was bounded on the west by the rock of the acropolis and on the other three sides by a fortification-wall strengthened with towers. It was thus a fortress united to the acropolis. The fortification-wall was built of unburnt bricks on a foundation and socle of limestone. Remains of this wall, including portions of the upper part built of unburnt bricks, may still be seen. They are coloured grey on the plan.

The area of the sacred precinct was enlarged at least twice. Originally it appears to have terminated on the south at the middle of the three round towers marked in the plan. The extension of the precinct to the south took place in the period of Greek independence, perhaps in

SACRED PRECINCT AT ELEUSIS, SHOWING THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1882-1895.



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the fourth century B.C. At a later time, under the Roman empire, the precinct was extended in the opposite direction, towards the north. The new wall built to enclose the space thus added to the precinct on the north is coloured yellow on the plan. The outer face of this wall is of much later date, and so is the wall on the west, which is also coloured yellow on the plan.

The entrance to the sacred precinct was on the north. Outside of the precinct there was a spacious court paved with stone flags. In the middle of this court, about 60 feet north of the great portal or Propylaea, are the foundations of a small temple about 40 feet long by 20 feet broad. These foundations are constructed of the masonry called *opus incertum*. The temple was therefore built in the Roman period, and not, as was formerly supposed, in the fourth or third century B.C. It had a portico at each end; but whether each of these porticoes opened through columns placed between *antae*, as was formerly asserted, seems to be doubtful. The temple was probably the temple of Artemis of the Portal and Father Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias.

Outside of the sacred precinct, on each side of the Great Propylaea, are the remains of two Roman triumphal arches. (Only the one on the eastern side of the Propylaea is marked on the plan.) The inscriptions which surmounted these two arches declare that they were dedicated "to the Two Goddesses and the Emperor" by all the Greeks. The emperor to whom the arches were dedicated may have been Hadrian, who was a benefactor of Eleusis and had been initiated in the mysteries (see above, p. 501); it appears from an inscription that games were held at Eleusis in honour of Hadrian (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 19). Or the arches may have been dedicated to Antoninus Pius, who repaired the sanctuary at Eleusis at great expense (Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3. p. 308 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; see below, p. 509). Beside the eastern of the two triumphal arches there is a tank, the floor of which is lined with burnt bricks. Its front is of marble, and here there are a number of holes through which the water poured into a corresponding number of small basins.

Still outside of the sacred precinct, at the eastern side of the Great Propylaea, an ancient well was discovered in 1893. This well, which is at a level considerably below that of the existing pavement, is carefully constructed of polygonal blocks: its mouth is surrounded by concentric circles. The Romans, who built the Great Propylaea, evidently respected the well; for the lowest of the steps leading up to the Propylaea has been cut away so as not to interfere with it. This no doubt is the Callichorum well mentioned by Pausanias and by other ancient writers (see below, note on 'a well called Callichorum,' p. 514).

The grand portal or Great Propylaea faces north-east. It is a close, almost slavish copy of the Propylaea on the Acropolis at Athens, except that the wings are omitted. Not only the proportions, but the actual dimensions of the Athenian Propylaea are reproduced. Six marble steps, which have been broken away at the north-west corner, lead up to the portal. The bases of the two rows of Ionic columns which flanked the central passage are still in their original situations. In front of the

portal, among the débris, lies a colossal medallion of white marble, rudely sculptured, which occupied the central place in the external façade of the gateway, over the middle door. The whole structure is of Roman date; it may perhaps have been erected by Hadrian.

To the south-west of the Great Propylaea were found in 1888 the foundations and parts of the walls of a large house of Roman date. On the walls are some interesting paintings, one of which is a copy of Phidias's statue of Olympian Zeus (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, p. 77 *sqq.*, with pl. 4 and 5: see Paus. v. 11. 1, note). The house (which is not marked on the plan) may have been the official residence of some of the ministers of the sanctuary.

About 50 feet to the south of the Great Propylaea is a second portal, the Small Propylaea. It faces north, and consists of a passage 33 feet wide between two parallel walls, each 50 feet long. At its inner extremity the passage is divided into three by two short walls parallel to the two outer walls. The central of the three openings thus formed is 13 feet wide. The outer ends of the two short inner walls were adorned with *antae*, opposite to which stood two columns with florid capitals adorned with griffins' heads. These two columns supported the epistyle, not tripods, as K. Bötticher asserted. The epistyle, of which pieces remain, consisted of an architrave surmounted by a frieze sculptured with the emblems of Demeter's worship (wheat sheaves, flowers, and sacred vessels). A mutilated Latin inscription on the architrave informs us that the portal had been vowed to Demeter and Proserpine by Appius Claudius Pulcher in his consulship (54 B.C.), and that it was afterwards erected or completed, in fulfilment of the vow, by two of his nephews (*C. I. L.* i. No. 619; *C. I. L.* iii. 1. No. 547). This Appius Claudius was a friend of Cicero, who addressed to him a number of letters which are still extant (all the letters of the third book of the *Epistolae ad Familiares*). He appears to have been a weak man, the slave of his superstitions (Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 58. 132; *id.*, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 16. 37; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 10). In two letters addressed to Atticus in 50 B.C. Cicero alludes to Appius's design of erecting this very portal at Eleusis: but he does so in a way which shows that when he wrote these letters the portal was either not begun or at least not finished (*Epist. ad Atticum*, vi. 1. 26; *ib.*, vi. 6. 2). Stirred up by his friend's example Cicero conceived the design of commemorating himself by building a portal to the Academy: but this design was never executed.

Excavations under Appius Claudius's portal have led to the discovery of some well-preserved remains of a large tower. This proves that the entrance to the sacred precinct was formerly through a fortified, not an ornamental, gateway.

From this portal a paved road leads south to the great Hall of Initiation. The pavement of this road is of Roman date. There are some pedestals beside it, perhaps in their original places. The wall which at present supports the road on the east is mostly modern.

On the right (west) side of this road, as soon as we have passed through the Small Propylaea, we perceive a triangular area enclosed on

one side by the rock of the acropolis, and on the other two sides by the remains of ancient walls. In the rock is a grotto which is reached by a small flight of roughly hewn steps; and in the middle of the triangular area may be seen the foundations of a small temple *in antis*, 6.70 metres (about 22 feet) long by 5.20 metres (17 feet) wide. Two or three courses of the foundations, built of squared blocks of common stone, are standing. From the style of the masonry it appears that the temple was not older than the fifth century B.C.; but traces of much older walls have also been discovered here. On the other hand, the walls which enclose the area on two sides seem to be later than the temple, being carelessly constructed of blocks of common stone taken from other buildings. Two votive reliefs found in the enclosure seem to show that it was the precinct of Pluto which is repeatedly mentioned in an important inscription of 329/8 B.C. relating to repairs and alterations made in the great Eleusinian sanctuary (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 113 *sqq.*) One of the votive reliefs was dedicated by a certain Lysimachides to Pluto and Proserpine under the titles of 'the god' and 'the goddess'; they are represented feasting. On the other relief, of which only a fragment remains, are seen the heads of Pluto and Proserpine; they are identified by having their names ('Pluto' and 'goddess') inscribed beside them. This second relief was dedicated by "a priest of the god and goddess and of Eubuleus." (See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, pp. 19-32, with pl. 3.) Hence the little temple in the middle of the triangular precinct was probably a temple of Pluto or of Pluto and Proserpine jointly. The inscription of 329/8 B.C., mentioned above, refers to the purchase of boards of elm-wood for the construction of doors to the sanctuary, the cost of polishing the *antae* and of sculpturing and painting their capitals, etc. Hence it seems natural to suppose with Mr. Foucart that the temple had just been built and was receiving its last touches in 329/8 B.C. (*Bull. de Corr. Hellénique*, 7 (1883), p. 387 *sqq.*) The same inscription mentions the cost of plastering and whitewashing the altar of Pluto. The grotto in the rock was no doubt connected with the worship of Pluto here: it may be the very "cave at Eleusis, where are the Gates of Hell," down which Pluto is said to have swept his young bride in a chariot to the gloomy subterranean world (*Orphic Hymns*, xix. 12 *sqq.*) Pausanias, however, places the scene of the rape on the banks of the Cephisus, outside of the great sanctuary (see above, § 5). The return of Proserpine from the nether world is said to have also taken place at Eleusis (R. Förster, *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone*, p. 46). In the precinct of Pluto was found the marble head of a beardless young man with flowing curly locks, apparently a work of the fourth century B.C. Professors Benndorf and Furtwängler argue that it represents Eubuleus and is a work of Praxiteles. A small base inscribed with a dedication to Eubuleus was found near it. As to this marble head see Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, p. 257 *sqq.*, with pl. 10; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 105; P. Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, No. 181; P. J. Meier, 'Zur Eubuleusbüste des Praxiteles,' *Jahrbuch. d. arch. Inst.* 5

(1890), pp. 209-212; O. Kern, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 51 *sqq.*; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 561-567.

To the south of the precinct of Pluto a broad flight of steps cut in the rock on the western side of the paved road leads up to a small plateau, where the cuttings in the surface of the rock show that a small building once stood here; but no stones of it remain.

Immediately to the south of this flight of stairs, on the same side of the road, are the remains of a small quadrangular edifice built of common stone. It is conjectured to have been a treasury; for from the great inscription of 329/8 B.C. we learn that there were two treasuries at Eleusis, one of Demeter and the other of Proserpine: the inscription mentions the doors, roof, and tiles of one of the treasuries (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 115 *sqq.*, 125 *sq.*)

The great Hall of Initiation, to which the paved road leads from the Small Propylaea, is a vast single chamber about 170 feet square, the sides of which face north, south, east, and west. The whole of the west side, together with the western parts of the northern and southern sides, are bounded by the rock of the acropolis, which has been cut away perpendicularly to make room for the hall. The roof of the hall was supported by six rows of columns, seven columns in each row: the bases of all these columns except one are still to be seen in their places. Eight tiers of steps, partly cut in the rock, partly built, ran all round the hall except at the entrances, of which there were six, namely, two on the north, two on the east, and two on the south. On these tiers of steps the initiated probably sat watching the performance of the mysteries which took place in the body of the hall. It is calculated that about 3000 people could find room on them. The steps, originally narrow, were widened at a later date by a casing of marble. That this marble casing of the steps is a late work appears from the use of mortar to fasten it on.

Outside of the Hall of Initiation, on its northern and southern sides, two flights of steps cut in the rock lead up to a terrace about 40 feet wide, which has been levelled in the rock of the acropolis along the whole of the western side of the great hall, at a height above the hall of some 20 feet. The southern flight of steps is about 40 feet wide: the northern is only 11 feet wide. From the terrace to which these staircases lead up it is supposed that access was obtained to an upper chamber over the Hall of Initiation. The passage of Plutarch, quoted above (p. 504), seems to favour the view that there was an upper story to the grand hall.

The eastern front of the Hall of Initiation was adorned with a spacious portico 183 feet long from north to south by $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. Twelve columns stood on the long eastern front of the portico, and there was one more column behind each of the corner columns on the narrow northern and southern sides of the portico. These fourteen columns were of the Doric order and of Pentelic marble. They measured $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter at the base. Apparently they were never finished; for only a narrow ring at the top and bottom of each shaft was fluted. We

learn from Vitruvius (vii. Praef. 17) that this portico was built by the architect Philo at the time when Demetrius Phalereus was master of Athens (318-307 B.C.) Philo was the architect of the great naval arsenal at Piraeus (see above, p. 18 *sqq.*) An inscription found at Eleusis mentions "the bringing from Pentelicus to Eleusis of the capitals of the fourteen columns in the portico at Eleusis" (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, p. 121); and another inscription contains some minute architectural particulars as to the construction of the columns of the portico (see *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 186-189).

Such was the great Hall of Initiation in the later period of antiquity. Most of the remains of it which have been described are of Roman date. For the style and workmanship of the few fragments of marble capitals which have been found in the hall betray the decline of art; and the foundation of one of the columns (the column in the north-east corner) is partly composed of two pedestals, one of which bears an inscription of Imperial date. Many of the foundations of the other columns contain architectural fragments or simple blocks taken from earlier buildings. It seems probable, therefore, that the final condition of the Hall of Initiation, as described above, was the work of the emperor Antoninus Pius, who is said to have repaired "the temple at Eleusis" at great expense (Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3. p. 308 *sq.* ed. Dindorf).

But the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society in the hall brought to light vestiges of four older edifices on the same site. These vestiges are marked on the plan. They are as follows:

(1) Oldest of all are the remains of two walls meeting at a right angle in the northern half of the hall. On the plan they are indicated by dotted hatchings and the letters *a a a*. They are built of polygonal blocks of the dark Eleusinian marble, and may have formed part of the temple of Demeter, mentioned in the Homeric hymn (see above, p. 504). To the south, east, and north of these very ancient walls are some isolated pieces of walls of the same period: they are indicated on the plan by dotted hatchings and the letters *b b b*. From the style of these pieces and the directions in which they lie, it is conjectured that they are parts of the ancient wall which enclosed the oldest precinct and the oldest temple (*a a a*).

(2) The remains of a hall were found occupying exactly the north-east corner of the area afterwards filled by the great hall. They are marked in red on the plan. This lesser hall was about 82 feet square in the inside: the roof was supported by five rows of columns, five columns in each row, the square bases of which are still in their places. A portico extended along the eastern front of the hall. It is thought that this hall was built in the sixth century B.C., and that it was probably a work of Pisistratus. At all events it was probably the hall destroyed by the Persians. An inscription built into one of the foundations of the columns dates apparently from the first half of the sixth century B.C. Another Eleusinian inscription, dating from 421-420 B.C., contains a decree that the stones of the old temple which had not been used up in constructing the fortification-wall, should be employed to build a bridge (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), p. 163; see above, p. 501).

The "old temple" mentioned in this latter inscription may be the hall of which the remains have just been described.

(3) There are vestiges of the foundations of three rows of columns, seven columns in each row, extending all across the northern half of the great hall from east to west, but not encroaching on the southern half of the hall. They are indicated on the plan by blank circles. It is conjectured that these foundations are part of a provisional restoration and extension of the hall carried out, possibly by Cimon, soon after the destruction of the sanctuary by the Persians in 480 or 479 B.C.

(4) In the southern half of the great hall are some square foundations of columns (*p p p* on the plan), which are supposed to have formed part of the enlarged hall erected or at least begun in the time of Pericles (see above, p. 504). Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that in this hall, as planned by Ictinus or other architects of Pericles, the new southern half of the great hall was divided from the old northern half by a partition wall; in the southern of the two compartments thus formed the roof was supported by eight columns (*p p p* on the plan), while in the northern half it continued to be supported by the twenty-one columns (indicated by blank circles on the plan) which are conjecturally referred to Cimon. We know from Vitruvius (vii. Praef. 16) that the hall built in Pericles's time had no portico. It has, however, been conjectured that some foundation-walls near the north-east and south-east corners of the hall (marked P P P on the plan) were intended by Pericles's architect to support a portico or colonnade which was to extend round the north, east, and south sides of the hall.

So much for the existing remains of the great Hall of Initiation in which the mysteries of Eleusis were celebrated. There are passages of ancient writers which seem to imply that besides the place to which the initiated had access there was an inner Holy of Holies called the *anaktoron* or *megaron*, which none but the high-priest of the mysteries might enter and which, being suddenly thrown open, disclosed to the view of the awestruck beholders the most sacred objects of their religious veneration lit up by a blaze of dazzling light (Plutarch, *De profect. in virt.* 10; Athenaeus, iv. p. 167 f; Himerius, *Orat.* xxii. 7; Suidas, *s.vv.* εὐνοῦχος, ἱεροφάντης, and μέγαρον; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 79). But no trace of any inner chamber or enclosure has been discovered in the great Hall of Initiation. It may therefore be suggested that the *anaktoron* or *megaron* was perhaps nothing but the body of the hall, which may have been screened by curtains from the spectators sitting in darkness on the tiers of seats that ran all round it, till suddenly the curtain rose and revealed the vast hall brilliantly illuminated, with the gorgeously attired actors in the sacred drama moving marily in solemn procession or giddy dance out and in amongst the forest of columns that rose from the floor of the hall, while the strains of grave or voluptuous music filled the air. Then, when all was over, the curtain would as suddenly descend, leaving the spectators in darkness and silence, with nothing but the memory of the splendid pageant that had burst upon them and vanished like a dream.

It remains to notice some other buildings within the boundaries of

the sacred precinct. To the north of the Hall of Initiation, and separated from it only by the rock-cut staircase which ascends to the terrace, are the remains of a building about 69 feet long from east to west, by about 39 feet wide. Of the actual building only some scanty pieces of foundations, constructed of common stone, are left; but its plan can be made out from the cuttings in the rock made to receive the walls. It appears to have been a temple, consisting of a single chamber or *cella* with a portico on the east front. There is nothing to show to what deity it was dedicated. Mr. O. Rubensohn conjectures that it was a temple of Demeter built before the Persian wars, and this is as likely a conjecture as any other. But we have no proof that in historical times there was a temple of Demeter at Eleusis. The author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter, indeed, mentions a temple of Demeter at Eleusis (*v.* 270): but no later writer and no inscription yet discovered speaks of such a temple. Strabo, in a passage already quoted (p. 504), refers to "the sanctuary (ἱερόν) of Eleusinian Demeter and the mystic close": but this does not imply the existence of a temple.

Abutting on the eastern end of the fortification-wall which bounds the sacred precinct on the south are the remains of a building of somewhat peculiar ground-plan. It consisted of three compartments side by side, the central one of which ends on the south in a large semicircular apse: the other two compartments are quadrangular. The building dates from the good Greek period, and is probably the Council House which is known from at least one inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. 5; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 387) to have stood within the sacred precinct at Eleusis. The Council House at Olympia was of somewhat similar form (see note on v. 24. 9). The date of the construction of the Council House at Eleusis and the purpose which it served are both somewhat uncertain. The inscription, already referred to, which undoubtedly mentions it, appears to date from about the middle of the second century A.D.; but the Council House seems to be also mentioned, though this has been questioned, in an inscription of about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 27 b, p. 59 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 13; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 4 (1880), p. 225 *sqq.*) With regard to the use to which the Council House was put, it has been conjectured that "the Sacred Senate" (ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσία), which is mentioned in an Eleusinian inscription of the end of the second century A.D. (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 702), may have held its sittings here. But about this Sacred Senate nothing further is known. It seems more probable that, as Mr. Rubensohn has suggested, the Council of the Five Hundred at Athens, which apparently exercised supreme control over the Eleusinian sanctuary, its treasures, and its ceremonies, may have met in the Council House at Eleusis on certain days to make arrangements for the celebration of the mysteries. We know that on stated days or special occasions the Council of the Five Hundred held their sittings at places other than their regular place of assembly, the Council House in the market-place at Athens. Thus they met in the Eleusinium on the day after the great Eleusinian festival (see note on i. 14. 3), and they met from day to day on one of the quays in the harbour when

a naval squadron was fitting out for sea (see note on i. 1. 2, p. 21). At some time in the Roman period the Council House at Eleusis was pulled down, and a double colonnade erected on its site. The two rows of bases which supported the columns still exist.

The last remains of an ancient building which we shall notice within the sacred precinct are those of a temple of Roman date standing at the northern end of the rock-cut terrace above the Hall of Initiation. A broad flight of stairs leads up from the end of the terrace to the temple, which faced south and consisted of a single chamber or *cella* with a portico in front, the whole measuring about 72 feet long by 26 feet wide. It has been suggested by Mr. Rubensohn that the temple was dedicated to "the New Demeter," the title bestowed by the degenerate and flattering Greeks on Sabina, wife of Hadrian (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 73, 74; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 334) and on Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1046 line 6, with Kaibel's note).

From inscriptions found at Eleusis we learn that the open space within the sacred precinct was called the Court of the Sanctuary (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 84; *id.*, 1884, p. 135 *sq.*; *id.*, 1887, p. 5 *sq.*) Many buildings or precincts situated within or connected with the great sanctuary are known only from inscriptions. Such are the sanctuary of Dionysus (Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ., 1883, p. 113 *sq.*; *id.*, 1884, p. 74), the sanctuary of Theseus (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ., 1883, pp. 111 *sq.*, 113 *sq.*, 115 *sq.*, 121 *sq.*), 'the sacred houses' (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ., 1883, pp. 113 *sq.*, 119 *sq.*, 125 *sq.*), the house of the priestess (*ib.*, pp. 109 *sq.*, 113 *sq.*, 119 *sq.*, 125 *sq.*), the house of the Ceryces (*ib.*, pp. 110 *sq.*, 125 *sq.*; as to the Ceryces, see Paus. i. 38. 3 note), the Neocorium or house of the custodians (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ., pp. 115-118), the Epistasium or house of the overseers (*ib.*, pp. 113 *sq.*, 119 *sq.*), the wardrobe (*ib.*, p. 125 *sq.*), and the sacred winepress (*ib.*, p. 119 *sq.*) The sacred threshing-floor, mentioned in the great inscription of 329-8 B.C. (*ib.*, p. 121 *sq.*), is probably identical with the threshing-floor of Triptolemus mentioned by Pausanias, from whom we learn that it was outside of the great sanctuary. Another inscription relates to the sacred waste land (*orgas*) which belonged to the sanctuary, and describes a curious mode of consulting the Delphic oracle on the question whether the sacred waste should or should not be let out (Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ., 1888, pp. 25 *sqq.*, 113 *sqq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 13 (1889), pp. 433-467).

Among the sculptures found at Eleusis is a fine statue of a young man, which Mr. Philios conjectures to have been a copy of Polyclitus's statue of the man (or boy) scraping himself (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 55). But as both arms and one of the legs of the statue are missing, it is impossible to be certain as to its original attitude. The statue is of Pentelic marble. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, p. 207 *sqq.*, with pl. 10, 11.

Lastly, it deserves to be mentioned that evidence of the former prevalence of the early type of civilisation denominated Mycenaean has come to light at Eleusis. Such evidence is furnished by the existence of a beehive tomb on the south side of the acropolis (*Gazette archéologique*,

8 (1883), p. 248 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1889, p. 192 note 2; see note on ii. 16. 5), the discovery of a grave containing pottery of the Mycenaean type (Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1889, p. 187 *sqq.*), the discovery within the sacred precinct of a large number of rude clay figures like those found at Mycenae and Tiryns (Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1884, p. 76), and the discovery of two gold plates embossed with patterns of the Mycenaean style (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 180 *sqq.*, with pl. 9, fig. 1 and 2).

The site of the temple of Triptolemus mentioned by Pausanias is not known. It has often been supposed that the chapel of St. Zaccharias, about 170 yards north-east of the sacred precinct, stands on the site of the temple; for here were found three reliefs representing scenes in the myth of Triptolemus, including the beautiful relief now in the National Museum at Athens (see note on i. 14. 1). But extensive excavations conducted beside the chapel by Mr. D. Philios, in 1888, convinced him that no important building of Greek or Roman times existed here. He discovered, however, some insignificant remains of Roman houses, and the ruins of a large and tolerably ancient Byzantine church, in the construction of which stones taken from older buildings seem to have been employed (Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρίας, 1888, p. 26 *sq.*)

As to the images of Demeter and Proserpine in their great sanctuary at Eleusis we have no positive information. But from fragments of votive reliefs and the sherd of a painted vase found at Eleusis Mr. O. Kern concludes that Demeter was represented sitting on the cylindrical *cista* or basket (see note on viii. 25. 7), perhaps with a sceptre in her raised left hand and a bunch of ears of corn in her right, while Proserpine stood beside her with a torch in each hand (O. Kern, 'Das Kultbild der Göttinen von Eleusis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), pp. 125-142).

On Eleusis see Wheler, *Journey*, p. 427 *sqq.*; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 189 *sqq.*; *Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. ii. (London, 1797), p. 22 *sq.*, with pl. xix.-xxi.; *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (London, 1817), pp. 1-40, with views, maps, plans, elevations etc.; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 581 *sqq.*; Leake, *Athens*, 2. p. 154 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 110 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 97 *sqq.*; Fr. Lenormant, *Recherches Archéologiques à Eleusis* (Paris, 1862); *id.*, 'Triptolème et les grandes déesses. Bas-relief d'Éleusis,' *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. 15 (1867), p. 161 *sq.*, with pl. iv.; *id.*, 'Bas-reliefs votifs d'Éleusis,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 1 (1875), p. 87 *sq.*, with pl. 22; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 328 *sqq.*; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, p. 180 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 119 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 1. p. 199 *sqq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας (Jan. 1882 - Jan. 1883), pp. 84-103; *id.*, 1883, pp. 51-67; *id.*, 1884, pp. 64-87; *id.*, 1885, pp. 25-29; *id.*, 1886, p. 50 *sq.*; *id.*, 1887, pp. 50-58; *id.*, 1888, pp. 23-27; *id.*, 1889, pp. 22-25; *id.*, 1890, p. 26 *sq.*; *id.*, 1892, pp. 31-35; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, pp. 1-22, 75-86, 109-148, 253-264; *id.*, 1884, pp. 69-74, 135-148, 179-186, 213-218; *id.*, 1885, pp. 145-154, 169-184; *id.*, 1886, pp. 19-32, 185-214, 257-266; *id.*, 1887, pp. 1-10, 109-114, 171-196; *id.*, 1888, pp. 21-58, 77-82, 113-118, 193-198; *id.*, 1889, pp. 117-139, 171-194; *id.*, 1892, pp. 101-106; D. Philios, *Fouilles d'Eleusis* (Athens, 1889); L. Julius, 'Das Alter der kleinen Propyläen zu Eleusis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), pp. 190-192; P. Foucart, 'Inscriptions d'Éleusis,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 6 (1882), pp. 434-438; V. Blavette, 'Fouilles d'Éleusis,' *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 8 (1884), pp. 254-264; *id.*, 9 (1885), pp. 65-67, with pl. 1; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1 (1885), pp. 435-437; *Mittheil. d. arch.*

Inst. in Athen, 11 (1886), p. 328 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, 'Das sogenannte Dreifuss-kapitell von Eleusis,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, [illegible] ; W. Dörpfeld, *ib.*, p. 123 *sq.*; Ch. Diehl, *Excursions archéologiques en Grèce*, pp. 302-309; L. Dyer, *Studies of the gods in Greece*, p. 185 *sqq.*; O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake* [illegible] *Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 195 *sq.*; *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), p. 674; M. Mayer, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1893, pp. 191-200, with pl. 14 (remains of pedimental sculptures); D. Philios, Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 19 (1894), pp. 163-193; A. N. Skias, Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐλευσῖνος, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1894, pp. 161-186.

It would be out of place to examine here the scanty information we possess as to the mysteries of Eleusis. See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 3 *sqq.*; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, pp. 64 *sqq.*, 222-269; Fr. Lenormant, 'The Eleusinian mysteries,' in *Contemporary Review*, for May, July, and September, 1880; Fr. Lenormant and E. Pottier, art. 'Eleusinia,' in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 381 *sqq.*; E. Rohde, *Psyche* (Freiburg und Leipzig, 1894), pp. 256-276.

38. 6. **a well called Callichorum.** Callichorum is mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*v.* 270 *sqq.*; see above, p. 504). The name means the well "of the fair dances," and Pausanias tells us that the women danced here in honour of Demeter. The well was discovered in 1892 just outside the grand portal of the sacred precinct (see above, p. 505). It is carefully built of polygonal stones, and the mouth is surrounded by concentric circles, which probably mark the rounds in which the Eleusinian women tripped about it in the dance. See Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχ. Ἑταιρίας, 1892, p. 33 *sq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 196; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), p. 674. Solemn oaths were sworn beside the well. Alciphron has described (iii. 69) how a wife, suspected of infidelity, led her husband to the Callichorum well at Eleusis and there swore her innocence. Some ancient writers thought that it was beside this well that the sad Demeter rested from her weary wanderings in search of her loved and lost Proserpine (Apollodorus, i. 5. 1; Nicander, *Theriaca*, 486; Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter*, 16). But the local Eleusinian legend seems to have placed the scene of the goddess's rest and of her meeting with the king's daughters at another well on the road to Megara (see i. 39. 1 note).

38. 6. **the Rarian plain.** The author of the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*v.* 450 *sqq.*) has described how the Rarian plain, once a fat cornland, lay waste and leafless while Proserpine was underground; but how in springtime it would be a waving expanse of corn once more, and how the swathes would be heavy with the ears which the reapers would bind in sheaves. The plain was supposed to take its name from Rarus, who had received Demeter hospitably on her wanderings (Suidas, *s.v.* Ῥαρίας). Rarus was said to be the father or grandfather of Triptolemus (Suidas, *l.c.*; Paus. i. 14. 3; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ῥάρ), who first sowed corn in the Rarian plain (*Marmor Parium*, 25). One of the three sacred Athenian ploughings was held in the Rarian plain (Plutarch, *Conjug. Praecepta*, 42). The great Eleusinian inscription of 329/8 B.C. mentions a payment made to a man for removing a corpse from the Rarian plain, and another payment made to a man for purifying the

plain from the defilement: the purification seems to have included the sacrifice of a pig (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 119 *sq.*) The common name of the plain seems to have been Raria (or Rharia); this at least is the form vouched for by the inscription, the Parian marble (25), and Plutarch (*l.c.*) The author of the Homeric hymn (*l.c.*) uses the form Rarium. Both forms of the name are recognised by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ῥάριον). The exact situation of the Rarian plain is not known.

38. 6. **it is their custom to take the sacrificial barley** etc. The Eleusinian inscription of 329/8 B.C. mentions the amount of barley to be used in making the sacred cakes (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 123 *sq.*) Another Eleusinian inscription, which relates to the first-fruits of corn to be offered to Demeter and Proserpine, mentions the sacred cake (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 27 b, p. 59 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 13, line 37; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 4 (1880), p. 227). Corn taken from the threshing-floor was used to make the sacred cakes which were offered to the gods (Harpocration, *s.v.* πέλανος).

38. 7. **the wall of the sanctuary.** The Greek word (τεῖχος) here used to designate the wall implies that it was a fortification-wall; and the excavations at Eleusis have shown that the sacred precinct was surrounded by a fortification-wall strengthened with towers (see above, p. 504). Livy (xxxi. 25) correctly describes the castle or citadel as "overhanging and surrounding the temple."

38. 7. **The hero Eleusis.** Others called him Eleusinus (Harpocration and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐλευσίνια; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147). According to one legend, Eleusis or Eleusinus was the king of Eleusis who received Demeter when she came to the city in search of her daughter, and he was slain by Demeter because he interrupted her when she was in the act of making his infant son Triptolemus immortal by placing him on the fire (Panyasis, referred to by Apollodorus, i. 5. 2; Servius and Hyginus, *ll.cc.*) But according to the common legend it was Celeus, not Eleusis or Eleusinus, who received Demeter at Eleusis. See the Homeric hymn to Demeter, *v.* 96 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, i. 5. 1; Paus. i. 39. 1; Schol. on Aristophanes *Knights*, 698.

38. 8. **Formerly Eleutherae was the limit of Boeotia** etc. From Eleusis the road to Eleutherae, which is at the same time the high-road from Athens to Thebes, goes north-west across the plain. The olive-trees begin to appear soon after we have left Eleusis, and the road runs for three miles through thick groves of them to the large village of *Mandra* situated on a small height at the entrance to a valley; for here the mountains which bound the plain of Eleusis begin. The native rock crops up among the houses and streets of the village. The hills that rise on both sides of the valley are wooded with pine. Beyond the village the valley contracts, and the road ascends for a long time through the stillness and solitude of the pine-forest. A little wayside inn (the khan of *Palaio-Koundoura*) is passed in a lonely dale; and then, after a further ascent, the prospect opens up somewhat, and the tops of Hymettus and Pentelicus are seen away to the east, appearing above a

nearer range of hills. Soon afterwards the road descends into a cultivated and fertile little plain or valley watered by the chief arm of the Eleusinian Cephisus, and bounded on the north by the principal range of Cithaeron, on the south by the lower, outlying chain which we have just crossed. This no doubt is the plain in which stood the temple of Dionysus mentioned by Pausanias. At the northern end of the valley or plain there is now a police-barrack on the right of the road, and a little further on a public-house, the khan of *Kasa.* Here the pass over Cithaeron, in the strict sense, begins. It is a narrow rocky defile, up which the road winds tortuously between high pine-clad slopes on either hand. In the very mouth of the pass, immediately beyond the public-house, a steep, conical, nearly isolated hill rises up as if to bar the road. Its summit is crowned with the grey walls and towers of Eleutherae.

The ruins of Eleutherae, now called *Gyphto-kastro* or 'Gypsy-castle,' form one of the finest extant specimens of Greek fortification. The circuit of the walls, which is but small, encloses the summit and part of the southern slope of the hill. The north wall, strengthened with seven square projecting towers, is complete. It is about 8 feet thick, and is built of blocks laid in regular courses, with a core of rubble. As the ground falls away to the north, the wall is higher on the outside than on the inside. On the inside it may average 11 feet in height; on the outside, 14 or 15 feet. The towers are about thirty paces apart. They measure about 22 feet square, projecting from the curtain about 10 feet on the outer and 4 feet on the inner side. From the number of the courses of stones I judged the towers to be about 16 feet high on the inside and about 30 feet high on the outside. The thickness of the walls of the towers is only about 3 feet. Each tower consisted of two stories. The lower story was entered by a door at the back on the level of the ground. The upper story was entered from the ramparts by two doors, one on each side of the tower. These doors are still to be seen, though the floors of the upper stories, having been of wood, have of course perished. The doors narrow somewhat from below upward. Each tower has three small windows or loopholes, one in each of the sides which project outward beyond the curtain. Traces of the wall and towers on the other and lower sides of the hill can still be seen, but they are far less perfect than on the north side. The chief gate was on the south. On the highest point of the hill are the remains of an oblong rectangular edifice built of polygonal masonry. It may have been an inner keep. The whole place is now an utter solitude. When I visited it, on a day in May, the ground was carpeted with yellow flowers: goats were balancing themselves on the grey ruins: and the goatherd was sleeping in the shadow of one of the towers. On either hand the mountains, clothed in their sombre mantle of dark pine-forests, towered into the bright sky.

If from the ruins of Eleutherae we return to the highroad which winds along the western foot of the hill, and follow it for a few miles to the top of the pass, we obtain a commanding view over the wide plain of Boeotia stretching away to the line of far blue mountains which bounds it on all sides. Below us, but a little to the west, at the foot of

the long uniform slope of Cithaeron, the red village of *Kokla* marks the site of Plataea. Thebes is hidden from view behind the dip of a low intervening ridge. The sharp double-peaked mountain on the west, beyond the nearer fir-clad declivities of Cithaeron, is Helicon. The grand mountain-mass which, capped with snow, looms on the north-west, is Parnassus. The mountains on the north-east are in Euboea, but the strait which divides them from Boeotia is not visible.

But we must turn and retrace our steps down the pass to Eleutherae. For, following the guidance of Pausanias, we have a long way to travel and much to see before we descend with him into the plain of Boeotia.

The military importance of Eleutherae, as a fortress commanding the pass over Mt. Cithaeron and distant only a few miles from the great Boeotian plain, will be readily understood. That this fortress was indeed Eleutherae seems, even in the absence of inscriptions, to be rendered certain by the evidence of Strabo (ix. p. 411 *sq.*) and Pausanias (here and ix. 1. 1 and 6), both of whom represent Eleutherae as the frontier town of Attica and immediately adjoining Plataea in Boeotia. For between the fortress in question and Plataea there was hardly room for, and certainly there is no vestige of, an ancient town. The vicinity of the two places appears also from a passage in Xenophon (*Hellenica*, v. 4. 14). Yet Leake, with some hesitation, named the ruined fortress Oenoe, not Eleutherae. His chief grounds for doing so were that (1) when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, marched from the Isthmus of Corinth to Eleusis in 507 B.C., Oenoe was, according to Herodotus (v. 74), a frontier town of Attica on the side of Boeotia; and (2) Oenöe is described by Thucydides (ii. 18) as a fortress on the borders of Attica and Boeotia and as the first place in Attica which the invading Peloponnesian army came to and attacked in 431 B.C. But this only serves to show that down to the end of the fifth century B.C., when Herodotus and Thucydides wrote, Eleutherae still belonged to Boeotia, and that the Attic frontier lay somewhat further to the south. This view fits the narrative of Thucydides much better than the view which identifies the fortress in question with Oenoe. For why should the Peloponnesian army, marching to Eleusis and Athens, have turned out of its way some miles to attack a fortress which did not threaten their communications, and the road through which led to no place that they wished to go to? On the other hand, if Oenoe lay some miles to the south of the fortress in question, it would be nearer by so much to the line of march of an army bound for Eleusis; and the commander of such an army would naturally be unwilling to leave in the hands of the enemy a fortress which might prove a continual source of annoyance and danger in his rear. Hence the ruins which Leake identified as those of Eleutherae may be those of Oenoe. They are situated in the plain about four miles south-east of Eleutherae and consist of the ruins of a very small town, which had a citadel or inner enclosure at one angle. The masonry is for the most part regular, and exists in many places to a height of two or three courses. The place is called *Myupoli*. Two miles to the north of it, on the southern slope of Cithaeron, stands the ivy-mantled monastery of St. Meletius, delightfully situated among numerous springs

which descend, shaded by great bay-trees, to the gardens and hanging woods of olives and beeches on the mountain-side, keeping them always fresh and green, a pleasing contrast to the wild rocks and dark pine-forests above.

Eleutherae claimed both to be the birth-place and to have been founded and named by Dionysus (Diodorus, iii. 66. 1, iv. 2. 6). Others thought the town was named after Eleuther, son of Apollo (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἐλευθεραί). Most of the Argives who perished in the war of the Seven against Thebes were said to have been buried here (Euripides, *Supplices*, 756-759); their graves were still shown in Plutarch's time (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29). At what period Eleutherae separated itself from Boeotia and joined Athens, we do not know; if I am right, the union took place not earlier than the beginning of the fourth century B.C. In Pausanias's time the place seems to have been ruinous and deserted. This is confirmed by a passage in Lucian who represents a certain Ismenidorus as murdered by robbers on his way over Cithaeron to Eleusis; the dying man bitterly reproaches himself with his rashness in having ventured with only two servants to cross Cithaeron "and the district of Eleutherae, left utterly waste by the wars" (Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* xxvii. 2).

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 282 *sqq.*; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. pp. 371-378; *id.*, *Athens*, 2. p. 129 *sqq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 1 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. p. 19 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 13 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. p. 234 *sq.*; Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, Itinéraire, pl. 9-11; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 531 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 249 *sq.*; H. Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, p. 58 *sqq.*; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies*, p. 190 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 179 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 7 *sq.*

38. 8. **it was from here that the old wooden image was brought to Athens.** See i. 20. 3 with the note.

38. 9. **a cave of no great size, and beside it is a spring of cold water** etc. At the western foot of the hill of Eleutherae a copious spring called *Petrogeraki* rises beside the road (Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 283; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 373; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 15; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 533). This then was probably the spring in which the twin babes Amphion and Zethus were washed by the shepherd who had found them in the neighbouring cave. For it was at Eleutherae that their mother Antiope was said to have brought them forth, as she was being carried back a prisoner from Sicyon to Thebes. See Paus. ii. 6. 1-4; Apollodorus, iii. 5. 5; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xv. vol. 1. p. 261, ed. Dindorf; Hyginus, *Fab.* 8; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1090. The legend which Pausanias follows here and in ii. 6 appears to be the one to which Euripides gave currency in his tragedy of *Antiope* (Hyginus, *l.c.*; *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, ed. Dindorf. p. 301 *sq.*)

39. 1. **Another road leads from Eleusis to Megara.** From Eleusis to Megara by road or railway the distance is about 14 miles. The road first passes along the northern side of the low ridge which formed the acropolis of Eleusis; then it turns down to the sea and follows the shore. The plain of Eleusis is divided from the plain of Megara by a

chain of wooded hills which advances southward from Mt. Cithaeron to the shore of the bay at about a third of the way from Eleusis to Megara, thus interrupting the level coast for some distance. From the two pointed summits in which this range terminates it was known in antiquity as Mount Cerata or 'the horns': it formed the boundary between Attica and the territory of Megara (Strabo, ix. p. 395; Diodorus, xiii. 65; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 13). The road skirts the foot of these hills, ascending and descending, traversing olive-groves, and winding round little bays and headlands, commanding views, ever shifting but ever beautiful, of the coast of Salamis across the blue and blue-green waters of the lake-like bay, which is here so narrow that the white monastery of Phaneromene, with its clustered domes and turrets, can be plainly seen standing among green fields on the opposite shore. Then, when the last spur of the hills is rounded, the plain of Megara, covered with olives and vines, and backed by high mountains, opens out before us. In the distance can be distinguished the picturesque, oriental-looking town of Megara, with its white-washed, flat-topped houses rising in terraces, one above the other, on the sides of two isolated hills in the far corner of the plain: the higher of the two hills is crowned by a square mediaeval tower. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 174 *sqq.*; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 390 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 159 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 220 *sqq.*; H. Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, p. 242 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 152; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 191 *sq.*

39. 1. **the Flowery Well.** This may be the spring now called *Vlika*, about a mile and a half to the west of Eleusis, on the road to Megara (*The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, p. 6). The Flowery Well is doubtless no other than the Maiden's Well, beside which, in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*v.* 98 *sqq.*), the goddess is represented as sitting, sad at heart, under the shadow of an olive-tree. The stone on which the goddess sat down was called the Laughless Stone (Apollodorus, i. 5. 1; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 785; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀγέλαστος πέτρα; Suidas, *s.v.* Σαλαμῖνος). It was shown in historical times; for in the great Eleusinian inscription of 329/8 B.C. mention is made of the carriage of bricks from the Laughless Stone (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 115 *sq.*) This perhaps goes to show that the Laughless Stone was not in Eleusis itself, but at some distance from it. And as the Laughless Stone was no doubt beside the well, it follows, on this supposition, that in the local Eleusinian belief the well beside which the king's daughters found Demeter sitting was not the well called Callichorum in the city, as some writers supposed (see above, i. 38. 6 note). Thus Pausanias would seem to have here followed the local Eleusinian version of the legend, which placed the meeting of the goddess with the princesses at a well outside the city, not the literary version, which placed it at a well in the city.

39. 2. **graves of the men who marched against Thebes.** The common soldiers of the Argive army, which fought under the Seven Champions against Thebes, were buried at Eleutherae (see above, p. 518), but the generals were buried near Eleusis (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29). On the shore of the bay of Eleusis, to the south of the spring *Vlika*

there is a tumulus which may possibly have been pointed out as the grave of the Argive generals (*The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, p. 6). The story that Theseus at the head of an Athenian army compelled the Thebans by force of arms to give up the Argive dead for burial is followed by Euripides in his *Supplices* (*v.* 634 *sqq.*) But according to Plutarch (*l.c.*) the common story was that the Thebans had yielded to the arguments and persuasion, not to the arms, of Theseus. From Pausanias we learn that this latter version of the legend was, as might have been expected, the one which found favour at Thebes.

39. 3. **the tomb of Alope** etc. The story of Alope and Hippothoon is told by Hyginus (*Fab.* 187). It was the theme of a tragedy of Euripides (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀλόπη). Hippothoon was said to have been so named because he had been suckled by a mare (*hippos*). He gave his name to an Attic tribe (i. 5. 2 ; i. 38. 4). Alope at her death was turned by her lover Poseidon into a spring which was called Alope after her (Hyginus, *l.c.*) The spring was at Eleusis (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀλόπη). It may perhaps be the spring which rises close to the shore, at the south-western foot of the range of hills which divides the plain of Eleusis from the plain of Megara (Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 331 note). If so, the tomb of Alope was probably shown close beside it. The story of Alope is represented in relief on a Roman sarcophagus (Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. cvii. *sqq.*) and, according to Stephani, on a gold plate found in the south of Russia. See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1864, pp. 142-171, with pl. iv. of the Atlas.

39. 3. **the art of wrestling was invented by Theseus.** According to Polemo the art of wrestling was invented by an Athenian Phorbas, the trainer of Theseus ; but Ister, whom Pausanias perhaps followed, ascribed the invention to Theseus himself (Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 89).

39. 4. **Megaris, which also of old belonged to the Athenians, King Pylas having bequeathed it to Pandion.** See i. 5. 3 note. On the genealogy of the kings of Megara, see K. Seeliger, 'Alkathoos und die megarische Königsliste,' *Festschrift für J. Overbeck* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 27-44.

39. 4. **the grave of Pandion.** See i. 5. 3 ; i. 41. 6.

39. 4. **in the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians marched against Athens** etc. Herodotus (v. 76) and Strabo (ix. p. 393) agree with this account of the conquest of Megara by the Dorians. Strabo (*l.c.*) says that after the conquest the Dorians took down the column which had formerly stood on the Isthmus of Corinth marking the boundary between the Ionians and the Peloponnesians. The Dorians who settled at Megara are said to have been mostly of Corinthian or Messenian origin ([Scymnius Chius,] *Orbis descriptio*, *v.* 502 *sqq.*)

39. 5. **Megareus, son of Poseidon, dwelt in Onchestus** etc. Cp. i. 42. 1. Megareus was said to be a son of Poseidon by Oenope, daughter of Epopeus (Hyginus, *Fab.* 157). Apollodorus calls him a son of Hippomanes, and says that he came from Onchestus to help Nisus, but was slain by Minos (Apollodorus, iii. 15. 8). According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Μέγαρα) Megareus was a son of Apollo. Others called

him a son of Onchestus (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 16 ; [Scymnius Chius,] *Orbis descriptio*, *v.* 505 *sq.*)

39. 6. **Lelex came from Egypt and reigned** etc. Cp. i. 44. 3. Hence Ovid speaks of "the Lelegian walls" and "the Lelegian shores" of Megara (*Metam.* vii. 443, viii. 6). A colony of the Leleges from Megara, led by Pylus, son of Cleson, was said to have founded Pylus in Messenia (iv. 36. 1).

39. 6. **Sciron.** The Athenians represented Sciron as a robber and murderer of whom Theseus relieved the world (i. 3. 1 ; i. 44. 8). Megarian writers, on the contrary, maintained that Sciron was a man of exemplary life, the foe of robbers and the friend of all good men (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10) : the highroad from Megara to the Isthmus of Corinth was said to have been made by him (Paus. i. 44. 6). The Athenians distinguished Sciron the robber from Scirus one of the first settlers in Salamis (see note on i. 35. 2, 'It is said that Cychreus,' etc.) But the Megarians identified the settler in Salamis, the grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, with the much maligned Sciron (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10 ; Harpocration, *s.v.* Σκίρον). They admitted that Sciron fell by the hand of Theseus, but held that this took place, not during Theseus's first journey to Athens when he knocked a number of rogues on the head, but at a later time when the Athenians under Theseus wrested Eleusis from the Megarians (Plutarch, *l.c.* ; cp. Paus. i. 36. 4). See K. Seeliger, in *Festschrift für J. Overbeck*, p. 35 *sqq.*

40. 1. **In the city there is a water-basin** etc. The modern town of Megara (population 6250) stands on the site and has preserved the name of the ancient city. It is clustered on the slopes of two adjoining hills or rather of a single hill with a double summit, which rises from the plain, near its south-western corner, at a distance of about a mile and a half from the sea. The plain itself, almost the only level and tolerably fertile district in the whole of the mountainous and barren territory of Megara, is six or seven miles long by as many wide and is everywhere shut in by hills except on the side of the sea. Of the two hills on which the town stands, the eastern is the lower and flatter ; its slope is comparatively gentle. The western hill (950 feet), joined to the eastern by a low ridge or saddle, is higher, more pointed, and steeper. The modern town is chiefly confined to the western hill, the southern slope of which it occupies to the summit. The narrow, steep streets, the white, flat-roofed, windowless houses, with low doorways opening into courts shaded here and there by a fig-tree, have much the appearance of an Arab village. The dazzlingly white walls make, in the brilliant sunshine, an excellent background for the gay costume of the women, the bright colours of which (red, green, blue, violet) add to the Eastern effect of the scene.

The two citadels mentioned by Pausanias (i. 40. 6 ; i. 42. 1) no doubt occupied the two hills on which the modern town stands. It is generally supposed that the eastern and lower hill was the acropolis called Caria (i. 40. 6), and that the higher western hill was the acropolis of Alcathous (i. 42. 1). This identification of the two citadels is based on the order in which Pausanias mentions them ; for, having come to

Megara from the east, he would naturally, in accordance with his habit of describing places in their topographical order, mention the eastern citadel before the western. The identification is also supported by the fact that the Olympieum, which he mentions just before mentioning the acropolis of Caria, appears to have been situated at the north-western foot of the eastern hill (see note on i. 40. 4). On the other hand Caria seems from Pausanias's account to have been the older acropolis; and we should naturally expect that the western hill, the higher and stronger of the two, would have been the first to be fortified.

The ancient remains at Megara are extremely scanty. On the south side of the eastern hill there are some pieces of the old fortification-wall, built of large irregular blocks. Fragments of columns, sculptures, and inscriptions may also be seen lying about or built into modern walls. In particular the numerous chapels on the western hill are mostly constructed of such fragments. The mediaeval tower which crowns the western hill stands on ancient foundations. At *Palaeochora*, about half an hour to the north of Megara, there are several ruined churches containing architectural fragments (Ionic and Corinthian capitals of white marble, complete columns of bluish marble, etc.), which have been transported thither from ancient temples in the city.

Megara seems to have been noted in antiquity for the size of its private houses and the massive style of its buildings. Isocrates says that "the Megarians, though they have no land or harbours or silver mines, and till the bare rock, nevertheless own the largest houses in Greece" (*De pace*, 117). And Diogenes the Cynic said of the Megarians, who were notorious gluttons, that "they dined as if they were to die to-morrow, and built as if they were to live for ever" (Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 39).

A correspondent of Cicero spoke of Megara, in a famous passage, as if it lay in ruins (Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* iv. 5); but this was probably a rhetorical exaggeration. Strabo, who wrote at a later date, says (ix. p. 393) that in spite of the many vicissitudes which it had experienced the city subsisted down to his time.

See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 431 *sqq.*; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 192 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 177 *sqq.*; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 392 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 160 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 39 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 222 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 373 *sqq.*; H. Belle, *Trois Années en Grèce*, p. 245 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 152 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 191 *sqq.*

40. 1. Theagenes —— gave his daughter in marriage to Cylon. Cp. i. 28. 1.

40. 1. the water of the Sithnidian nymphs. In the plain about half a mile north of the western hill on which Megara stands there is an aqueduct which furnishes a copious supply of water. This may be the water of the Sithnidian nymphs. Beside it are some ancient washing-troughs, several of which are still used. The women of Megara still come hither to draw water in pitchers of an antique shape. Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 374; Baedeker,[3] p. 153; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 192 *sq.*

40. 1. **Megarus —— escaped from Deucalion's flood to the tops of Mount Gerania** etc. This explanation of the name Gerania is given also in the *Etymol. Magnum* (p. 228, *s.v.* Γεράνεια). It is probably derived from a work on Megara by a native Megarian named Dieuchidas; for we are told that Dieuchidas began his history of Megara at the point where a work by Hellanicus on Deucalion's flood left off (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 2. p. 752, ed. Potter; *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 4. p. 388; the *Deucaliona* of Hellanicus is mentioned by Athenaeus, x. p. 416 b; see *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 48 *sq.*) Cp. Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 152 *sq.*; K. Seeliger, in *Festschrift für J. Overbeck*, p. 29 *sq.*

Mount Gerania is the rugged mass of mountains which reaches across the territory of Megara from sea to sea, with steep declivities on both sides, thus interposing a natural barrier between central Greece and Peloponnese. The highest summit is about 4500 feet above the sea. An unbroken forest of pines covers the whole range. Deer, wild boars, foxes, and wolves abound in it, but permanent human habitations there are none, except in the small patches of level ground at the mouths of the torrents, where some corn and olives are grown. In summer, however, the peasants penetrate into the forest to gather resin. Three, and only three, natural defiles lead through this wild region from Boeotia and Attica on the north to Corinth on the south. One of them is a rugged path along the face of the cliffs on the northern coast: the second is the pass of *Megaloderoni* and *Mygaesvrysis* through the gorges of the interior: the third is 'the Evil Staircase' (*Kake Skala*) along the sea-cliffs of the southern coast. All three ways are naturally difficult. The last is the shortest, and now that a highroad and the railway to Corinth have been carried along it, it has ceased to be formidable.

See Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 367 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 225 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 18-28.

40. 2. **statues of Roman emperors stand in it.** Many of the inscriptions which were carved on the pedestals of these statues have been found at Megara. From these inscriptions we learn that there were statues of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, and Gallienus; also statues of Livia, wife of Augustus, and of Sabina, wife of Hadrian. See *C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 62, 63, 65-81, 3491. Hadrian, as a benefactor of Megara (see i. 42. 5; i. 44. 6), seems to have been especially popular. Inscribed pedestals of no less than five statues of him have been found (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 69-72, 3491). That there was an organised worship of the emperors at Megara is proved by an inscription on a pedestal which supported a statue of a certain Polymnia who had been "high-priestess of the Augusti" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 111).

40. 2. **a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Saviour.** This image was by Strongylion (below, § 3), and there was a replica of it at Pagae (i. 44. 4). Coins of Megara and Pagae present us with an identical type of Artemis, which may therefore be regarded with certainty as a copy of Strongylion's statue. The goddess is represented

running towards the right: she wears a short tunic and carries a torch in each hand (Fig. 41). See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pp. 4, 8 *sq.*, with pl. A i.; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. xvi. No. 274 b. The inscribed pedestal of a statue of a certain Faustina who had been priestess of Saviour Artemis may be seen built into the north-west angle of the church of St. Demetrius at Megara: the church stands about the middle of the slope of the western hill (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 112). A fragmentary inscription containing a dedication to Artemis has also been found at Megara (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 44; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3026).



FIG. 41. — SAVIOUR ARTEMIS (COIN OF MEGARA).

40. 2. men of the army of Mardonius, after scouring the Megarian territory etc. The place where this destruction of the Persians took place was near Pagae. See i. 44. 4. Herodotus tells us (ix. 14) that Mardonius advanced against Megara, and that his cavalry scoured the Megarian territory. The Megarian poet Theognis attributed to Apollo the deliverance of Megara from "the insolent army of the Medes" (*v.* 775 *sqq.*) The Megarians who fell in the Persian war were buried in the city. See i. 43. 3 note.

40. 3. images of the Twelve Gods —— said to be works of Praxiteles. Archaeologists who believe that there were two distinguished sculptors of this name in antiquity (see note on i. 2. 4) are of opinion that these images of the Twelve Gods were probably by the elder Praxiteles, the supposed grandfather of the great Praxiteles (W. Klein, *Archäolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 4 (1880), p. 12 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 500). To me, as to H. Brunn (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Munich, Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 6 Nov. 1880, p. 446 *sqq.*) and to Mr. A. S. Murray (*History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 281) this appears a gratuitous and baseless assumption. Pausanias mentions a number of other statues by Praxiteles at Megara (i. 43. 5 and 6; i. 44. 2). If there were two sculptors of this name and works of both were to be seen at Megara, why did not Pausanias distinguish between them as he distinguished between the elder and the younger Polyclitus (vi. 6. 2)?

40. 4. the precinct of Zeus, which is called the Olympieum. This precinct was situated in the saddle between the two citadels, near the north-west foot of the eastern hill. For here many stones inscribed with complimentary decrees, which were, as the inscriptions show, to be set up in the Olympieum, have been found built into ancient substructions or modern edifices. See *C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 1-14; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 183 *sqq.*; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3003-3014; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 105-107. The stone on which the inscriptions are cut is a dark grey limestone, veined with white. Bursian observed in this neighbourhood a great many ancient blocks built into modern walls; they had probably formed part of the boundary wall of the sacred precinct (Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 374).

Another inscription found at Megara mentions a certain Matroxenus who "had been master of the gymnasium in the Olympieum" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 31; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3024).

40. 4. **the Athenians annually ravaged the Megarian territory.** Cp. Thucydides, ii. 31; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 30.

40. 4. **The face of the image of Zeus is of ivory and gold** etc. This passage is of interest as throwing some light on the process of making a statue of gold and ivory. "It would thus appear that the process was first to model and set up the figure in clay, then to replace the clay by a figure of wood on which a surface of gold and ivory was attached" (A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 117). The figures of the Seasons and Fates, which Pausanias says were "over the head of Zeus," were probably attached to the top rail of the back of his throne, just as the figures of the Graces and Seasons were placed on the throne of Zeus at Olympia (v. 11. 7). This goes to show that the Zeus which Theocosmus, assisted by Phidias, made at Megara was closely modelled on the Zeus of Phidias at Olympia. Cp. A. S. Murray, *op. cit.* 2. p. 137 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 385. As to Theocosmus see also vi. 7. 2; x. 9. 8. On coins of Megara Zeus is represented sitting in the attitude of Phidias's statue of Zeus at Olympia (see v. 11. 1 note), grasping a sceptre in his raised left hand and holding a Victory or an eagle in his outstretched right hand. The type is probably copied from the statue here described by Pausanias. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numism. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 4 *sq.*, with pl. A iii.

40. 5. **Solon stirred them up by his verses.** The story ran that the Athenians, weary of the long and fruitless war with Megara for the possession of Salamis, had passed a law that no one should under pain of death propose to renew the war. Solon composed verses inciting his countrymen to engage in the struggle once more; and feigning madness in order to escape the penalty of the law rushed into the market-place and recited his verses. The people crowded round to hear him, listened, were convinced, repealed the law, and conquered Salamis. See Demosthenes, xix. 252, p. 420; Plutarch, *Solon*, 8; Diogenes Laertius, i. 2. 46 *sq.*; Justin, ii. 7; Polyaenus, i. 20; Cicero, *De Officiis*, i. 30. 108; E. Piccolomini, 'La simulata pazzia di Solone e l' elegia Σαλαμίς,' *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, 2 (1888), pp. 510-558.

40. 6. **the acropolis —— called Caria.** Similarly Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Καρία) says: "The acropolis of Megara was called Caria, after Car, the son of Phoroneus." He perhaps copied from Pausanias, whose work he often cites.

40. 6. **Nocturnal Dionysus.** Cp. Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*, 9; Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 303; Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 15; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 609, *s.v.* Νυκτέλιος. In the nocturnal rites (*Nuktelia*) of Dionysus the mystery of the death and resurrection of the god seems to have been set forth; in this respect Plutarch compares the rites to those of the Egyptian Osiris (*Isis and Osiris*, 35; cp. *id.*, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 112). The licentious orgies held under the cloak of these rites were

put down by the Romans (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 303). Cp. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses*, p. 83 *sqq.*

40. 6. Epistrophian Aphrodite. 'Epistrophia' (from *epistrephein*, 'to turn towards') here probably means 'she who turns the hearts of men to love,' as Preller interpreted it (*Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 368). The converse of Epistrophian Aphrodite was Apostrophian Aphrodite, *i.e.* Aphrodite the Averter (Paus. ix. 16. 3 *sq.*) An inscription containing a dedication to Aphrodite by the magistrates styled *damiorgoi* has been found at Megara (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 41; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3030). There was another sanctuary of Aphrodite at Megara (i. 43. 6).

40. 6. the oracle of Night. Cp. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 2. p. 256.

40. 6. Bryaxis. This sculptor, a contemporary and rival of Scopas, chiselled the frieze on the north side of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 30 *sq.*) Columella mentions him along with Lysippus, Praxiteles, and Polyclitus, as one of the great masters of sculpture (*De re rustica*, i. Praef. 31). A considerable number of his works are known to us by name. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 383 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 326 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 97 *sq.* In the course of excavations made at Athens in 1891 for the purpose of extending the railway line which goes to Piraeus, a pedestal inscribed with the name of the sculptor Bryaxis was discovered to the north-west of the so-called Theseum. The inscription on the pedestal mentions the names of three cavalry colonels (Demaenetus and his two sons Demeas and Demosthenes), who had won prizes at the *anthippasia* or review of the cavalry, at which the ten cavalry regiments were paraded, and a prize awarded to the colonel whose regiment had made the most soldierly appearance (Xenophon, *Hipparchicus*, 3; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1291; Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), p. 49 *sqq.*) In the inscription the names of the three colonels are followed by the words "Bryaxis made (it)." This inscription is carved on one side of the pedestal, which is a square block of Parian marble. On each of the other three sides of the pedestal is carved in low relief a horseman riding at a foot pace towards a large tripod. Each horseman is bearded, bare-headed, unarmed, and clad in a short tunic drawn in at the waist. These three horsemen no doubt represent the three officers mentioned in the inscription, and the tripods represent the prizes which they won on three separate occasions. In point of style, the horses are faithfully rendered; but the men are much inferior, their figures being squat, lifeless, and commonplace, and their drapery stiff and flat. It is conjectured that these reliefs are an early work of Bryaxis, executed about 350 B.C., when his style was still immature. But it is also possible that they were executed, not by Bryaxis himself, but by an inferior artist, Bryaxis having made only the statue or other monument which the pedestal supported. On the upper surface of the pedestal is a small circular base with a hole in it. On this round base there probably stood a column supporting a statue, the work of Bryaxis. Now about

fifty yards to the east of the pedestal there was found the torso of a wingless figure of Victory, made of the same marble as the pedestal, and apparently a work of the fourth century B.C. Mr. Cavvadias has therefore conjectured with considerable probability that this figure of Victory is the statue by Bryaxis, which stood on the pedestal inscribed with his name.

See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1891, pp. 34-36, 55-62; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), p. 252 *sq.*; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 15 (1891), pp. 369-373, 644; L. Couve, 'Base portant la signature de Bryaxis,' *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 16 (1892), pp. 550-559; Cavvadias, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1893, pp. 39-48, with pl. 4, 5, 6, 7.

41. 1. the tomb of Alcmena. Cp. ix. 16. 7. The grave of Alcmena was also shown at Haliartus in Boeotia (see note on ix. 32. 5 'Haliartus').

41. 2. a place which he alleged was named Rhus. Plutarch says (*Theseus*, 27): "The Megarians also show a grave of the Amazons in their city as you go from the market-place to the place called Rhus, where is the Rhomboid." The grave of the Amazons here mentioned by Plutarch is probably the tomb of Hippolyte, mentioned by Pausanias below (i. 41. 7).

41. 2. an altar to Achelous. The river-god Achelous was worshipped also at Oropus (i. 34. 3). As to the worship of Achelous the historian Ephorus, quoted by Macrobius (*Saturn.* v. 18. 6 *sqq.*), wrote as follows: "Other rivers receive sacrifices only from the men who dwell near them; but the Achelous alone is worshipped by all men, for they use the proper name Achelous in a general sense. In fact we designate water in general by the name of Achelous. The chief cause of the prevalence of this designation is to be found in the oracles of Dodona. For in almost all of them the god is wont to command men to offer sacrifice to Achelous; so that many people, believing the oracle to mean by Achelous, not the river that flows through Acarnania, but water in general, adopt the designations employed by the god. That in this use of the word there is a religious reference is proved by the fact that it is especially in oaths, prayers, and sacrifices that we call water Achelous." A scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xxiv. 616) says: "The god in Dodona advised people to sacrifice to Achelous. Hence the Athenians, Dymaeans, Rhodians, and Siceliots honour him, and the Acarnanians hold games in his honour." There was a sanctuary of Achelous near the Ilissus at Athens (Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 230 b). In the island of Myconus a full-grown sheep and ten lambs were sacrificed on certain stated days to Achelous (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 373). The worship of Achelous at Mantinea is attested by an archaic inscription (Roehl, *Inscript. Graec. Antiquissimae*, No. 104). The suggestion that the first syllable of the name Achelous contains the same root as the Latin *aqua* 'water' is open to philological objections (G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*,[5] p. 119).

41. 2. Hyllus —— who engaged in single combat with —— Echemus etc. Cp. i. 44. 10, and see viii. 5. 1, where Pausanias corrects his present statement by saying that this invasion of Pelopon-

nese by the Heraclids under Hyllus probably took place in the reign of Echemus, not of Orestes. Herodotus also, in his account of these events (ix. 26), represents Echemus, the adversary and conqueror of Hyllus, as king of Tegea. Cp. Apollodorus, ii. 8. 2. It was Hyllus who challenged Echemus, not Echemus who challenged Hyllus (Diodorus, iv. 58).

41. 3. Alcathous built it after slaying the lion —— of Cithaeron. The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 517) relates, on the authority of the Megarian historian Dieuchidas, the story of Alcathous and the lion as follows: "Alcathous son of Pelops, having been banished from Megara on account of the murder of Chrysippus, departed to dwell in another city. Now it chanced that he fell in with a lion that was ravaging Megara, and against which other men had been sent by the king of Megara. So Alcathous slew the beast, cut out its tongue, put it in his wallet, and returned to Megara. And when the men who had been sent to hunt the lion reported that they had slain the beast, Alcathous produced his wallet and confuted them. Therefore the king, after sacrificing to the gods, placed the tongue last on the altars; and this custom has been observed by the Megarians from that time forward."

This narrative supplements Pausanias's version of the story, and by putting the two together we see that the story of how Alcathous, by slaying the lion, won the hand of the king's daughter and the kingdom with her, is only one of a widely spread class of popular tales, of which the following is the general plot. A young man, the hero of the tale, comes to a city which is all hung with black and plunged in sorrow. He inquires the cause and is told that a many-headed dragon has long been in the habit of periodically devouring a human being; that it has now fallen to the lot of the king's daughter to be the victim; and that if any one will slay the dragon and rescue the princess, the king has promised to give him the princess to wife and to make him his heir. The hero accordingly slays the dragon, cuts out its many tongues, puts them in his wallet, and departs for a season. But a false knight or a churl of low degree finds the rescued princess and the dragon weltering in its blood. He cuts off the dragon's heads, forces the princess, under threat of instant death, to promise that she will acknowledge him as her deliverer, and returns with her and the dragon's heads in triumph to the city. The king receives him with joy and gratitude and prepares to keep his promise by giving him the princess in marriage. The wedding is about to be celebrated, when the hero appears, refutes the claim of the pretender by producing the dragon's tongues from his wallet, and marries the princess, while his crestfallen rival is hurried away to execution. In some versions of the story the hero is murdered by the villain, but brought to life again by some beasts, his faithful friends, who apply to the corpse a certain healing herb or the water of life.

For examples of this class of tales, told with considerable variety of details, see Legrand, *Contes populaires Grecs*, p. 169 *sqq.*; Hahn, *Griech. und albanesische Märchen*, No. 70; Basile, *Pentamerone*, Liebrecht's German translation, 1. p. 97 *sqq.*; Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, No. 40; Sébillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, No. 11, p. 79 *sqq.*; Cosquin, *Contes populaires de*

Lorraine, 1. No. 5, p. 60 *sqq.*; Bladé, *Contes populaires recueillis en Agenais*, p. 11 *sqq.*; Grimm, *Household Tales*, No. 111; Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen, und Gebräuche*, p. 340 *sqq.*; J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen*, No. 21; A. Peter, *Volksthumliches aus Oesterreichisch-Schlesien*, 2. p. 140 *sqq.*; Chr. Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, No. 39, p. 113 *sqq.*; J. Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*,[4] No. 25; A. und A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, No. 10, p. 135 *sqq.*; A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder*, p. 54 *sqq.*; Leskien und Brugmann, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, Märchen Nos. 10, 11, 12, 14; S. Grundtvig, *Dänische Volksmärchen*, 1. p. 285 *sqq.*; Cavallius und Stephens, *Schwedische Volkssagen und Märchen*, v.A, p. 78 *sqq.*; Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, p. 131 *sqq.* ('Shortshanks'); Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen*, p. 231 *sq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 52 *sqq.*

41. 4. how could it be thought that he was killed by Theseus etc. Pausanias argues that even if Timalcus did go with the Dioscuri on their expedition to Aphidna or Athens, he could not have been killed by Theseus, since Theseus was absent at the time, being detained a prisoner in Thesprotis or in hell, whither he had gone to carry off Proserpine (see i. 17. 4 *sq.* with the notes).

41. 5. any one who has studied genealogy must impute great credulity to the Megarians etc. According to the Megarian tradition, which Pausanias has just given, Timalcus was a contemporary both of Theseus, who slew him, and of Alcathous, who married his sister. This, Pausanias argues, was impossible, since Alcathous was the son, and Theseus the great grandson, of Pelops (Aethra the mother of Theseus was a daughter of Pittheus who was a son of Pelops).

41. 6. Pandion was buried on the bluff —— of Diver-bird Athena. Cp. i. 5. 3. Hesychius tells us (*s.v.* ἐν δ' Αἴθυια) that Athena was worshipped by the Megarians under this title, because she had transformed herself into a diver-bird and hiding Cecrops under her wings had carried him to Megara. Lycophron also refers to Athena under this title (*Cassandra*, *v.* 359, with Tzetzes's scholium). On some vase-paintings Athena is accompanied by a bird with a woman's face (Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, 3. pl. vi.; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), pl. xl.); and on one of these paintings (Welcker, *l.c.*) the name Ϝους, which seems to be equivalent to αἴθυια 'diver-bird' (*Etymol. Magnum*, p. 699, *s.v.* πώϋγγες; cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* πῶϋξ; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix. 18, p. 617 a 9; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 5), is written beside this woman-faced bird, which would seem therefore to be a representation of Athena in her character of Diver-bird. The bluff of Diver-bird Athena is perhaps the spit of land now called *Skala* which juts into the sea on the south side of the hill of Nisaea. See M. Mayer, 'Megarische Sagen,' *Hermes*, 27 (1892), pp. 481-489.

41. 7. the tomb of Hippolyte. See note on i. 41. 2 'Rhus.'

41. 7. Her tomb is shaped like an Amazonian shield. The tomb seems to have been called the Rhomboid (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27), from which we should infer that it was of rhomboidal shape. But according to Xenophon (cited by Pollux, i. 134) the Amazonian shield was shaped like an ivy leaf. The south-eastern coast of Bruttium, from Leucopetra to Lacinium, is compared by Pliny (*N. H.* iii. 43) to an Amazonian shield; it consists of two great crescent-shaped bays divided by the

promontory of Cocynthus. In this last form (), the Amazonian shield is represented on some works of ancient art. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 62, 369, 2015. It also appears in art as an oval shield with two notches, one on each side (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 59), or as an unbroken oval (*ib.*, p. 2032). Cp. Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 2038; Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. p. 272.

41. 8. the grave of Tereus, who married Procne. On the story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela, see i. 5. 4; x. 4. 8 *sq.*, with the notes; Hiller de Gaertringen, *De Graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus*, p. 35 *sqq.*; Miss Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. lxxxiv. *sqq.*; M. Mayer, 'Tereus,' *Hermes*, 17 (1892), pp. 489-499.

42. 2. a stone, on which they say that Apollo laid down his lyre when he was helping Alcathous to build the wall etc. As to the building of the walls of Megara by Alcathous, see i. 41. 6. Theognis says (*v.* 773 *sq.*) that Apollo himself fortified the acropolis in compliment to Alcathous. The author of the *Ciris*, attributed to Virgil, says (*v.* 105 *sqq.*) that Megara was fortified by the joint labour of Alcathous and Apollo, and he tells how in memory of the god's labour one of the stones, when struck, gave forth a musical note like the note of a lyre. Ovid (*Met.* viii. 14 *sqq.*) calls the walls of Megara 'vocal,' adding that Apollo had laid down his gilded lyre upon them, and that the note of the lyre inhered in the stone. Elsewhere (*Tristia*, i. 10. 39) the same poet speaks of the walls of Megara as "the walls of Alcathous."

42. 3. the Colossus of the Egyptians etc. What the Greeks called the statue of Memnon was a colossal statue, carved out of a single block of hard breccia, which with a companion statue stood in front of a temple of Amenophis III. at Thebes. The temple exists no longer, but the two statues are still in their places, and are the largest standing statues in Egypt. Each is about 60 feet high. Strabo, the first Greek writer, so far as we know, to mention the statue, says (xvii. p. 816) that one of the two colossal statues was complete, but that the upper part of the other had been thrown down by an earthquake (perhaps the earthquake of 26 B.C.), and that once a day a sound, like that of a light blow, proceeded from the part of the broken statue which remained in its chair. Strabo himself visited the spot in company with the Roman governor Aelius Gallus and his suite at the first hour of the day and heard the sound. It has been suggested that the sound was caused by the sudden increase of temperature at sunrise, the heated air in the crevices of the broken surface expanding and so producing a cracking sound. This would answer well to the descriptions which Strabo and Pausanias give of the sound. The explanation is confirmed by the fact that after the upper part of the statue was replaced in its original position, probably by Septimius Severus (Spartianus, *Severus*, 17), the sound apparently ceased to be heard. For of the numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions carved on the legs and base of the statue by visitors who declare that they heard the sound, none is older than 65 A.D. or later than 196 A.D. (*C. I. G.* Nos. 4719-4761; *C. I. L.* iii. 1. Nos. 30-66). Among the visitors were Germanicus (Tacitus, ii. 61), the emperor Hadrian (*C. I. G.* Nos. 4725, 4726), and his consort Sabina (*C. I. G.* Nos. 4728, 4731).

The statue represented the Egyptian king Amenophis III., whom Pausanias calls Phamenoph. In the visitors' inscriptions on the statue the king's name appears as Phamenoph, Phamenoth, Phamenos, and Amenoth. One inscription speaks of the statue as "Memnon or Phamenoth" (*C. I. G.* No. 4727); in another the statue is addressed as "Memnon son of Tithonus, or Amenoth king of Egypt" (*C. I. G.* No. 4731). It is supposed that the designation of the statue as Memnon was due to a misunderstanding on the part of the Greeks, who took the Egyptian word *mennu*, 'great monument,' for a proper name, and identified it with Memnon. The sound said to be emitted by the statue at sunrise was poetically supposed by the Greeks to be a salutation addressed by Memnon to his mother the Dawn (Himerius, *Or.* xvi. 1). Pausanias's statement that Cambyses cut the statue in two is probably false; it is more likely that the true explanation of the mutilated condition of the statue in his time is the one given by Strabo.

See A. Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 386 *sqq.*; Maspero *Histoire Ancienne*,[4] p. 207 *sq.*; Th. Mommsen, on *C. I. L.* iii. 1. No. 30; Mayor, on Juvenal, xv. 5; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 1. pp. 31, 295, with pl. vi.

For other mentions of Memnon's statue by ancient writers see Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 58; Juvenal, xv. 5; Lucian, *Toxaris*, 27; *id.*, *Philopseudes*, 33; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vi. 4; *id.*, *Imagines*, i. 7. 2; Himerius, *Or.* viii. 5.

42. 3. the Tunnels (Suringes). The Greeks gave the name of *Suringes* or 'Tunnels' (literally 'pipes') to the great necropolis which is hewn out of the rock in the range of limestone hills to the west of Thebes. The entrances to the tombs are in a wild and desolate ravine called *Bab-el-Molouk* or the Gate of the Kings; and each sepulchral chamber is approached through a series of passages or galleries, all subterranean and hewn out of the rock. The Theban kings of the eighteenth and following dynasties are buried here. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 1. p. 260 *sqq.*; Ad. Erman, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 439 *sqq.* Inscriptions in Greek and Latin on the walls of these tombs record the names of persons who visited them in the later ages of antiquity, and the admiration which the sight of the tombs inspired (*C. I. G.* Nos. 4762-4821; *C. I. L.* iii. 1. Nos. 67-73). Strabo describes this remarkable necropolis as "sepulchres of the kings in caves, cut in the rock, about forty in number, wonderfully constructed and worth seeing" (xvii. p. 816); but he does not use the name *Suringes*. The tombs are mentioned under the name *Suringes* by Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* vi. 43), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 15. 30), Phrynichus (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 64), and in some of the Greek inscriptions carved on the walls. Ammianus (*l.c.*) describes them as "subterranean and winding recesses, on the walls of which are sculptured many sorts of birds and beasts and hieroglyphics"; but he seems not to have known that they were tombs.

42. 3. Memnon marched —— as far as Susa. Cp. iv. 31. 5 note; x. 31. 7 note.

42. 4. a temple of Athena. A bronze tablet inscribed with a

dedication to Athena was found in 1882 in a garden about an hour and a half to the north-west of Megara. The inscription is in archaic letters and states that "the following persons dedicated the tithe to Athena from the booty." See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 181 *sqq.*; *C. I. G. G. S.* No. 37; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 113; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 113 a, p. 139; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3001.

42. 5. **The old temple of Apollo was of brick.** The brick was doubtless unburnt. As to the use of this material in ancient Greek architecture, see the note on v. 16. 1. An inscription recording the repair of the temple of Apollo has been found at Megara: the persons who conducted or contributed to the repairs are enumerated by name; the inscription dates from between 242 B.C. and 223 B.C. (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 42; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3029). There was another sanctuary of Apollo at Megara (i. 44. 2).

42. 5. **the Emperor Hadrian built it of white marble.** In return for the benefits conferred by Hadrian on Megara (cp. i. 44. 6) honours appear to have been showered on him by the citizens. A tribe was named after him (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 72, 74, 101), and many statues of him were set up (note on i. 40. 2). But the emperor's benefits seem to have had no permanent effect (i. 36. 3).

42. 5. **The image —— very like the Egyptian wooden images.** This passage has been adduced, on very insufficient grounds, to prove the direct dependence of early Greek art on the art of Egypt. See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 37 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 76 *sq.* The theory of the dependence of early Greek art on the art of Egypt has, however, been maintained on other grounds by some writers. In particular the archaic male figures known as the Apollos of Tenea, Orchomenus, etc. (see note on ii. 5. 4) are believed by these authorities to have been modelled, directly or indirectly, on Egyptian statues. See Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 117 *sqq.*; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 712 *sqq.* Cp. Paus. ii. 19. 3; iv. 32. 1; vii. 5. 5.

42. 5. **Aeginetan works.** See note on v. 25. 13.

42. 5. **the ebony-tree does not put forth leaves** etc. This absurd belief was not shared by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iv. 4. 6) and Pliny (*N. H.* xii. 17 *sqq.*)

42. 6. **the corpse of Ino was cast ashore on their coasts** etc. Cp. i. 44. 7 *sq.*; iv. 34. 7.

43. 1. **Herodotus writes that the Taurians —— sacrifice castaways to a virgin** etc. See Herodotus, iv. 103. In the city of Tauric Chersonese down to Strabo's time there was a sanctuary of the Virgin, and on a cape called Parthenium, about eleven miles from the city, there was a temple with an image of her (Strabo, vii. p. 308). She is spoken of as "the Virgin who always protects the people of Chersonese" in an inscription which mentions a festival held in her honour and an altar to her which stood on the acropolis (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 252; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 5 (1881), p. 70 *sqq.*; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3087).

43. 1. **Adrastus also is revered by the Megarians** etc. In the third book of his history of Megara the native historian Dieuchidas stated that the grave of Adrastus was at Megara, and that there was a cenotaph of him at Sicyon (Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 30). As to the death of Adrastus's son Aegialeus see i. 44. 4 note.

43. 2. **a rock which they name Anaclethra** ('**recall**'). This rock is called Anaclethris in the *Etymol. Magnum* (p. 96 *s.v.* Ἀνακληθρίς), where a similar story is told of the origin of the name.

43. 3. **There are graves in the city of Megara** etc. There was a tradition that at an early period the Greeks buried their dead in their houses (Plato, *Minos*, p. 315 d), and contemporary graves appear to be found among the rock-cut foundations of houses in the long-deserted south-western quarter of Athens (Curtius und Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, p. 19). But in historical times the dead were regularly buried outside the walls of the city: graves within the walls, such as those here mentioned by Pausanias at Megara, were very rare exceptions to the rule. In Tarentum, however, down to the time of Polybius all the dead were buried within the walls in consequence of an oracle which declared that "it would be better for the people if they made their abode with the majority": hence the eastern quarter of Tarentum was full of tombs (Polybius, viii. 30). Occasionally, as the highest mark of honour, a distinguished man was buried within the city; but in such cases the dead man seems regularly to have been worshipped as a hero and so to have been raised above the level of common humanity. Thus Thersander was buried in the market-place of Elaea and was honoured with sacrifices by the natives (Paus. ix. 5. 14): Coroebus and Orsippus were buried in the market-place of Megara (i. 43. 8; i. 44. 1): Brasidas was buried in front of the market-place at Amphipolis and was worshipped as a hero, annual sacrifices being offered to him and games held in his honour (Thucydides, v. 11): Euphron was buried in the market-place at Sicyon and worshipped as a founder of the city (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 3. 12): Aratus was also buried in a conspicuous part of Sicyon and received sacrifices twice a year as the founder and saviour of the city, although, as Plutarch tells us, there was an ancient law, supported by a strong religious prejudice, that no man should be buried within the walls (Plutarch, *Aratus*, 53): Philopoemen was buried in the market-place at Megalopolis, where divine honours were paid to his memory (*C. I. G.* No. 1536; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 210; see note on viii. 30. 10): and Timoleon was buried in the market-place of Syracuse, and musical, equestrian, and athletic contests were annually held in his honour (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39). On the other hand, Servius Sulpicius, the friend of Cicero, could not prevail on the Athenians to allow a Roman to be buried within the city: they said they were prevented by religious scruples from complying with his request, and that the privilege of being buried within the walls had never been granted to any one (Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* iv. 12). So at Rome it was forbidden by the code of the Twelve Tables to bury or burn a corpse within the walls; but a few illustrious men were, as a mark of honour, excepted from the law (Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 23).

The burial within the walls of the Megarians who fell in the Persian war appears to have been no exception to the rule that only the heroic and worshipped dead were allowed this distinction. For a copy of the epitaph which Simonides composed on the Megarian dead has been preserved in a late inscription of the fourth or fifth century A.D.; and appended to the epitaph is a statement that "down to our time they continued to sacrifice a bull to them" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 53; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 11; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 461). From the epitaph we learn that of the men thus honoured some had fallen at Artemisium, others at Mycale, others at Salamis, and others at Plataea. It is said that the Megarians buried their dead turned to the east (Plutarch, *Solon*, 10; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 19). This probably means that the bodies were laid with their feet to the east.

43. 3. **the Aesymnium.** Pausanias says below that the Council House was built so as to include within it the grave of the heroes. As the Aesymnium was this grave, it must have been within the Council House. It was probably a chamber in which the officials called *Aisumnetai* or *Aisimnatai* (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 15; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 218; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3016) held their meetings. As these *Aisumnetai* appear to have been an executive committee of the Council, it was natural that they should meet in a chamber of the Council House. In this chamber there was probably a tomb of Aesymnus, a mythical personage invented to explain the name *Aisumnetai*. Cp. *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 9 (1885), p. 280 *sq.*; Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, 2. p. 72; Busolt, *Griech. Staats- und Rechtsalterthümer*,[2] p. 46 *sq.*; Töpffer, *s.v.* 'Aisymnetes,' *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, ed. Wissowa, 1. p. 1089 *sq.*

43. 3. **the Megarians would fare well if they took counsel with the majority.** With this oracle and its interpretation compare the oracle given to the people of Tarentum (Polybius, viii. 30; see above, p. 533).

43. 4. **It is the custom for girls —— before marriage —— to offer clippings of their hair.** As to the custom of cutting off hair before marriage see ii. 32. 1. note; as to the custom of laying offerings of hair on tombs see vii. 17. 8 note. The Delian custom to which Pausanias refers is thus described by Herodotus (iv. 34): "The Delian youth, both girls and boys, cut their hair in honour of the maidens who came from the Hyperboreans and died in Delos. The girls cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, wind it on a spindle, and place it on the tomb. The tomb is in the sanctuary of Artemis, at the entrance, on the left-hand side; an olive-tree grows over it. The Delian boys wind some of their hair round a certain grass and, like the girls, place it on the tomb." Callimachus also describes the Delian custom (*Hymn to Delos*, 296-299), and from his description it appears that the hair which the Delian boys offered was that of their first beard. It is to be observed that both at Megara and Delos the graves at which these offerings of hair were made by youths and maidens were the graves of virgins. Similarly at Troezen it was in the temple of the unmarried

Hippolytus that girls dedicated their hair before marriage (ii. 32. 1).

The Hyperborean maidens to whom the youthful Delians offered their hair are called by Pausanias Hecaerge and Opis (cp. v. 7. 7). Herodotus (iv. 33) calls them Hyperoche and Laodice; but he says (iv. 35) that two other maidens named Arge and Opis (doubtless the same as the Hecaerge and Opis of Pausanias) came to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans before Hyperoche and Laodice and were honoured by the Delians in a different way. The Delian women made a periodical collection for them, singing a hymn composed for the purpose by the Lycian poet Olen; and the ashes from the thigh-bones of victims burnt on the altar were scattered on their tomb. This tomb of Opis and Arge was at the back of the sanctuary of Artemis and faced the east. This circumstantial account of Herodotus is to be preferred to the brief notice of the Delian custom given by Pausanias, who seems to have named Hecaerge (Arge) and Opis by mistake instead of Hyperoche and Laodice. Callimachus calls the Hyperborean maidens Upis, Loxo, and Hecaerge (*Hymn to Delos*, 292). Servius on Virgil (*Aen.* xi. 532) says that Opis and Hecaerge (or Hecaergus) were the first who brought the offerings of the Hyperboreans to Delos; but it is doubtful whether the names are here feminine or masculine. In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* (p. 371 a) the Hyperboreans Opis and Hecaergus seem to be men, not maidens. See Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2810 *sqq.*

43. 5. **Dasyllian.** This probably means 'leafy,' and refers to the foliage of the vines, as the author of the *Etymol. Magnum* (p. 248, *s.v.* Δασύλλιος) interprets it. Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 708.

43. 6. **a temple of Aphrodite.** This temple is alluded to by Xenophon, who says (*Hellenica*, v. 4. 58) that once when the Spartan king Agesilaus was at Megara, a vein in his leg burst as he was ascending from the sanctuary of Aphrodite to the Government Office.

43. 6. **Scopas made the images of Love and Longing and Yearning.** L. Urlichs conjectured that these three images by Scopas stood facing and matching the old ivory image of Aphrodite, and the two images of Persuasion and the Comforter by Praxiteles, each triplet of images being placed on a single pedestal (L. Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 89 *sq.*) Love (*Eros*), Longing (*Himeros*), and Yearning (*Pothos*) were probably represented as three youthful male figures; and to distinguish each of these similar figures by the subtle shade of expression appropriate to the particular one of the three kindred emotions which the figure was designed to embody, must have been a task that called for the most delicate observation in the sculptor and the most consummate technical skill. Cp. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 30.

43. 6. **a sanctuary of Fortune** etc. Coins of Megara represent Fortune as a draped woman standing with a cup in her right hand and a horn of plenty in her left. This type may be copied from Praxiteles's statue of the goddess. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 7, with pl. A xiv.

43. 6. **images of the Muses and a bronze Zeus, both by Lysip-**

pus. In the plain at the northern foot of the eastern hill of Megara there are a number of ancient blocks of grey marble, some of which appear to have formed part of a large pedestal supporting a statue or group of statuary by Lysippus. The inscription (*C. I. G. G S.* No. 38), carved on two of the blocks, runs thus :

Θηραμένης Τιμοξένου ἀνέθηκε.
Λύσιππος ἐποίει.

"Theramenes, son of Timoxenus, dedicated (the statue). Lysippus made (it)." From the style of the letters the inscription seems to date from about the end of the fourth century B.C. ; and as the dimensions of the pedestal are such as to suggest that it supported a group of statuary it may very well be that the group was the one here mentioned by Pausanias representing Zeus and the Muses. See E. Löwy, 'Künstlerinschrift aus Megara,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.* 10 (1885), pp. 145-150.

43. 7. **when Crotopus was reigning in Argos his daughter Psamathe** etc. The following story is told in the same way, though with more picturesque details, by Statius (*Theb.* i. 579 *sqq.*), who, however, omits the last part of it, the account of the foundation of Tripodisci by Coroebus. The story is also told, with some variations, by Conon (*Narrat.* 19). According to him the infant Linus, the son of Apollo and Psamathe (cp. Paus. ii. 19. 8), was found by a shepherd and reared by him as his own child, till one day the sheep-dogs tore the child in pieces. Meantime the angry father Crotopus had put his frail daughter Psamathe to death ; and this murder of his leman provoked Apollo into visiting Argos with a plague. When the Argives inquired of Apollo how they might rid themselves of the plague, the god bade them propitiate the murdered Psamathe and her son Linus. Accordingly the Argives sent matrons and maids to mourn for Linus ; and they named a month the Lamb month because Linus had been bred among the lambs, and they offered sacrifices and held a Lamb festival, at which they killed all the dogs they could find. But still the plague did not abate until Crotopus, in obedience to an oracle, quitted Argos and founded a city which he called Tripodiscium, in the territory of Megara, where he took up his abode. Such is Conon's version of the legend ; it omits all mention of the personified Punishment as well as of Coroebus. The Lamb festival at Argos is referred to by Aelian (*Nat. An.* xii. 34), who says that, "on the days which the Argives call the Lamb days, if a dog enters the market-place they kill it." It is alluded to also by Athenaeus (iii. p. 99 e). Psamathe was interpreted by K. B. Stark as a sea-nymph, a personification of the wave-washed sands, her name being derived from *psamathos* 'sea-sand' (Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden*, p. 347 *sq.*)

43. 8. **bade him take up a tripod and carry it from the sanctuary** etc. Mr. Bouché-Leclerq suggests that this story may have originated in an attempt of the Argives to set up an oracle independent of the Delphic oracle : he compares the legend of Hercules's attempt to carry off the tripod from Delphi (Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination*

dans l'antiquité, 3. p. 108 *sqq.*; as to the legend of Hercules and the tripod see iii. 21. 8; viii. 37. 1; x. 13. 7 note).

43. 8. **the village of Tripodisci.** The name of this village is variously given by ancient authorities as Tripodiscus (Thucydides, iv. 70), Tripodiscium (Strabo, ix. p. 394; Conon, *Narrationes*, 19), and Tripodisci (Pausanias). Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Τριποδίσκος) recognises both Tripodiscus and Tripodisci. Thucydides, who describes it (*l.c.*) as a village in the territory of Megara at the foot of Mount Gerania, tells us that, when Megara was threatened by the Athenians, the Spartan general Brasidas, then at Corinth, sent word to the Boeotians to meet him with their troops at Tripodiscus for the purpose of protecting Megara. The remains of the petty town are to be seen about six miles north-west of Megara on the lowest slopes of Mt. Gerania, at the entrance to the pass which leads through the mountains to the Isthmus of Corinth. The ruins lie exactly on the shortest route from Delphi to the Isthmus, over Mount Gerania, the town of Megara being situated a few miles to the left. Strabo says (*l.c.*) that in his time the Megarians held their market at Tripodiscus, perhaps because its situation was more central than that of the capital. "Such markets in some spot convenient to all the vicinage, and generally named from the nearest town, are still common in every part of the Levant, and appear to have been equally so anciently" (Leake). It may be, however, as Bursian suggested, that Strabo confused the village founded by Coroebus with his tomb in the market-place of Megara. Tripodiscus was one of the five villages among which the population of the Megarian territory was originally distributed (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 17).

See Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 410 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 380 *sq.*

43. 8. **The grave of Coroebus is in the market-place of Megara.** For other examples of graves in market-places see above, note on § 3, 'graves in the city.' In the market-place at Megara there grew a wild olive-tree on which the fate of the city was believed to depend; for an oracle had declared that if the tree were cut down, Megara would be captured and sacked, and this, we are told, actually came to pass (Theophrastus, *Histor. Plant.* v. 2. 4). According to Pliny (*N. H.* xvi. 199) the oracle ran that the tree would prove the ruin of the city whenever it should bring forth arms. Now some men had in a past age fastened their weapons on the tree: the bark had gradually closed in upon the arms and hidden them; but when the tree was cut down they came to light.

43. 8. **elegiac verses are carved on it** etc. These verses are preserved in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* vii. 154). They purport to be spoken by the grisly being whom Coroebus slew and who speaks of herself as a "Doom that haunts the grave" (Κὴρ τυμβοῦχος).

44. 1. **the grave of Orsippus** etc. A copy of the epitaph on Orsippus's grave was found at Megara in 1769 engraved on a block of stone which served to keep open the door of a hovel. As this epitaph was clearly the source of Pausanias's information about Orsippus, and as he misunderstood it, I give the epitaph at full length in the original. The tomb is supposed to speak:

Ὀρρίππῳ Μεγαρῆς με δαΐφρονι τῇδ' ἀρίδηλον
μνᾶμα θέσαν, φάμᾳ Δελφίδι πειθόμενοι·
ὃς δὴ μακίστους μὲν ὅρους ἀπελύσατο πάτρᾳ
πολλὰν δυσμενέων γᾶν ἀποτεμνομένων,
πρᾶτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐστεφανώθη
γυμνός, ζωννυμένων τῶν πρὶν ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.

"In obedience to a Delphic oracle the Megarians set me up here, a conspicuous monument to the warlike Orrippus, who delivered and restored to his fatherland a long line of boundaries, at a time when foes were annexing much land, and who was the first Greek to be crowned at Olympia naked, whereas former competitors wore girdles in the race." The inscription is not the original one carved on the tomb, but a copy executed in late Roman or Byzantine times, probably when the original was growing worn and illegible. It is in the Megarian dialect; hence Orsippus is called Orrippus. See *C. I. G.* No. 1050; *C. I. G. G. S.* No. 52; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 843; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 1. Four verses of the epitaph are quoted by the scholiast on Thucydides, i. 6. According to Didymus (Schol. on Homer. *Il.* xxiii. 683) and the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 242, *s.v.* *γυμνάσια*) the race in which Orsippus dropt his girdle was run in Ol. 32 (652 B.C.) But this is a mistake: the victory of Orsippus was won in Ol. 15 (720 B.C.) See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 195, ed. Schöne; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 683, p. 1324; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 72. 3; and Böckh's comment on *C. I. G.* No. 1050. The war in which Orsippus distinguished himself by reconquering Megarian territory from the enemy was probably waged against Corinth, which under the Bacchid dynasty claimed suzerainty over Megara and treated the vassal state very overbearingly, till the Megarians revolted and threw off the yoke (Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 155). Pausanias understood the epitaph to mean that Orsippus had headed his countrymen in a successful war of aggression.

44. 2. a sanctuary of Tutelary Apollo. Two inscriptions containing dedications to Tutelary Apollo by certain officials called *[illegible]* have been found at Megara: one of them is carved on a stone which serves as a threshold in the south-east door of the church of St. Demetrius: both inscriptions date from the beginning of the third century B.C. (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 189 *sq.*; *C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 39, 40; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3027, 3028).

44. 2. Latona and her children are by Praxiteles. There were images of Latona and her children by Praxiteles in a temple at Mantinea (viii. 9. 1). The one set of images may have been a replica of the other. Prof. Klein and Prof. Overbeck incline to assign both sets to the supposed elder Praxiteles (*Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 4 (1880), p. 16 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 500), but without any sufficient reason (see Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, Munich, Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 6 Nov. 1880, p. 443 *sq.*) Coins of Megara (Fig. 42) present a group consisting of Apollo standing between Latona and Artemis. This group is probably a copy,

more or less free, of the three statues by Praxiteles. Apollo stands clad in his long "singing robes," with a lyre in his left hand and the *plectrum* in his right. On his right stands Latona, wearing a long robe and grasping a long sceptre in her raised right hand; her left hand hangs by her side. On Apollo's left (the spectator's right) stands Artemis, also clad in a long robe, holding in her left hand a *plectrum*, and with her right drawing an arrow from the quiver which is slung at her back. See Imhoof Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, pp. 7, 154, with pl. A x, FF ii.



FIG. 42.—APOLLO, ARTEMIS, AND LATONA (COIN OF MEGARA).

44. 2. the old gymnasium, near the gate called the Gate of the Nymphs. As Pausanias, immediately after describing the old gymnasium, quits Megara and descends to the port, it is natural to suppose that the Gate of the Nymphs was on the south side of Megara and that the road to the port passed through it. In this quarter, to the south of the depression which separates the two hills of Megara, lies a pedestal of grey stone which had supported three statues; two of the statues, as we learn from the inscriptions, represented men who had been masters of the gymnasium; hence it is conjectured that the gymnasium may have been in this neighbourhood (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 13; *C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 97, 98; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3018). Another inscription, which contains a list of lads (*epheboi*) who passed the scrutiny, mentions by name the master of the gymnasium (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 29; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3022). Another inscription, already referred to, mentions a certain Matroxenus who was "master of the gymnasium in the Olympieum" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 31; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3024), from which it would seem that there was another gymnasium, probably the new one, in the Olympieum (see i. 40. 4).

44. 2. a stone in the shape of a small pyramid: they name it Apollo Carinus. On some coins of Megara an obelisk appears between two dolphins: it is probably a copy of the pyramidal image of Apollo. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 6, with pl. A viii. For more examples of the worship of conical or pyramidal stones see note on x. 16. 3. The epithet Carinus may perhaps be connected with Car, the name of the legendary king Car (i. 39. 5; i. 40. 6). But see Critical Note.

44. 2. a sanctuary of the Ilithyias. Homer mentions these goddesses in the plural (*Il.* xi. 270).

44. 3. the port, which is still called Nisaea. The distance of Nisaea from Megara was about eight Greek furlongs, according to Thucydides (iv. 66). The distance of the present town of Megara from the ancient harbour is about a mile and a half. When Megara joined the Athenian alliance about 459 B.C., the Athenians constructed two long walls between Megara and Nisaea and garrisoned these walls themselves (Thucydides, i. 103). But in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war (424 B.C.) the Megarians got possession of the

walls and razed them to the ground. In the following century the walls were rebuilt by Phocion (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 15); and Strabo speaks (ix. p. 391) as if they still existed in his time. As late as the middle of the present century some scanty remains of one of these Long Walls were to be seen about half-way between the town and the port. At present, though the direction of the walls may be followed, hardly any remains of them can be pointed out. On the western side of the bay which forms the harbour there rises a steep, isolated hill about 150 feet high, crowned with a mediaeval fortress which is largely built



FIG. 43.—MEGARA AND NISAEA.

of ancient blocks. On the eastern side of the bay is a much higher hill surmounted by a chapel of St. George. On the east this hill is prolonged by a chain of hills extending beside the shore for about a mile and a half till it terminates in the long promontory of *Tikho*, which juts for another mile and a half into the sea towards Salamis. On the south the hill of St. George ends in a small rugged headland, off which lies a little rocky island divided from the headland by a channel about 200 yards wide and 7 fathoms deep. To the south of this island lies a larger rocky island called *Pachi*.

The hill of St. George on the eastern side of the harbour appears to have been the acropolis of Nisaea mentioned by Pausanias. The remains of the fortification-wall, about 6 feet thick and strengthened with towers, may still be traced on three sides (south, east, and north) of the hill, forming three sides of a quadrangle. The western side of the hill, at the south end of which is the chapel of St. George, is naturally strong, and at its foot lay the town and harbour of Nisaea, so that fortifications were here not so necessary. In the southern wall there is a gateway about 6 feet wide. From the north-eastern corner of the fortified enclosure the eastern wall is prolonged for about a quarter of a mile down the slope of the hill to the plain. In this prolongation of the wall five or six towers may be made out.

The lower hill, surmounted by the mediaeval castle, on the western side of the harbour appears to have been what Thucydides (iii. 51) and Pausanias call the island of Minoa. Thucydides describes it (*l.c.*) as an island off Megara, not far from the shore, to which it was united by a bridge or causeway built over a shoal. The Megarians had built a tower on the island and used it as a fort; but in 427 B.C. the Athenians under Nicias captured the island, fortified it at the point where it was connected with the mainland by the bridge or causeway, and left a garrison in it. By thus commanding the harbour of Nisaea, they hoped to blockade Megara on the side of the sea, and to prevent privateers from issuing from the harbour to prey on Athenian commerce. In 424 B.C. they captured Nisaea also (Thucydides, iv. 69); and by the treaty of 423 B.C. it was provided that the Athenians, retaining possession of Minoa and Nisaea, should not pass beyond the road which went from the gate at the statue of Nisus to the sanctuary of Poseidon, and from the sanctuary of Poseidon straight to the bridge (or causeway) leading across to Minoa (Thucydides, iv. 118).

If this identification of Minoa is right, it follows that since the time of Thucydides and Pausanias the shoal water which divided the island from the mainland has been filled up. And this may very well have happened; for the hill is at present skirted on two sides by the beds of streams, now dry, and the alluvial soil formerly brought down by these streams may have sufficed to fill up the shoal and attach the island to the mainland. Between the northern foot of the hill and the dry bed of the stream on the east there are three platforms, which may have served to support the ancient bridge or causeway. It would seem that even in Strabo's time the shoal was half silted up, since he describes Minoa as "a headland forming the harbour at Nisaea" (ix. p. 391). But the change cannot have been completed for a good while afterwards, since Pausanias, writing about a century and a half after Strabo, still calls Minoa an island. The ruined fortress which crowns the hill was built originally of quadrangular blocks of limestone quarried from the hill itself; but most of the existing remains are of later date, being irregularly constructed of blocks of different sizes and shapes, among which are blocks of travertine and blocks of the soft shelly sandstone which Pausanias describes (i. 44. 6). A high tower, built of this irregular masonry, projects from the north wall of the fortress; from its style it may be of Venetian origin. The ancient walls are best preserved at the obtuse north-western angle of the fortress, and especially on its south-western side, about a third of the way up the hill. In the low ground to the north and east of Minoa are some massive foundations of ancient buildings, together with many ancient hewn blocks and pieces of unfluted columns. Several churches stand on ancient foundations. These are no doubt remains of the lower town of Nisaea. But the sites of the sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Pausanias, and of the sanctuaries of Enyalius and Poseidon mentioned by Thucydides (iv. 67 and 118), have not been identified. From the south-eastern foot of the hill of Minoa some remains of an ancient mole may be traced extending into the sea and

curving round to the eastward, so as to shelter the ancient harbour. The present port is not here, but at the little rocky headland which juts out from the south side of the acropolis of Nisaea (the hill of St. George).

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 179; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. pp. 400-402 (who wrongly identified Minoa with the long promontory of *Ticho*); T. Spratt, 'Remarks on the supposed situation of Minoa and Nisaea,' *Journal of the R. Geogr. Society*, 8 (1838), pp. 205-209 (who first identified Minoa correctly: his paper is reprinted in Arnold's ed. of Thucydides, vol. I. p. 540 *sqq.*); Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. p. 182 *sq.*; A. Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 13 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 41; A. Conze, in *Philologus*, 19 (1863), p. 164 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. pp. 378-380; H. G. Lolling, 'Nisäa und Minoa,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 1-19; Baedeker,[3] p. 153; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 193.

44. 4. a rock is shown with arrows sticking all over it etc. Cp. i. 40. 2 *sq.* Pausanias is now following the road which leads north-west from Megara to Pagae, a port on the Gulf of Corinth. The road passes, at a distance of about six miles from Megara, the remains of the ancient Tripodisci or Tripodiscus (i. 43. 8 note); but before we come to them there rises on the south of the road a height now called *Karydi* ('walnut-tree'), in the rocky summit of which there are many holes. These holes in the rock probably gave rise to the fable which Pausanias here relates (Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 381).

44. 4. Pagae. Pagae or Pegae, as it was called by Attic writers and those who followed them (Thucydides, i. 103, 107, 111, 115; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 19; Harpocration and Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Πηγαί; Scylax, *Periplus*, 39), was a port on the western coast of the Megarian territory, on the Gulf of Corinth (Scylax, *l.c.*; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 23; Mela, ii. 53). The distance across from Pagae on the west to Nisaea on the east was 120 Greek furlongs, according to Strabo (viii. p. 334). When Megara joined Athens in 459 B.C. the Athenians took possession of Pagae and held it for some years (Thucydides, i. 103, 107, 111), but evacuated it in 445 B.C., at the time when they concluded the Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta (Thucydides, i. 115). The site of Pagae is marked by the remains of walls on two hills close to the sea, near the deserted village of *Alepo Chori* or *Alopeko Kampo*. Some remains of walls and of columns of white marble are to be seen near the sea. A number of inscriptions have been found at Pagae, especially in or near the ruined church of the Panagia in the village of *Alepo Chori* (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 188-206; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 4 (1880), p. 66 *sq.*; *id.*, 9 (1885), p. 321 *sq.*; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3105-3113). Some of the inscriptions seem to prove that in later times Pagae was independent (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 188, 190, 193, 195). One of the inscriptions records the dedication of a statue of the emperor Tiberius by some men of Pagae (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 195). As to Pagae see Le Bas, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1 (1844), p. 172 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 381.

44. 4. a bronze image of Saviour Artemis etc. Cp. i. 40. 2 *sq.* with the note.

44. 4. he was slain at Glisas etc. Cp. i. 43. 1; ix. 5. 13; Apollodorus, iii. 7. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 71.

44. 5. Aegosthena. The ruins of Aegosthena are situated on the western shore of the Megarian territory, at the head of a bay now called *Porto Germano*, which is enclosed on the north by a western prolongation of Mt. Cithaeron, and on the south by the mountains of Megara. The hills which rise steeply behind Aegosthena are clothed with fine fir-woods, and the traveller obtains beautiful views as he descends through them to the shore of the bay. The walls of Aegosthena are amongst the finest and best preserved of ancient Greek fortifications. They are 12 feet thick, faced outside and inside with squared blocks, while the intermediate space is filled with small stones bonded with mortar. Where the wall is standing to its full original height, it is 12 to 16 feet high according to the inequalities of the ground. It is best preserved on the eastern side, where there are four square towers, one at each corner and two in the middle. The tower at the north-east corner is 21 feet square; it projects 8 feet beyond the line of the wall, and rises to a height of 16 to 20 feet above it. Up to the height of the wall the tower is constructed of solid masonry; but from the top of the wall a door 7 feet high and 3 feet 3 inches wide leads into it. The next two towers on the east side are not preserved to any great height; they measure 18 to 19 feet square. But the fourth tower, at the south-east corner, is complete with the exception of the roof and the wooden floors and staircases in the inside. The roof had two low gables facing north and south. From the foot of the tower to the top of the gable there are, on the south side, 30 courses of square blocks in position. On this side the tower has two loopholes for arrows; they are exactly in the middle of the tower, one above the other, the first being in the fourteenth course, and the second in the twenty-seventh. Above the twenty-seventh course there are three windows side by side; judged by the eye they measure 2½ to 3 feet square each. The stones of the lowest course are from 2 feet 2 inches to 3 feet high; the stones of the fourteenth course are 2 feet high; and in the upper courses they diminish still further in height. The height of the tower, estimated from the number and height of the courses, must be about 60 feet; it thus rises about 45 feet above the level of the wall. So high a tower must have been intended to serve as a look-out place, which was especially needed in the narrow, rugged, and densely wooded valley in which Aegosthena stands. (All the foregoing measurements are in German feet and inches, being taken from the work of L. Ross, cited below.)

A good many inscriptions have been found on the site, some of which serve to identify it as Aegosthena. From several of them we learn that copies of public decrees, engraved on stone, were set up in the sanctuary of Melampus of which Pausanias speaks (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 207, 208, 223; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 104, 283; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3094). From another inscription it appears that a festival of Melampus, with games, was held at Aegosthena (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 219; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3093); this confirms Pausanias's statement that the people of Aegosthena celebrated an annual festival in honour of Melampus. Another inscription records that "Aurelius Zeno and Apollonia, with their children, dedicated the

fore-temple (τὸ προνάϊον) to the gods at their own expense" (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 225). Another inscription mentions a sanctuary of Hercules (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 213). Statues of Roman emperors appear to have been set up by the city (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 226, 227). As a number of the public documents of Aegosthena, preserved in inscriptions, are dated by the archons of Onchestus (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 209-212, 214-218, 220-222), as well as, in most cases, by the archons of Aegosthena, we learn that for some time Aegosthena was a member of the Boeotian confederacy (see note on ix. 26. 5).

Aegosthena is rarely mentioned by ancient writers. In the winter of 379/378 B.C. when the Lacedaemonian army under Cleombrotus was retreating from Boeotia, they marched by the coast from Creusis to Aegosthena. Between these two places, as they were defiling along a path which ran on the face of the sea-cliffs, they were overtaken by so violent a storm that many of the baggage asses were hurled over the edge of the cliff, and many of the men's shields were blown away into the sea. The others saved their shields by leaving them on the ground filled with stones and returning next day from Aegosthena to fetch them. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 4. 17 *sq.*) Seven years later, the Lacedaemonian army, after its disastrous defeat at Leuctra, retreated by night along the same difficult and dangerous road to Aegosthena, where they were met by reinforcements under Archidamus (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 25 *sq.*) A sweet wine was produced at Aegosthena (Athenaeus, x. p. 440 f). The place is also mentioned by Scylax (*Periplus*, 39), Pliny (*N. H.* iv. 23), and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Αἰγόσθενα).

On Aegosthena see Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. pp. 373, 405-407; Le Bas, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1 (1844), pp. 168-172; L. Ross, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, 1. p. 236 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 381 *sq.* For the inscriptions of Aegosthena see Le Bas, *l.c.*; F. Dürrbach, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 9 (1885), pp. 318-321; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3091-3104; *C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 207-234.

44. 5. a sanctuary of Melampus. Mr. A. B. Cook has recently adduced some specious reasons for holding that Melampus was originally a goat-deity. (1) The name Melampus ('black-foot') may well have been a descriptive epithet of the goat. Such descriptive epithets were applied by the ancient Greeks to other animals (cp. *e.g.* Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 571), and are still applied by superstitious people in various parts of the world to animals which they revere or dread, and which therefore they are shy of calling by their proper names. For example, Swedish herd girls are careful not to call the wolf and the bear by their proper names, because they think that if these beasts heard themselves so called they would attack the cattle. Hence the herd girls call the wolf "grey legs," "golden tooth," "the silent one": and the bear they call "golden feet," "the old man," etc. (L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, p. 251). (2) The first part of the name of Aegosthena, the town in which Melampus was worshipped, seems certainly to be derived from the Greek word for 'goat' (*aix*, *aigos*). (3) On a coin of Aegosthena we have as a type a child suckled by a goat (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 9, with pl. A i, the last coin on the plate; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 329). The

child is probably Melampus. For similar tales were told of many illustrious men, and Melampus was the chief hero of Aegosthena. The legend was perhaps invented to explain away the animal affinity of Melampus at a time when the worshipful animal was passing into an anthropomorphic divinity. (4) The same transition seems to have been effected in another way by declaring that Melampus was not a goat but a goat-herd (cp. Pliny, *N. H.* xxv. 47). (5) Melampus was chiefly famed for his power of curing madness (cp. Paus. ii. 18. 4, v. 5. 10, viii. 18. 7 *sq.*); a species of hellebore, which the ancients regarded as a remedy for insanity, was named Melampodium after Melampus (Pliny, *N. H.* xxv. 47 and 49). Now it is significant in this connexion that when Dionysus was invoked to cure madness, he was addressed as Melanaegis, *i.e.* 'he of the black goat-skin' (Suidas, *s.v.* *μελαναίγιδα Διονύσου*). See A. B. Cook, 'Descriptive animal names in Greece,' *Classical Review*, 8 (1894), p. 381 *sqq.*, especially p. 384 *sq.*

44. 5. **Erenea, a Megarian village.** Leake conjectured that Erenea may have occupied the site of the modern *Koundoura*, a village about ten miles north-east of Megara, on the road to Eleutherae and Thebes. The road which leads from the plain of Megara to *Koundoura* passes through a remarkable gorge in the mountains; the entrance to the gorge is between two grand crags (Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. pp. 374, 408; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 191).

44. 5. **the death of Actaeon.** See ix. 2. 3, with the note.

44. 6. **Among the graves on the road from Megara to Corinth.** From Megara Pausanias proceeds to Corinth by the road which kept along the southern shore of the Megarian territory, close to the sea. The modern highroad and railway from Megara to Corinth follow the same route. Pausanias would thus pass through the necropolis which may still be seen a little to the south-west of Megara. Most of the tombs are at the point where the footpath called *Tourkodromos* ('the Turk's road') diverges to the right from the carriage-road, striking up the hill to cut off the long bend made by the carriage-road which skirts the sea. Some of the tombs are hewn in the rock: others are built of common stone. Of the vases, statuettes, and other antiquities which have been found in these graves, some are preserved at Megara; others have been sent for sale to Corinth and Athens. In the midst of this necropolis the foundations of a structure of some size (about 75 feet long by 30 feet wide) were discovered and excavated by Mr. Philios in 1889. They are situated on the right bank of a small water-course, a few yards to the north of the first stone railway-bridge after you leave Megara. Mr. Philios conjectures that this edifice, surrounded by graves, may have been the tomb of Telephanes mentioned by Pausanias. The fragment of a large marble wing, probably from a figure of Victory of more than life-size, was found on the spot; and hence Lolling suggested that the structure may have been a trophy rather than a tomb. See H. G. Lolling, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 201 *sqq.* (what Lolling here conjectured to be the tomb of Telephanes turned out to be an ancient farmhouse or villa); Πρακτικὰ

τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1889, p. 25 *sq.*; D. Philios, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, p. 21 *sqq.*, especially pp. 49-52, 62.

The fluteplayer Telephanes was a contemporary of Demosthenes, who speaks of him in friendly terms (xxi. 17, p. 520). He is mentioned also by Athenaeus (viii. p. 351 e). The epitaph on his tomb by Nicarchus is preserved in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* vii. 159).

44. 6. a tomb of Car. About half an hour to the south-west of Megara are two conical hillocks known as *Kournouloi.* The late H. G. Lolling conjectured that the larger of the two (about 90 feet high) might have been the tomb of Car. But excavations proved that both hillocks were natural elevations, not artificial mounds raised over the dead. This, however, would not exclude the possibility that one of the hillocks may have been regarded by the ancients as the tomb of the legendary Car. But Lolling afterwards withdrew his conjecture. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 207 *sq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας, 1889, p. 25 *sq.*; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, pp. 25-28, 62.

44. 6. mussel-stone. This stone is described by Dodwell (*Tour*, 2. p. 178) as "a soft and porous compound of petrified shells and marine substances, that are easily decomposed and crumbled into dust." He adds in a note: "It is composed chiefly of cockle-shells, resembling the stone of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, except that it is more compact." Prof. E. Curtius says that the Megarian heights are mostly composed of a conglomerate of sea mussels (*Peloponnesos*, 1. p. 8). According to Fiedler there are rocks near Megara which are largely composed of bivalve mussels (*Reise*, 1. p. 221). Bursian writes that Mt. Gerania partly consists of "a calcareous tuff, of a dirty yellow colour and filled with numerous mussels, of which almost all the houses of the present miserable little town of Megara are built" (Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 368). He supposes that the white mussel-stone described by Pausanias was a finer sort of the same stone, which the ancients used for grand buildings and for sculpture: Cicero speaks of Megarian statues (*Epist. ad Atticum*, i. 8 and 9). Neumann and Partsch think that by mussel-stone was meant "a white fresh-water chalk, in which two kinds of *Melanopsis* and other shells exist in incredible quantities" (*Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 268). Cp. K. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, § 268. 1: Blümner, *Technologie*, 3. p. 59. On the geology of Mt. Gerania see Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 18 *sqq.*

44. 6. The road which is still named after Sciron etc. This famous pass along the sea-cliffs, known in antiquity as the Scironian Road (Herodotus, viii. 71), is thus described by Strabo (ix. p. 391): "The Scironian cliffs leave no passage between them and the sea. The road from the Isthmus to Megara and Attica runs along the top of them; indeed in many places it is compelled by the beetling mountain, which is high and inaccessible, to skirt the brink of the precipices." The dread of robbers, who here lay in wait for travellers (Alciphron, iii. 70), enhanced the natural horrors of the pass in ancient as well as in modern times. In recent years these horrors have been dissipated by

the construction of a highroad and a railway along the coast; but down to the middle of the present century, if we may trust the descriptions of travellers, the cliff-path well deserved its modern name of *Kake Skala* or 'the Evil Staircase.' For six miles it ran along a narrow, crumbling ledge half-way up the face of an almost sheer cliff, at a height of six to seven hundred feet above the sea. On the right rose the rock like a wall; on the left yawned the dizzy abyss, where, far below, the waves broke at the foot of the precipices in a broad sheet of white curdling foam. So narrow was the path that only a single sure-footed beast could make its way with tolerable security along it. In stormy or gusty weather it was dangerous; a single slip or stumble would have been fatal. When two trains of mules met, the difficulty of passing each other was extreme. Indeed at the beginning of the present century Colonel Leake pronounced the path impassable for horses; and at a later time, when it had been somewhat mended, another distinguished traveller, himself a Swiss, declared that he knew of no such giddy track, used by horses, in all Switzerland. In many places the narrow path had been narrowed still further by its outer edge having given way and slid into the depths, so that it was only by using the utmost caution that the traveller was able to scramble along at all. At one point, where it crossed the mouth of a gully, the road had completely disappeared, having either fallen into the sea or, according to another account, been blown up in the War of Independence. Here therefore the wayfarer was obliged to pick his steps down a breakneck track which zig-zagged down to the narrow strip of beach, from which he had laboriously to clamber up by a similar track on the opposite side of the gully. One traveller has graphically described how his baggage-horses slid and slipt on their hind feet down one of these tracks, while their drivers hung on to the tails of the animals to check their too precipitate descent. Last century the path had ceased to be used even by foot-passengers. Chandler took boat at Nisaea and coasted along the foot of the cliffs, looking up with amazement at the narrow path carried along the edge of perpendicular precipices above the breakers and supported so slenderly beneath "that a spectator may reasonably shudder with horror at the idea of crossing."

Nothing was easier than to make such a path impassable. Accordingly when word reached Peloponnese that Leonidas and his men had been annihilated by the Persians at Thermopylae, the Peloponnesians hurried to the Isthmus, blocked up the Scironian road, and built a fortification-wall across the Isthmus (Herodotus, viii. 71). In modern times, though the path had fallen into decay, it still showed traces of having been used and cared for in antiquity. In many places the marks of the chariot-wheels were visible in the rock; in other places there were remains of massive substructions of masonry which had once supported and widened the road; and here and there pieces of ancient pavement were to be seen. These were probably vestiges of the carriage-road which, as Pausanias tells us, the emperor Hadrian constructed along this wild and beautiful coast. At the present day, as the traveller is whirled along it in the train, he is struck chiefly by the blue-

ness of the sea and the greenness of the thick pine-woods which mantle the steep shelving sides of the mountains.

See Wheler, *Journey*, p. 436; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 197 *sq.*; Leake, *N. Greece*, 2. p. 413 *sqq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 136 *sq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 222-224; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 163 *sq.*; E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 1. p. 9 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 225 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, 42 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 368; Belle, *Trois Années en Grèce*, p. 250 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 153 *sq.* For other mentions of the Scironian cliffs by ancient writers see Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1208; *id.*, *Heraclidae*, 860; Polybius, xvi. 16; Apollodorus, ii. 8. 1; *id.*, *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 54; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, 1. p. 173; Diodorus, iv. 59; Lucian, *Dialogi Marini*, viii. 1; Hesychius, *s.v.* *σκελρων*; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* *Σκίρος*; Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 447; Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 1023, 1225; [Virgil,] *Ciris*, 465; Mela, ii. 47; Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 23. The name Scironian rocks was applied both in a general sense to the whole line of cliffs (Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 23), and in a restricted sense to the particular cliff from which Sciron was supposed to have kicked his victims into the sea (see below, i. 44. 8).

44. 6. war minister of Megara. The existence of a board of officials called War Ministers (*Polemarchoi*) at Megara in historical times is attested by inscriptions (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 27, 28; Collitz. *G. D. I.* 3. Nos. 3020, 3021). The board seems to have consisted of five members.

44. 7. the Molurian rock —— Ino —— Melicertes. A scholiast on Pindar (*Isthm.* Introd. p. 515, ed Boeckh) and Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 229) agree in saying that Ino fled with the infant Melicertes over Mount Gerania and flung herself and him into the sea from the Molurian rock. Zenobius says (iv. 38) that "Ino cast herself with Melicertes into the sea at the Molurian rock" (*πρὸς τῇ Μολουρίδι*). Lucian says, less exactly, that Ino and Melicertes fell from the Scironian rocks (*Dialogi Marini*, viii. 1). The Molurian rock is mentioned along with the Scironian sea in an epigram of Simonides, as emended by Hemsterhuys (*Anthol. Palat.* vii. 496; *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. Bergk,[3] 3. p. 1158); but the manuscript reading 'Methurian' may be right, for according to Pliny (*N. H.* iv. 57) there were four islands called the Methurian islands in the gulf of Megara.

Melicertes is supposed by some to be identical with the Phoenician Melcart (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, 1. p. 434; J. de Witte, 'Mélicerte,' *Gazette Archéologique*, 5 (1879), pp. 217-221; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 2. p. 146). It is said that infants were sacrificed to Melicertes in Tenedos (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229).

44. 7. he perceived that the famine which had visited the Orchomenians etc. The story to which Pausanias refers is told thus by Zenobius (iv. 38): "Athamas had first married Nephele and had by her two children, Helle and Phrixus. When Nephele died he married a second wife, Ino, who plotted against Nephele's children and persuaded the women of the country to roast the seed-corn. Thus the earth, being sown with roasted seed, did not yield its yearly crops. So Athamas sent to Delphi and inquired the cause of the dearth. But Ino bribed the messengers to say on their return that the god had announced that, if they would be rid of the dearth, Helle and Phrixus must be sacrificed. So Athamas hearkened to them and brought Helle

and Phrixus to the altar. But the gods in pity carried them away through the air on the ram with the golden fleece; and Athamas they smote with madness and so brought retribution on Ino." The same story is told with some variations of detail by Hyginus (*Fab.* 2).

44. 8. **the Isthmian games were held in his honour.** Cp. ii. 1. 3. According to a scholiast on Pindar (*Isthm.* Introd. p. 514, ed. Boeckh), when the corpse of Melicertes was washed ashore on the Isthmus a famine came upon the city of Corinth, and an oracle declared that the evil would not cease till the people paid the due obsequies to Melicertes and honoured him with funeral games. The Corinthians complied with the injunction for a short time; but as soon as they omitted to celebrate the games, the famine broke out afresh, and the oracle informed them that the honours paid to the hero Melicertes must be eternal. Cp. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, p. 29, ed. Potter; Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3; Zenobius, iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 107, 229; Schol. on Euripides, *Medea*, 1284; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2.

It is noteworthy that all the most famous Greek games, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian, are said by some ancient writers to have been originally funeral games. The Isthmian games were held in honour of the dead Melicertes; the Nemean in honour of Opheltes (see note on ii. 15. 2); the Olympian in honour of Pelops, according to Clement of Alexandria (*l.c.*); and the Pythian in honour of the slain Python (Clement of Alexandria, *l.c.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 140). The tradition will not seem improbable when we remember that in the Homeric age games were held on a great scale in honour of a departed warrior (Homer, *Il.* xxiii.), and that even in historical times the Greeks commemorated many of their illustrious dead by the periodical celebration of games. Among the men thus honoured were Miltiades at the Thracian Chersonese (Herodotus, vi. 38), Leonidas and Pausanias at Sparta (Pausanias, iii. 14. 1), Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thucydides, v. 11), Timoleon at Syracuse (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39), and Mausolus at Halicarnassus (Aulus Gellius, x. 18. 5 *sq.*) Games were periodically celebrated at Plataea in honour of the men who had fallen in the Persian war (Paus. ix. 2. 5), and at the Academy in honour of the men who had perished in the service of Athens (note on i. 30. 1, p. 390).

Other peoples have practised similar customs. At Rome funeral games were held and gladiators fought in honour of distinguished men (Livy, *Epit.* xvi.; *id.*, xxiii. 30. 15; *id.*, xxxi. 50. 4; *id.*, xxxix. 46. 2; Polybius, xxxii. 14. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 67). In Circassia the anniversary of the death of a distinguished warrior or chief is celebrated for years with horse-races, foot-races, and various kinds of martial and athletic exercises, prizes being given to the successful competitors (J. Potocki, *Voyage dans les Steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, Paris, 1829, 1. p. 275 *sq.*; Edmund Spencer, *Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary*, etc., London, 1836, 2. p. 399). Among the Chewsurs, another people of the Caucasus, horse-races are held at the funeral of a rich man, and prizes of cattle and sheep are given to the winners: poorer people content themselves with a competition in shooting and with more modest prizes (G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*,

Cassel, 1878, p. 95). Among the Kirghiz the anniversary of the death of a rich man is celebrated with a great feast and with horse-races, shooting matches, and wrestling-matches. It is said that thousands of sheep and hundreds of horses, besides slaves, coats of mail and a great many other objects, are sometimes distributed as prizes among the winners (A. de Levchine, *Description des hommes et des steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks ou Khirgiz-Kaisaks*, Paris, 1840, p. 367 *sq.*; H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 255). In Lao, a district of Siam, when a chief dies, "men are hired to engage in pugilistic encounters, being paid, victors and vanquished alike, from four to twenty rupees apiece for the honour and privilege of getting a black eye or losing their front teeth *in memoriam*" (C. Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, London, 1884, p. 262). Among some of the North American Indians contests in running, shooting, etc., formed part of the funeral celebration (Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744, 6. p. 111).

44. 8. **A tortoise swam at the foot of the cliffs to pounce on the people who were thrown in.** Hence Sciron was said to feed the tortoise (Schol. on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 979). Cp. Apollodorus, *Epitoma Vaticana*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 54; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. R. Wagner, 1. p. 173; [Virgil,] *Ciris*, 466 *sq.* Diodorus, in his dull rationalistic manner, says that the tortoise was merely the name of the cliff from which Sciron kicked people into the sea (iv. 59). The death of Sciron is depicted on painted vases (see note on ii. 1. 4); on some of them the tortoise is represented waiting below for its prey (Th. Panofka, *Der Tod des Skiron und des Patroclus*, pl. i.; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), pl. x.) The death of Sciron is the subject of one of the sculptured metopes of the so-called Theseum at Athens; but here the animal which is represented looking up expectantly at Sciron as he is being toppled over the rock by Theseus is a crab, not a tortoise (Panofka, *op. cit.* p. 1; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 278).

44. 9. **a temple of Zeus, who is here called Hurler.** The site of this sanctuary was recognised by H. G. Lolling in 1887, and was excavated for the Greek Archaeological Society by Mr. Philios in 1889. The place, now called *Sta Marmara*, is about an hour and a half to the south-west of Megara, on an eminence above the road to Corinth. Though situated only at the roots of the mountains, it is about 850 feet above the sea and commands an uninterrupted view over the whole Saronic Gulf. The foundations of the temple were brought to light. It was a tiny building about 20 feet long and 14 feet wide; and consisted of a single chamber or *cella* with a portico facing south-east. Three courses of the foundations, of common stone, are preserved, and some fragments of triglyphs were found. About 15 yards south-east of the temple, but not opposite nor parallel to it, are the remains of a rectangular structure, probably an altar. Immediately to the west of the little temple are the foundations of a number of halls or chambers built round a courtyard. In three of these chambers there are remains of stone couches extending round the walls; from which it would seem that the chambers were banqueting-rooms. Two of these three chambers

are on the north of the courtyard; the third, larger than the other two, is on the south. In a fourth chamber, on the western side of the courtyard, there is a shallow circular depression paved with burnt bricks, from which a short channel, also paved with bricks, leads to a smaller circular depression about 4 inches deep. There was probably an altar here. A fifth chamber, considerably larger than any of the preceding chambers, is situated at the north-east corner of the court. It is about 44 feet long from north to south, by about 28 feet wide from east to west. Its eastern and western walls, built of blocks of common stone laid lengthways, are preserved to a greater height than any of the other walls of the sanctuary. On three sides of this large chamber there are vestiges which seem to show that stone seats extended round the walls. Besides these five chambers there are six small rooms on the east and south-east sides of the courtyard: the remains of their walls, built of small stones bonded with clay, prove that these small rooms belong to a later period than the other chambers. Amongst the very few fragments of sculpture discovered on the site is a limestone relief representing a griffin. Some pieces of clay figures of animals (lions and a pig) were found. Many fragments of painted vases were also brought to light, including black-figured and red-figured sherds and a good many fine specimens of the so-called Corinthian ware, adorned with figures of animals (mostly lions), birds, Sirens, and sphinxes, and occasionally men. Three of the potsherds discovered bear fragmentary inscriptions (*C. I. G. G. S.* Nos. 3493, 3494, 3497), one of which seems to have contained a dedication to Zeus the Hurler (*C. I. G. G. S.* No. 3493, φεσ, which may be restored [Διὸς 'Α]φεσ[*ίου*] or [Διὶ 'Α]φεσ[*ίῳ*]). This confirms the identification of the site as that of the temple mentioned by Pausanias. With regard to the chambers round the courtyard, Mr. Philios believes that they were erected for the use of the attendants on the shrine, like the cloisters and chambers at the sanctuary of Cranaean Athena near Elataea (Paus. x. 34. 7 with the notes). H. G. Lolling, on the other hand, preferred to suppose that these chambers were originally a private dwelling-house, to which a sanctuary was afterwards attached. Similarly the house of Pulytion was converted into a sanctuary of Dionysus (Paus. i. 2. 5); the house and garden of Demo were consecrated to Aesculapius (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1654; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 368); and a certain Dionysus built and dedicated to Dionysus a temple in his house at Piraeus (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), pp. 279-298; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 2. p. 163 *sq.*; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1336).

See Lolling, in 'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1887, p. 213 *sqq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρίας, 1889, p. 26; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), p. 327; Philios, in 'Εφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, p. 35 *sqq.*, 63 *sq.*; Lolling, *ib.* p. 55 *sqq.* As to the epithet 'Hurler,' cp. Critical Note on the passage.

44. 9. **the tomb of Eurystheus** etc. Apollodorus says (ii. 8. 1) that after his defeat in Attica Eurystheus fled in his chariot, but that in driving past the Scironian rocks he was overtaken and slain by Hyllus

(not Iolaus), who cut off his head and brought it back to Alcmena. Euripides in his play *The Heraclids* (*v.* 859 *sqq.*) says that Iolaus came up with Eurystheus at the Scironian rocks, took him prisoner, and brought him back to Alcmena, who caused him to be put to death. According to another tradition the body of Eurystheus was buried in the Attic township of Gargettus and his head at Tricorythus near Marathon (Strabo, viii. p. 377; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Γαργηττός; cp. note on i. 32. 3, p. 432).

44. 10. **Descending from this road we come to a sanctuary of Latoan Apollo** etc. After passing the long line of the Scironian cliffs the road descends into a little plain beside the sea, where is the hamlet of *Kineta*. The sanctuary of Latoan Apollo was probably in this neighbourhood. At present the little plain is almost deserted, though the olive-trees which grow in it prove that the soil is capable of cultivation. But a neighbouring swamp breeds fever, the ravages of which may be traced on the pale, sickly inhabitants of the wretched hamlet. The road runs through thick underwood and up and down small eminences, which shut out the view. The nature of the ground lends itself to the depredations of robbers, who used to skulk in the dense scrub and pounce out on passing travellers. The landscape here wore a very pleasing aspect when W. G. Clark saw it on an April day. "All the hill-side was starred thick with the white and lilac flowers of the sage-leaved cistus and hoary with grey thyme; and further off, where the eye could no longer distinguish the separate flowers, it presented a strange glossy surface, like a lawn covered with a veil of silver tissue. Above the silvery slope a wood of light-green, round-topped pines shone yellowing in the sunlight, mixed with plots of flowering gorse. The air was filled with the fragrance of the thyme, as our horses trampled and cropped it."

See Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 224; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, p. 228; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 44 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 384.

44. 10. **Hyllus —— engaged in single combat with —— Echemus.** See i. 41. 2 note.

APPENDIX

THE PRE-PERSIAN TEMPLE ON THE ACROPOLIS [1]

In 1886 the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society on the Acropolis at Athens laid bare the foundations of a large ancient temple immediately to the south of the Erechtheum. It was at once recognised that this temple must have been the one burnt by the Persians when they sacked Athens in 480 B.C. This conclusion has been generally accepted and there is no ground for questioning it. But Dr. Dörpfeld, who superintended the excavations and to whom we are indebted for a detailed plan and description of the existing remains, has propounded a theory that the temple was rebuilt by the Athenians shortly after the Persian war, and that it continued to exist as late certainly as the second century of our era and probably much later. If Dr. Dörpfeld had based this theory on the nature of the existing architectural remains, his judgment might well have been regarded as final, since no man living is better qualified than he to pronounce an opinion on all questions relating to Greek architecture. Certainly I for one would not have presumed to differ from him. But although Dr. Dörpfeld believes that the temple was twice burnt and twice rebuilt by the Athenians, he does not maintain that a single stone of the existing remains is of later date than the Persian sack. His theory of the restoration of the temple rests almost wholly on considerations of historical probability and on literary and epigraphical evidence. It is therefore one which every scholar is free to examine and estimate for himself. I have lately had occasion to do so; and an attentive and, I trust, unprejudiced consideration of Dr. Dörpfeld's evidence has led me to the conclusion that his theory is open to grave, if not insuperable, objections. These objections I propose to state in the present paper.

It will conduce to clearness if I begin by setting forth briefly, first, the nature of the existing remains, and, second, the principal arguments on which Dr. Dörpfeld bases his theory.[2]

The standing remains of the temple are situated immediately to the south and

[1] Reprinted, with a few slight changes, from *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 153-187.

[2] The remains of the temple are described, with a ground plan, by Dr. Dörpfeld in the Athenian *Mittheilungen* of the German Archaeological Institute, vol. xi. (1886) pp. 337-351. His theory of the history of the temple is stated and defended by him *ib.* xii. (1887) pp. 25-61, 190-211, and xv. (1890) pp. 420-439. Objections are urged by Mr. Eugen Petersen, *ib.* xii. pp. 62-72, by Mr. K. Wernicke, *ib.* xii. pp. 184-189, and by Mr. H. N. Fowler in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, viii. (1893) pp. 1-17. Dr. Dorpfeld's views as to the history of the temple are accepted partially by Dr. Lolling in Ἀθηνᾶ, ii. (1890) pp. 627-662, and wholly by Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 414 *sqq.*, 496 *sqq.*, though she differs from Dr. Dorpfeld as to the passage in which she believes Pausanias to have described the temple.

south-west of the Erechtheum. Though they consist merely of foundations and of a single stone of the top course of the stylobate, they suffice to show that the temple was of the common peripteral pattern ; *i.e.* that it was a quadrangular and oblong building, surrounded by a colonnade, with its two narrow ends facing approximately east and west. The length of the temple, exclusive of the colonnade, was about 33.5 metres or a little over 100 Attic feet.[1] The interior was divided into two somewhat unequal halves, an eastern and a western, separated from each other by a partition wall and entered by separate doors at the east and west ends. The eastern half of the temple consisted of a shallow portico at the east end and a large inner chamber, the *cella* or shrine proper, approached through the portico. The western and somewhat larger half of the temple comprised a portico at the west end, a large inner chamber approached through the portico, and two smaller chambers lying north and south of each other and situated between the large western chamber and the large eastern chamber or *cella*. These two smaller chambers probably opened by two separate doors into the large western chamber, not into the *cella*.

The foundations of the temple proper are built of the hard bluish limestone of the Acropolis ; the foundations of the colonnade are built of a reddish grey limestone brought from Piraeus. As the materials of the two sets of foundations differ, so do their styles of masonry. The foundations of the colonnade are decidedly better built than those of the temple proper, the superiority being evinced both in the greater regularity of the courses and in the more accurate jointing of the individual blocks. These differences in material and workmanship between the foundations of the colonnade and those of the temple proper might be explained, Dr. Dörpfeld tells us, on the supposition that the builders desired to construct the outer foundation-walls in a better and more massive style ; but he thinks it more probable that the temple was originally built without a colonnade, and that the colonnade was a later embellishment of it. From a comparison of the foundations of the colonnade with those of buildings which are known to belong to the age of Pisistratus, Dr. Dörpfeld infers that the colonnade was added to the temple in the sixth century B.C., and was probably a work of Pisistratus. These conclusions may be accepted on Dr. Dörpfeld's authority.

Built into the north fortification-wall of the Acropolis, not far from the temple, are many architectural fragments, including drums of columns, Doric capitals, triglyphs, and pieces of architraves, all of common stone, together with some marble metopes. These architectural fragments Dr. Dörpfeld, with his usual acumen and tact, has proved to belong to the colonnade of the temple. The technical grounds on which his proof rests need not detain us : his conclusion may be accepted. The portion of the Acropolis wall into which these fragments are built is believed by archaeologists, including Dr. Dörpfeld, to have been constructed by Cimon not long after the Persian war.[2]

So much for the remains of this ancient temple, which I shall call the Pre-Persian temple in order to distinguish it from the two great temples still standing on the Acropolis, namely the Parthenon and the Erechtheum.

The history of the Pre-Persian temple, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, was as follows. The temple existed in Homeric times. In proof of this Dr. Dörpfeld cites two passages of Homer. In one of them[3] Homer says that Athena came to

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[1] *Mittheilungen*, xv. (1890) p. 172.

[2] It may here be mentioned that Prof. Studniczka, from a comparison of fragments of archaic sculpture found on the Acropolis, has made it probable that one of the gables of the temple was adorned with sculptures representing the battle of the gods and giants, and that in this scene the central figure was Athena. See P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 244-246.

[3] ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην
δῦνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.
Od. vii. 80 *sq.*

Athens "and went into the strong house of Erechtheus." In the other passage it is said [1] that Athena "settled him (Erechtheus) at Athens in her own rich temple, and there, as the years go round, the Athenian youths propitiate him with bulls and lambs." According to Dr. Dörpfeld these passages are to be interpreted as follows. 'The strong house of Erechtheus' was the great palace of the old kings of Athens on the Acropolis; it contained within it a temple of Athena (the Pre-Persian temple), and at a later time a small temple of Erechtheus was built close beside, but separate from, the temple of Athena.

In the sixth century B.C. the colonnade was added to the temple of Athena by Pisistratus. In 480 B.C. the temple was burnt by the Persians,[2] but was soon afterwards restored by the Athenians. This supposed restoration of the temple is the crucial point in Dr. Dörpfeld's theory, and the evidence he adduces to prove it must be carefully scanned. No ancient writer mentions the restoration, and not a stone of the existing remains is later than the Persian sack. Dr. Dörpfeld himself does not maintain that the Athenians restored the colonnade of the temple. The evidence against its restoration is indeed conclusive. For in the first place many architectural fragments of the colonnade are built, as we saw, into Cimon's wall, where they still remain. This proves that in Cimon's time, soon after the Persian war, the original colonnade was no longer standing. In the second place, the caryatid porch of the Erechtheum, built towards the end of the fifth century B.C., stands on what was part of the stylobate of the colonnade. But though Dr. Dörpfeld does not maintain that the Athenians rebuilt the colonnade, he does maintain that they restored the temple itself.

His first argument for its restoration is drawn from a consideration of historical probability. The temple was destroyed in 480 B.C., and the Parthenon, the magnificent new temple which was ultimately to replace it, was not ready till about 438 B.C.[3] Is it likely, asks Dr. Dörpfeld, that during this long interval of forty years or more the Athenians would have been without a temple of Athena and without a treasury? For it is an essential part of his theory that the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple were used as a treasury. We know that in 454 B.C. the moneys levied as tribute from the allies were transferred from Delos to Athens, where the large sums annually accruing from this source were thenceforward kept. That they must have been preserved in some strong place is obvious. Now we know that the Parthenon, on its completion, was used as a storehouse for sacred treasures. It is probable, therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld holds, that its predecessor the Pre-Persian temple was similarly used, and that in particular the tribute of the allies was lodged in it from 454 B.C. onward.

This is Dr. Dörpfeld's argument from probability. But apart from considerations of probability, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks we have positive evidence that the Pre-Persian temple existed and was used as a treasury long after the Parthenon was finished. The positive evidence on which he chiefly relies is the mention of the

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[1] *κὰδ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἷσεν* (*scil.* Ἐρεχθῆα) *ἑῷ ἐν πίονι νηῷ·*
ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνειοῖς ἱλάονται
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.
Il. ii. 549 *sqq.*

[2] Herodotus, viii. 53.

[3] In 438/7 B.C. the Parthenon was so far ready that the gold and ivory statue of the goddess was set up in it (Philochorus, quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605). The roof must therefore have been on the temple in that year. But the decorative details seem not to have been finished for some years afterwards, for we learn from an inscription that in 433/2 B.C. the superintendents of the work were still in office. See Mr. P. Foucart in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, xiii. (1889) p. 174 *sqq.* The temple, as we now know from inscriptions, was begun in 447 B.C. See Prof. U. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, iv. (1879) p. 35; Mr. P. Foucart, *loc. cit.*

opisthodomos in official inscriptions.[1] I will call this for brevity the *opisthodomos* argument. It is as follows :—

In official inscriptions dealing with the sacred treasures and beginning in 435/4 B.C.,[2] the time when the Parthenon was practically finished, mention is made of four separate places in which the treasures were lodged. These are the *pronaos* (προνήιος or πρόνεως), the *neos hekatompedos* (νεὼς ἑκατόμπεδος), the *parthenon*, and the *opisthodomos*.[3] Now the Parthenon or great temple of Athena, in which a vast quantity of the sacred treasures was kept, consisted of four compartments, namely (to take them in order from east to west) the eastern portico, the eastern chamber or *cella*, the western chamber, and the western portico. All are agreed that the *pronaos* mentioned in the inscriptions is the eastern portico of the Parthenon; it is practically certain that, as Dr. Dörpfeld holds, the *neos hekatompedos* was the eastern chamber or *cella* of the Parthenon: and Dr. Dörpfeld has shown good grounds for believing that the *parthenon* (in the restricted sense in which the name occurs in the inscriptions) was the western chamber of the Parthenon temple.[4] Thus of the four places mentioned in the inscriptions three are identified by Dr. Dörpfeld with three out of the four compartments of the Parthenon. The fourth place (the *opisthodomos*) is identified by him, not with the fourth compartment of the Parthenon, but with the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. His grounds for so identifying it are these. The scholiasts and lexicographers tell us that the *opisthodomos* was a compartment (οἶκος) or treasury at the back of the temple of Athena.[5] Hence, as the back of a Greek temple was the west end, the *opisthodomos* must have been a compartment at the west end of a temple of Athena. Now the western chamber of the Parthenon was called the *parthenon* in the restricted sense. It cannot therefore have been the *opisthodomos*. Nor can the *opisthodomos* have been in the Erechtheum, since no one maintains that the Erechtheum had an *opisthodomos*. It remains, therefore, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, that the *opisthodomos* of the inscriptions must have been the three western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple. This conclusion, he thinks, is greatly strengthened by an inscription[6] which records an ordinance that the moneys of Athena

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[1] That his chief reliance is on the *opisthodomos* argument is twice stated by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 33, 209).

[2] *C. I. A.* i. No. 32.

[3] *C. I. A.* i. Nos. 32, 117-175, 273; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 642, 645, 652, 655, 667, 670, 675, 678, 701, 704, 708, 719, 720, 721, 727, 751, 758; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 225 c (p. 169).

[4] The main grounds on which the *neos hekatompedos* is identified with the *cella* of the Parthenon are that (1) the cella of the Parthenon is just 100 Attic feet long, so that it answers exactly to the name *hekatompedos*; and (2) the inscriptions show that the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos stood in the *neos hekatompedos*. On the names of the various compartments of the Parthenon see U. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, v. (1880) p. 89 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, vi. (1881) p. 296 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Mittheilungen*, xv. (1890) pp. 171 *sq.*, 426 *sqq.* Dr. Lolling attempted to show that *neos hekatompedos* always meant the Pre-Persian temple (Ἀθηνᾶ, ii. p. 627 *sqq.*), but he was refuted by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheilungen*, xv. p. 427 *sqq.*)

[5] ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Harpocration, *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος; cp. Schol. on Demosthenes, xiii. 14, p. 170, 6. Ταμιεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀκροπόλει ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος; cp. *Etymol. Magn.* p. 627, *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος. Μέρος τι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ταμιεῖον ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ Suidas, *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος; cp. Schol. on Lucian, *Fugitivi*, 7; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193. Ὀπίσω τοῦ νεὼ τῆς καλουμένης πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοῖχος ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193. Τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἀδύτου Schol. on Lucian, *Timon*, 53. Τὸ κατόπιν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Pollux, ix. 5. 40. Οἰκήματι ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Schol. on Demosthenes, xxiv. 136, p. 743, 1.

[6] *C. I. A.* i. No. 32; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 14.

shall be kept *ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου*, and the moneys of the rest of the gods *ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά*. These phrases Dr. Dörpfeld interprets to mean "in the right-hand chamber of the *opisthodomos*" and "in the left-hand chamber of the *opisthodomos*," and he applies them to the two smaller chambers in the western half of the Pre-Persian temple. Thus on the strength of inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries which make mention of the *opisthodomos* Dr. Dörpfeld concludes that the Pre-Persian temple continued to be used as a treasury till towards the end of the fourth century B.C. at least.[1] Such is Dr. Dörpfeld's *opisthodomos* argument.

But after its supposed restoration soon after 480 B.C. the Pre-Persian temple was, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, a second time burnt and a second time restored. His evidence for this second conflagration is primarily a statement of Xenophon[2] that in 406 B.C. "the ancient temple of Athena at Athens was burnt." Formerly it was supposed that this 'ancient temple of Athena' was the Erechtheum. But we know from an inscription[3] that in 409 B.C., only three years before the fire mentioned by Xenophon, the new Erechtheum was still unfinished. It could not therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld argues, have been called 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. Nor could 'the ancient temple of Athena' be the splendid new Parthenon, which had been completed only about thirty years before. Therefore 'the ancient temple of Athena' which was burnt in 406 B.C. could be no other than the restored Pre-Persian temple. This is confirmed, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, by a mention in Demosthenes[4] of a fire in the *opisthodomos*, on account of which the two boards of treasurers (the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of the other gods) were imprisoned and brought to trial. This fire in the *opisthodomos* was identical, Dr. Dörpfeld considers, with the burning of 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. Hence we have another proof that 'the ancient temple of Athena' was not the Erechtheum but the Pre-Persian temple, since the *opisthodomos* was not in the Erechtheum but in the Pre-Persian temple. Thus the Pre-Persian temple was burnt for the second time in 406 B.C. But it must have been restored soon afterwards and again employed as a treasury; for in inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. we find repeated mentions of the 'old temple' and the *opisthodomos* as treasuries.[5] These references are, Dr. Dörpfeld

[1] The last inscription which mentions the *opisthodomos* (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 721) is considered by the editor, Prof. U. Köhler, to be not older than Ol. 115. 2 (319/8 B.C.)

[2] *τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ᾧ ἥ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν*, Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1. Some editors and critics (including K. O. Müller, 'Minervae Poliadis sacra et aedes,' *Kunstarchäologische Werke*, i. p. 108 *sq.*) have suspected this passage of being an interpolation. But the mention of the eclipse of the moon proves that the writer of the passage, if not Xenophon himself, was at least a contemporary and a well-informed person. For a total eclipse of the moon took place on April 15th, 406 B.C., at 8.30 p.m. (Greenwich time ?), according to *L'Art de vérifier les dates* (Paris, 1820). Cp. Th. v. Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse* (*Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wissen.* Mathem. Naturwissen. Cl. Bd. lii. Wien, 1887), p. 337. Oppolzer puts the eclipse on April 26th. I presume the apparent discrepancy is due to the difference of reckoning between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. If the eclipse took place at 8.30 p.m. Greenwich time, it would be visible at Athens about 10 p.m. Athenian time. For the references to Oppolzer and *L'Art de vérifier les dates* I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. G. H. Darwin.

[3] *C. I. A.* i. No. 322; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part I. No. xxxv.

[4] *οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, Demosthenes, xxiv. 136, p. 743.

[5] In this connexion the 'old temple' (*ἀρχαιὸς νεώς*) is mentioned in *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 74, 672, 733, 758, and the *opisthodomos* in *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 652, 720, 721, cp. 685.

holds, to the Pre-Persian temple and its western chambers. Further, an inscription of the fourth century B.C.,[1] which appears to mention a sacrifice offered 'in the old temple,' is adduced by Dr. Dörpfeld as evidence that the Pre-Persian temple continued in that century to be used as a place of worship as well as a treasury. This argument for the continuance of the Pre-Persian temple, drawn from the mention of the 'ancient' or 'old temple' by Xenophon and in inscriptions, I shall call for brevity the 'old temple' argument.

Thus, relying mainly on the mention of the *opisthodomos* and 'old temple' in inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, Dr. Dörpfeld would prolong the existence of the Pre-Persian temple down to the end of the fourth century B.C. But if the temple survived so long, the presumption is that it survived much longer. For if the Athenians allowed it to stand after the completion of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, there is no obvious reason why they should ever have removed it; and certainly no notice of its removal has come down to us. If, therefore, as Dr. Dörpfeld holds, it survived into Roman or even mediaeval times, we should expect to find it mentioned by the later authors of antiquity. Now writers from Philochorus to Eustathius refer to a 'temple of Athena Polias,' a 'temple of the Polias,' an 'old temple of Athena Polias'; and an inscription of the second or first century B.C. mentions 'the old temple of Athena Polias.'[2] Many at least of these references, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, are to the Pre-Persian temple. The way in which that temple came to bear these various designations was this. It was originally the only temple of Athena Polias, that is of Athena in her character of Guardian of the City. But when the great temple which we call the Parthenon was built, that magnificent new edifice became at once the principal temple of Athena Polias, and the restored Pre-Persian temple, sinking to a subordinate position, was distinguished from it as 'the old temple of Athena Polias,' 'the old temple of the Polias,' or 'the old temple' simply. In course of time, however, the goddess of the great temple came to be commonly known as Athena Parthenos (the Virgin Athena); and the name Parthenon, which originally and properly designated only a single chamber of the great temple, was in popular parlance extended to the whole of the great temple, of which it gradually became the regular appellation. Hence, when the name Parthenon had superseded the name 'temple of Athena Polias' as the ordinary title of the great temple, it was no longer needful to distinguish the Pre-Persian temple from the great temple by the epithet 'old': accordingly the adjective was often dropped, and the Pre-Persian temple was called simply the 'temple of Athena Polias' or, still more briefly, the 'temple of the Polias.' This argument for the continuance of the Pre-Persian temple, drawn from the mention of the 'old temple of Athena Polias' or simply 'the temple of Athena Polias (the Polias)' in later authors, I shall call for brevity the Polias argument.

Lastly, Dr. Dörpfeld believes that the Pre-Persian temple was actually seen and described by Pausanias in the second century A.D. His reasons for this belief will be given later on.

Thus Dr. Dörpfeld's main arguments for the restoration and continuance of the Pre-Persian temple are five in number, namely:—

i. The argument from probability;
ii. The *opisthodomos* argument;
iii. The 'old temple' argument;
iv. The Polias argument;
v. The Pausanias argument.

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[1] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 163. The passage in question is mutilated, and has been variously restored on conjecture as τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀρ[χαίῳ νεῷ θυο]μένην (*scil.* θυσίαν) and τὴν τῷ Ἀρ[είῳ πάγῳ θυομένην]. The former and more probable conjecture has been accepted by Dr. Dörpfeld.

[2] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 464.

I will examine these arguments one by one.

(i) The argument from probability. Dr. Dörpfeld considers that the Athenians must have rebuilt the Pre-Persian temple soon after its destruction in 480 B.C., since they would need it both as a place of worship and as a treasury till the Parthenon was ready; and we now know that the existing Parthenon was not begun till 447 B.C. and was not ready to receive the new statue of the goddess until 438 B.C.[1] But an examination of the substructions of the Parthenon and of the architectural fragments still existing on the Acropolis has shown that soon after the Persian war the Athenians, probably under Cimon's administration, had planned and actually begun to build a large new temple of Athena on the site of the present Parthenon, to the south of the Pre-Persian temple. That this new temple was intended to replace the one burnt by the Persians is obvious and is admitted by Dr. Dörpfeld himself.[2] It seems, therefore, very improbable that the Athenians would have restored the old temple at the time when they were planning or had actually begun to build a new temple which was to replace it. This improbability is increased by an admission which Dr. Dörpfeld implicitly made in the third of his papers on the history of the Pre-Persian temple. In his first paper he had represented the destruction of the temples by the Persians as complete and total. "Everything that could be broken was smashed, the columns were thrown down, everything combustible was fired, everything that was valuable was pillaged." In particular the colonnade of the Pre-Persian temple shared this general destruction; for we know that it was never rebuilt, and had it been standing after the sack the Athenians would certainly not (said Dr. Dörpfeld) have pulled it down when they were restoring the temple.[3] But in his third paper Dr. Dörpfeld expresses a different view of the state in which the Persians left the temple. He thinks that they by no means destroyed the whole of it, but left the walls and the colonnade standing. This follows with certainty, he says, from the condition of the architectural pieces (architraves, triglyphs, and *geisa*) of the colonnade which are built into the north wall of the Acropolis. For the excellent preservation of these pieces shows clearly (he tells us) that they cannot have come from the ruins of a temple which had tumbled in, but must have been taken from the building while it was still standing and carefully built into the Acropolis wall.[4] This is, of course, to admit, what Dr. Dörpfeld had previously denied, that the Athenians found the colonnade of the temple standing after the sack and that they deliberately and carefully pulled it down. Yet Dr. Dörpfeld holds that at the same time that they were pulling down the colonnade they were restoring the temple. Is this likely? And observe the place in which the pieces of the colonnade were found. They are built into a wall which Dr. Dörpfeld himself believes to have been constructed by Cimon. Is it not a fair presumption, then, that the colonnade was pulled down by Cimon? We have already seen that, on Dr. Dörpfeld's own view, Cimon began building a stately new temple which was to replace the old one. And it now appears at least highly probable that he pulled down the colonnade of the old temple. Is it not reasonable to suppose that his destructive activity

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[1] See above, p. 555, note 3.

[2] This temple, the intended successor of the Pre-Persian temple and the predecessor of the Parthenon, is discussed by Dr. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, xvii. (1892) pp. 158-189. That it was meant to replace the Pre-Persian temple is expressly said by him (p. 173). The exact time when this new temple was begun cannot, Dr. Dörpfeld tells us, be determined. But on architectural grounds he believes that "the temple was built or at least begun in the time after the Persian wars" (p. 187). He is of opinion that either Themistocles or Cimon could have built it, but on historical grounds he decides in favour of Cimon (p. 188).

[3] *Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 30, 32.

[4] *Ibid.* xv. (1890) p. 424.

on one part of the Acropolis was directly connected with his constructive activity on another part? that he pulled down not only the colonnade of the burnt temple but the temple itself, because he was building a new and grander temple to take its place? On Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis, on the other hand, we must suppose that the Athenians were, either at one and the same time or in rapid succession, demolishing the colonnade of the old temple, restoring the temple itself, and building a new temple to supersede it. Nothing but the most cogent evidence should induce us to accept an hypothesis so improbable.

Till the new temple was ready, the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasures. But that this place must necessarily have been, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, the western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple, is far from obvious, even if we grant, what seems likely, that these chambers had served as a treasury before the destruction of the temple.[1] There were probably many strong places in Athens where the treasures could have been safely lodged till the new temple was ready to receive them. In point of fact, if Prof. A. Kirchhoff's restoration of an Attic inscription is correct,[2] we have positive evidence that during the period in question some at least of the sacred moneys were kept, not in a temple at all, but in "the enclosure to the south of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis." This enclosure may very well have been a temporary building erected after the Persian war to house the treasures till the new temple was ready. But as the evidence of this depends on the conjectural restoration of an inscription, I refrain from laying weight on it.

(ii) The *opisthodomos* argument. The argument on which Dr. Dörpfeld chiefly relies to prove the restoration of the Pre-Persian temple is the mention of

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[1] An inscription (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 137 *sqq.*), found on the Acropolis and dating from before the Persian war, mentions the Pre-Persian temple under the appropriate title of the Hekatompedon, and contains a provision that the chambers (οἰκήματα) in the temple shall be opened by the treasurers (*οἱ ταμίαι*). These chambers are almost certainly the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple; and the provision that they shall be opened by the treasurers makes it at least highly probable that they contained treasures. A passage in this inscription was formerly interpreted by Dr. Dörpfeld to mean 'treasure-chamber'; but the passage is mutilated and must almost certainly, as Professors A. Kirchhoff and W. Dittenberger have seen, be restored in a way which absolutely excludes all reference to a treasure-chamber. This would now, I believe, be admitted by Dr. Dörpfeld himself. See Kirchhoff's restoration of the passage in *C. I. A.* iv. p. 139, and Dittenberger's in *Hermes*, xxvi. (1891), p. 472 *sq.* For the inscription itself see also *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1890, p. 92 *sqq.*; H. G. Lolling in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. (1890), p. 627 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, xv. (1890), p. 420 *sqq.* That there were 'treasurers of the sanctuary' before the Persian war is attested by Herodotus (viii. 51). The treasurers are also mentioned in an inscription not later than the middle of the sixth century B.C., which seems to contain a dedication by them of certain bronze objects to Athena (*C. I. A.* iv. No. 373 (238) p. 199; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 55; *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. p. 646). The analogy of the Parthenon is also in favour of the view that its predecessor the Pre-Persian temple had been used as a treasury.

[2] *C. I. A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C. I. A.* iv. p. 3 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 384. The passage in question is this: *[τ]οῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρί[ου τὸ μὲν . .] . εσ . . . . [μ]εν[ον ταμιεύε]σθαι [ἐν περιβ]όλω[ι τῷ νότοθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαίου νε]ὼ ἐμ πόλει.* The inscription is considered by Prof. Kirchhoff to be clearly far older than Ol. 81 (456 B.C.) Prof. Dittenberger, who supplies the lacunas *[ἐν περιβ]όλω[ι τῷ νότοθ]εν* in the same way, holds that the inscription is certainly not later than 460 B.C. Dr. Dörpfeld conjecturally supplied one of the lacunas thus *[? ὄπισθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαίου νε]ὼ ἐμ πόλει*, and adduced the inscription as evidence that 'the old temple' was used as a treasury at the time when the inscription was cut (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 39). But however we may supply the lacuna in question, the mention of the *περίβολος* seems to prove decisively that the money was *not* kept in the temple.

the *opisthodomos* in inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. According to him, the *opisthodomos* was the three western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple, which had been in use as a treasury from soon after 480 B.C., and which in particular from 454 B.C. onward had accommodated the tribute of the allies. Now if this was so, is it not remarkable that the first mention of the *opisthodomos* should occur in two decrees of 435 B.C.,[1] just at the time when the Parthenon is known to have been practically completed? One of these decrees provides, amongst other things, that "treasurers of the other gods" shall be elected by lot; that they shall store the moneys of the gods in the *opisthodomos* on the Acropolis; and that, in conjunction with the treasurers of Athena, they shall open and shut the doors of the *opisthodomos* and put the seals on them. The other decree ordains that the moneys of Athena shall be kept on the right side, and the moneys of the other gods on the left side, of the *opisthodomos*. It seems clear that these decrees of 435 B.C. lay down regulations for the storing of treasures in the *opisthodomos* as if that place were now for the first time to be used as a treasury. This is perfectly intelligible if the *opisthodomos* was part of the Parthenon which was, as we have seen, receiving its last touches about this very time. But it is hardly intelligible on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis that the *opisthodomos* was the three western chambers of the restored Pre-Persian temple which, according to him, had been already used as a treasury for forty years or more at the time when these decrees were passed. Surely it is no mere coincidence that the official lists of the treasures stored in three out of the four compartments of the Parthenon begin in the very year after these decrees regulating the use of the *opisthodomos* as a treasury were passed, namely in 434/3 B.C.[2]

Further, if Dr. Dörpfeld is right in his view of the *opisthodomos*, there is a remarkable and even mysterious omission in the treasury documents which have come down to us. These documents, preserved in inscriptions, begin with the above-mentioned decrees of 435 B.C. and are extant in an almost unbroken series for the rest of the fifth century, and, less completely, for the fourth century B.C. Now in this long series of documents, beginning very significantly in the very years when the Parthenon is known to have been receiving its last touches, mention is made of four compartments, and only four compartments, of a temple, which were used as treasure-chambers. Of these four compartments three are rightly identified by Dr. Dörpfeld with three out of the four compartments of the Parthenon, namely the eastern portico, the eastern chamber or *cella*, and the western chamber. But the fourth compartment mentioned in the treasury documents (namely the *opisthodomos*) is identified by Dr. Dörpfeld, not with the fourth compartment of the Parthenon (namely the western portico), but with the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. It follows that, if he is right, the fourth compartment of the Parthenon (namely the western portico) is not mentioned in the treasury documents and was not used for the storing of treasure. If this is so, it is very remarkable, since the western portico, being at the back of the temple and therefore less accessible to the public, was much better adapted for a treasury than the eastern portico, which nevertheless, as we learn from the inscriptions, was regularly used as such. Surely the natural and almost inevitable inference from the inscriptions is that the fourth compartment mentioned in them (the *opisthodomos*) was the fourth compartment of the Parthenon (namely the

[1] *C. I. A.* i. No. 32; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 14; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 37. The date here assigned to the decrees has been questioned. But we may safely acquiesce in the unanimous and decided opinion of three such experts as Prof. A. Kirchhoff, Prof. W. Dittenberger, and Mr. E. L. Hicks. The question is discussed at length by Prof. A. Kirchhoff in the *Philolog. und histor. Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1876. Dr. Dörpfeld apparently accepts this date; at least he puts the decrees later than the completion of the Parthenon (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 38).

[2] *C. I. A.* i. Nos. 117, 141, 161.

western portico), since the other three compartments of the Parthenon are known to have been used as treasure-chambers for the first time in the very year after the regulations for the use of the *opisthodomos* as a treasure-chamber were first promulgated. Thus even if we had no evidence before us but that of the inscriptions, we should almost be driven, it seems to me, to conclude that the *opisthodomos* was the western portico of the Parthenon. This was Dr. Dörpfeld's own view before the discovery of the Pre-Persian temple. Indeed he argued strenuously for it, pointing out that the western portico was well fitted to serve as a treasure-chamber "since we know that it, as well as the eastern portico, was most carefully closed with strong railings and a door up to the architrave," and concluding that "in official language the *opisthodomos* was always the western portico of the Parthenon."[1]

But there is another and independent consideration which points at least as clearly to the conclusion that the *opisthodomos* was the western portico of the Parthenon, and not, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. It is this: *opisthodomos* was the regular name for the western portico, not for the western chamber (or chambers), of a Greek temple. Dr. Dörpfeld himself formerly admitted this and used it, with justice, as an argument to show that the western portico of the Parthenon was the *opisthodomos*. "In all temples," he said, "the name *opisthodomos* designates the western portico. Why should the Parthenon alone be an exception?"[2] That this is the proper meaning of the word *opisthodomos*, as applied to a temple, can easily be shown. The name *opisthodomos* (literally 'back-building') is defined by ancient lexicographers as 'the back of any building.'[3] That it was applied to the back of a house is proved by a passage in Appian.[4] Varro[5] and Pollux[6] tell us that, in its application to a temple, the name *opisthodomos* designated the back, as opposed to *prodomos* the front. Now since *prodomos*, equivalent to *pronaos*,[7] was the eastern portico of a temple, it follows that its counterpart *opisthodomos* was the western portico. This is confirmed by a passage in Diodorus Siculus,[5] who, describing how Syracuse was turned into a vast workshop of arms in the days when Dionysius was preparing to make war on the Carthaginians, mentions that even the *pronaoi* and *opisthodomoi* (*i.e.* the eastern and western porticoes) of the temples were crowded with men hammering away as if for dear life. Finally, this interpretation of *opisthodomos* is put beyond doubt by the fact that *opisthodomos* is the name applied to the western porticoes of the temples of Zeus[9] and

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[1] *Mittheilungen*, vi. (1881) pp. 300-302.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 300 *sq.*

[3] τὸ ὄπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος, Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 627, *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος. Cf. Hesychius, *s.v.* ὀπισθοδόμοις; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193.

[4] *Bellum Civile*, i. 20. Appian here mentions a report that Scipio, who was found dead in his house, had been strangled by men introduced into the house by night through the *opisthodomos*. The term is used in the same sense by [Aeschines,] *Epist.* 10 (near end).

[5] *De lingua Latina*, v. 160, ed. Müller, "*Domus Graecum, et ideo in aedibus sacris ante cellam, ubi sedes dei sunt, Graeci dicunt* πρόδομον, *quod post* ὀπισθόδομον."

[6] Pollux (i. 1. 6) under the heading ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ θεραπεύονται (*scil.* οἱ θεοί) says: τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πρόδομος. καὶ τὸ κατόπιν, ὀπισθόδομος. Cp. *Antholog. Palat.* xii. 223, 3 *sq.*:

οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἄγαλμα θεοῦ καὶ νηὸν ὁρῶμεν
ἀντίον, οὐ πάντως καὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον.

[7] See K. Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*,[2] § 51, p. 472 *sqq.* Philostratus calls the eastern portico of the Parthenon *prodomos* (Ἀθήνῃσί τ' ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, *Vit. Apollon.* ii. 10), though its official name was *pronaos*.

[8] xiv. 41.

[9] Pausanias, v. 10. 9; *id.*, v. 13. 1; *id.*, v. 15. 3; Lucian, *Herodotus*, 1; *id.*,

Hera[1] at Olympia. Here there is no room for ambiguity; for the temples exist, though in ruins, to this day, and though both of them have a western portico, neither of them has a western chamber. The interpretation 'western chamber' is therefore excluded.

Since, then, *opisthodomos* was the regular name for the western portico of a temple, there can be no reason for refusing it to the western portico of the Parthenon. Yet Dr. Dörpfeld takes the name from the western portico of the Parthenon, to which it was properly applicable, and transfers it to the three western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple, to which it is at best doubtful whether it was really appropriate. For it is to be remembered that, though western porticoes were exceedingly common in Greek temples, as the remains of them sufficiently attest, western chambers were exceedingly rare; and that whereas the name for the western portico is certain, the name for a western chamber is far from being so. Among extant Greek temples I know of three only which have a chamber opening from the west. They are the Parthenon, the Pre-Persian temple, and the old temple at Corinth. There may be more; Dr. Dörpfeld, out of his abundant knowledge, would doubtless be able to say. Now, in the case of the Parthenon, Dr. Dörpfeld has made it highly probable that the western chamber was called the *parthenon* in the restricted sense of the word. In the case of the old temple at Corinth he has made it equally probable that the western chamber was not a back-room or treasure-chamber, but a separate shrine or *cella*,[2] which could not therefore have been called *opisthodomos*. The Pre-Persian temple alone remains, and Dr. Dörpfeld assumes that the designation of its three western chambers was *opisthodomos*. But I cannot see that he has any positive grounds for this assumption. It may indeed be admitted that the name *opisthodomos*, the regular appellation of the western portico of a temple, would easily be extended to a western chamber opening off it, in the rare cases where such a chamber existed. This in fact seems to have happened in the case of the Parthenon. For Plutarch mentions that, when Demetrius Poliorcetes came to Athens, the obsequious Athenians lodged him "in the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon."[3] Here the *opisthodomos* is most probably the western chamber of the temple, since the Athenians would hardly have lodged their formidable visitor in the open western portico. In the case of the Parthenon this extension of the name *opisthodomos* to the western chamber is easily explained by the fact that in Plutarch's time, and long before it, the true name of the western chamber (namely the *parthenon* in the narrow sense) had been transferred from it to the whole temple. The western chamber, thus deprived of its proper name, would naturally come to share with the western portico the name of *opisthodomos* ('back-building'). But in the case of the Pre-Persian temple we have no evidence that its three western chambers were ever called *opisthodomos*.[4] On the contrary we have positive evidence that shortly before the destruction of the temple by the Persians its western chambers were not so called. For in the

Fugitivi, 7; *id.*, *De morte Peregrini*, 32. Some of the reliefs representing the labours of Hercules which have been found at Olympia and are known to have been fixed over the western portico of the temple of Zeus, are described by Pausanias (v. 10. 9) as being "over the door of the *opisthodomos*."

[1] Pausanias, v. 16. 1; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xi. (vol. 1. p. 179, ed. Dindorf).

[2] *Mittheilungen*, xi. (1886) p. 297 *sqq.*

[3] Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 23, cp. 26, and *Compar. Demetr. et Anton.* 4.

[4] I am unable to admit Dr. Dörpfeld's argument that the expressions ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου and ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ *scil.* τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου (*C. I. A.* i. No. 32) refer to the two small inner chambers in the western half of the Pre-Persian temple. For the natural interpretation of these words is "in the right-hand side of the *opisthodomos*" and "in the left-hand side of the *opisthodomos*." This was formerly Dr. Dörpfeld's own interpretation of the passage (*Mittheilungen*, vi. p. 300), and I feel sure that it will commend itself to all unprejudiced scholars.

official inscription [1] which, by general consent, refers to the Pre-Persian temple as the Hekatompedon, and which dates from shortly before the Persian war, the western chambers of the temple are called, not *opisthodomos*, but simply "the chambers in the Hekatompedon." This inscription, discovered since Dr. Dörpfeld first propounded his theory, removes the last excuse for identifying the *opisthodomos* of Attic inscriptions with the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. With its removal, Dr. Dörpfeld's argument for the restoration of the temple, based on the mention of the *opisthodomos* in inscriptions, falls to the ground. The argument, in fact, rests on a simple misnomer.[2]

(iii) The 'old temple' argument. Dr. Dörpfeld argues, on the strength of Homer's testimony, that the Pre-Persian temple was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis, existing side by side with, though separate from, a small temple of Erechtheus. And he maintains that 'the ancient temple of Athena' which was burnt in 406 B.C. and the 'old temple' mentioned in inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. must have been the restored Pre-Persian temple, which, by comparison with the Parthenon completed about 438 B.C., would naturally be called 'the old temple.'

Let us take Homer's testimony first. In opposition to Dr. Dörpfeld it has been rightly maintained by Mr. Eugen Petersen [3] that Homer's evidence points clearly, not to two separate temples of Athena and Erechtheus, but to a single joint temple in which they were worshipped together. In the first of the two passages of Homer cited by Dr. Dörpfeld [4] it is said that Athena, after appearing to Ulysses in the island of Scheria, departed to Athens, where she "went into the strong house of Erechtheus." The poet seems to represent 'the house of Erechtheus' as the home of Athena, whither she returned after her expedition to Scheria. In the second passage [5] it is said that Athena settled Erechtheus in her own rich temple in Athens, where bulls and lambs were periodically sacrificed to him. About this latter passage there is no ambiguity. It is a plain statement that Erechtheus was worshipped in the temple of Athena.[6] The first passage,

[1] *C. I. A.* iv. p. 137 *sqq.* See above, p. 560, note 1.

[2] In the foregoing discussion of the *opisthodomos* argument I have assumed that Dr. Dörpfeld, in bestowing the name *opisthodomos* on the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple, refuses it to the western portico of the Parthenon. But suppose he admits the western portico of the Parthenon was also called *opisthodomos*. It will follow, on his theory, that there were two, or rather three, *opisthodomoi* on the Acropolis simultaneously, namely the western portico of the Parthenon, the western portico of the Pre-Persian temple, and the western chambers of the latter temple. Yet all our authorities, literary and epigraphical, speak as if there were only one *opisthodomos* on the Acropolis. Thus whether Dr. Dörpfeld admits or whether he denies (and he must do one or the other) that the western portico of the Parthenon was called *opisthodomos*, his theory of the co-existence of the Pre-Persian temple and the Parthenon seems equally to involve him in inextricable difficulties. I may here mention Prof. Milchhöfer's view that the *opisthodomos* was a separate building, situated probably at the eastern end of the Acropolis (*Philologus*, 53 (1894) pp. 352-361). Prof. J. W. White of Harvard, in a privately printed paper of which he has courteously furnished me with a copy, comes by a different method to the same conclusion as Dr. Dörpfeld with regard to the *opisthodomos*, but does not hold that the eastern half of the Pre-Persian temple was ever rebuilt.

[3] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 62.

[4] *Od.* vii. 78-81.

[5] *Il.* ii. 549-551.

[6] This statement is clearly fatal to Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion that the new Erechtheum, built towards the close of the fifth century B.C., was the first joint temple of Athena and Erechtheus on the Acropolis. Dr. Dörpfeld attempts to evade this difficulty by supposing Homer to mean that Erechtheus was worshipped within the sacred precinct (ἱερόν) of Athena, though not within her temple; he thinks that there were two temples, one of Athena and another of Erechtheus, standing within an enclosure

though not so unambiguous, seems to imply that Athena was worshipped in the house or temple of Erechtheus. The two passages are obviously reconcilable on the hypothesis that in the Homeric age Athena and Erechtheus were worshipped on the Acropolis at Athens in a single joint temple, which might be called either the temple of Erechtheus or the temple of Athena, according as the speaker regarded Erechtheus or Athena as the original inmate of the shrine. Such a temple was the Erechtheum. In it Erechtheus was worshipped in one chamber and Athena in another; and the building was accordingly sometimes called the Erechtheum and sometimes (as we shall see) the temple of Athena Polias. Thus the Erechtheum answers exactly to Homer's account of the shrines on the Acropolis; and we may accordingly assume that when the Homeric poems were composed the old Erechtheum was the only temple on the Acropolis.

This inference that the original Erechtheum was the oldest temple on the Acropolis is confirmed by other considerations. In the first place the Erechtheum was associated with the most ancient legends of Athens. When the Athenians wished to relate the very beginning of their history they told the legend of the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the country. This contest was believed to have taken place on the site of the Erechtheum; for within its precincts were the gnarled olive-tree, the salt-well, and the mark of the trident on the rock which Athena and Poseidon had respectively produced as evidence of their title to the land;[1] and here, when the contest was over, the two rivals were worshipped peacefully together.[2] Further, the ancient wooden image of Athena, the oldest of all her images in Athens, was preserved in the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum;[3] and it is natural to suppose that the oldest image was kept in the oldest temple. The golden lamp, too, which burned day and night, year in year out, in the chamber with the ancient image,[4] suggests that this was the holiest of all the shrines of Athens; and if the holiest it must almost certainly have been the oldest. Lastly, the peculiar ground-plan of the Erechtheum, which is unique among Greek temples, speaks strongly in favour of its remote antiquity. The existing temple, indeed, dates only from the end of the fifth century B.C.; but its singular arrangement (notably the difference of level between its eastern and western chambers) seems to be explicable only on the hypothesis that it occupies the site and closely reproduces the plan of the original temple burnt by the Persians, motives of religious conservatism having operated to prevent any important modification of site or plan. Thus we may conclude that the original Erechtheum, a joint temple of Erechtheus and Athena, was the oldest temple on the Acropolis and that the Pre-Persian temple must have been built later, perhaps in the seventh or sixth century B.C.

Hence, when in official Attic inscriptions of the first half of the fifth century B.C. we find mention of 'the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis'[5] or of 'the old temple,'[6] it is natural to suppose that the reference is to the old Erech-

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sacred to Athena (*Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 199, 207). But this view is quite irreconcilable with the language of Homer, who says plainly that Athena settled Erechtheus in her own temple (*νηός*); for *νηός* (*νεώς*, *ναός*) always means either a temple or a part of a temple (namely the *cella*), never a sacred precinct or sanctuary (*τέμενος*, *ἱερόν*).

[1] Herodotus, viii. 55; Pausanias, i. 26. 5; *id.*, i. 27. 2; Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.

[2] Erechtheus was identified with Poseidon. See above, p. 339 *sq.*

[3] *C. I. A.* i. No. 322; Pausanias, i. 26. 6; cp. Apollodorus, iii. 14. 6.

[4] Pausanias, i. 26. 6 *sq.* The lamp itself was comparatively modern, but the custom probably went back to the earliest days of Athens.

[5] *C. I. A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C. I. A.* iv. p. 3 *sq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.*, No. 384. See above, p. 560, note 2.

[6] *C. I. A.* i. No. 93, line 5 *sq.* [*γράψ*]*αντας ἐν στή*[*λῃ βορρᾶ*]*θεν τοῦ νεὼ τοῦ ἀρχ*[*αίου*]. The inscription, according to Prof. Kirchhoff, contains a decree "*quod quamquam vetustum videtur non nimis antiquo tamen tempore lapidi incisum*

theum. Two such inscriptions have come down to us; and as one of them, which mentions 'the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis,' is certainly older than 456 B.C., and the present Parthenon was not begun until 447 B.C.,[1] it follows that there was on the Acropolis a temple officially called 'the old temple of Athena' some years at least before the present Parthenon was begun. This 'old temple of Athena' cannot have been the Pre-Persian temple, for the official title of the latter was the Hekatompedon.[2] It must, therefore, have been the Erechtheum, since we have no evidence that at this period there were more than two temples on the Acropolis. But if the Erechtheum was called 'the old temple of Athena' before the Parthenon was begun, it must have been so called by comparison with the Pre-Persian temple or Hekatompedon; from which it follows that, as we have already deduced from Homer's evidence, the Erechtheum was the older temple of the two.

The two inscriptions just discussed do not imply that the 'old temple of Athena' or 'the old temple' which they mention was entire and in use. One of them[3] directs that certain sacred money shall be kept "in the enclosure to the south (?) of the old temple of Athena." The other[4] directs that an inscription shall be set up "to the north (?) of the old temple." If these inscriptions date from after the Persian war, only the blackened walls of the 'old temple' or Erechtheum would probably be standing at the time; and the inscriptions do not imply more than this. Nor does the designation of the Erechtheum as 'the old temple of Athena' in inscriptions soon after the Persian war imply that the Pre-Persian temple or Hekatompedon, by comparison with which the Erechtheum was called 'old,' was still standing. If the official title of the Erechtheum had been 'the old temple of Athena' before the war, it would continue to be so afterwards, even when the Pre-Persian temple or Hekatompedon had been razed to the ground.

These two inscriptions, then, raise a presumption that in the first half of the fifth century B.C., even before the Persian war, the Erechtheum was officially known as 'the old temple of Athena.' But the mutilated state of the inscriptions and the uncertainty as to their precise date prevent this presumption from amounting to proof.

After its destruction in 480 B.C. the Erechtheum was not, so far as we know, rebuilt till towards the close of the fifth century B.C. From a well-known inscription[5] we learn that in 409/8 B.C. the new Erechtheum, then approaching completion, was still without a roof. It can hardly, therefore, have been finished before the following year. Relying on the evidence of some inscriptions which came to light a few years ago, Prof. A. Michaelis concludes that the temple was completed in the summer of 408 B.C.[6] Only two years later, in 406 B.C., "the ancient temple of Athena at Athens was burnt," to quote the words of Xenophon.[7] Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that this 'ancient temple of Athena' cannot have been the Erechtheum, since that temple was only about two years old at the time. Certainly the actual temple was new, but as it replaced a very ancient one, the

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est." From this I infer that in Prof. Kirchhoff's opinion the decree, if not the inscription, dates from not later than the middle of the fifth century B.C. This is enough for the argument in the text; the date when the inscription was cut does not concern us.

[1] See above, p. 555, note 3.

[2] See above, p. 560, note 1.

[3] *C. I. A.* i. No. 1, supplemented in *C. I. A.* iv. p. 3 *sq.*

[4] *C. I. A.* i. No. 93.

[5] *C. I. A.* i. No. 322; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part I. No. xxxv.

[6] *Mittheilungen*, xiv. (1889) p. 349 *sqq.* For the inscriptions see *C. I. A.* iv. p. 148 *sqq.*; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 87 *sqq.*; *Mittheilungen*, xiii. (1888) p. 229 *sqq.*

[7] *Hellenica*, i. 6. 1.

oldest of all Athena's temples, there would be nothing surprising or unusual if the new temple, standing on the site and carrying on the associations and traditions of its venerable predecessor, should very soon be known as the 'ancient' or 'old temple of Athena,' to distinguish it from the Parthenon, a new temple on a new site. Probably almost every old city could furnish one or more examples of a similar anomaly. Mr. H. N. Fowler[1] has cited the case of a new church in Boston which is called the 'New Old South,' or simply the 'Old South,' because it succeeded to a church called the 'Old South,' and that though the new church stands in quite a different part of the town. The church, in fact, is neither old nor south, yet it is called both because its predecessor was so.

But Dr. Dörpfeld has other arguments to prove that 'the ancient temple of Athena' which was burnt in 406 B.C. cannot have been, as scholars used to suppose, the Erechtheum. One of his arguments is that in the official inscription of 409/8 B.C., which contains the report of the commissioners on the progress of the new Erechtheum, the temple is called, not 'the old temple of Athena,' but 'the temple in which is the old image';[2] and he appears to hold that 'the temple in which is the old image' was always the official designation of the Erechtheum. If this was indeed the official title of the Erechtheum, it is very remarkable that it should never occur again in a single inscription or in a single passage of an ancient writer. Is it credible that the regular official title of the Erechtheum should occur only once in the long series of official documents relating to the Acropolis which has come down to us? On the other hand, the isolated occurrence in a single inscription of the phrase 'the temple in which is the old image' as an appellation of the Erechtheum can be explained very simply if we regard the phrase, not as the regular title of the temple, but as a temporary one adopted while the new edifice was building. The inscription in which the phrase occurs contains a report by certain public commissioners on the unfinished state of the new temple. In such a document the commissioners could hardly designate as 'old' a building which was in process of construction and on the unfinished state of which they were actually reporting. The anomaly of describing the building as 'old' in such circumstances would have been too glaring. Accordingly the commissioners chose a title which better accorded with the facts and called it 'the temple in which is the old image.' But this cumbrous title was probably a temporary one and would be dropped as soon as the temple was finished. Certainly the title does not occur in a single inscription after the completion of the temple. On its completion the new Erechtheum would naturally assume in official as well as popular language the name of 'the old temple of Athena' in virtue of succeeding to the site, the functions, and the traditions of the most ancient temple of Athena on the Acropolis.

Further, Dr. Dörpfeld argues that 'the ancient temple of Athena' burnt in 406 B.C. cannot have been the Erechtheum but must have been the Pre-Persian temple, because the fire of 406 B.C. was identical with one mentioned by Demosthenes as having taken place in the *opisthodomos*,[3] which Dr. Dörpfeld identifies with the western chambers of the Pre-Persian temple. If Dr. Dörpfeld could indeed prove that the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. was identical with the fire in the *opisthodomos*, he would at least have made it certain that 'the ancient temple of Athena' was not the Erechtheum, since the Erechtheum had no *opisthodomos*. But we know that the fires were not identical. For in the passage in which he mentions the fire in the *opisthodomos* Demosthenes is giving a list of men of high position who had been imprisoned for offences against the state since the archonship of Euclides (403/2 B.C.), and among them he mentions the two boards of treasurers (the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers

[1] *American Journal of Archaeology*, viii. (1893) p. 13 note.

[2] τοῦ νεὼ τοῦ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, *C. I. A.* i. No. 322.

[3] Demosthenes, xxiv. 136, p. 743.

of the other gods) who had been imprisoned on account of the fire in the *opisthodomos.* It follows that the fire in the *opisthodomos* was later than 403/2 B.C. and cannot have been identical with the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C.[1]

The view that the conflagration of 406 B.C. took place in the Erechtheum is confirmed by an inscription of 395/4 B.C. which relates to the restoration of a burnt temple.[2] The inscription is mutilated, but an expression which occurs in it makes it tolerably certain that the burnt temple referred to in the inscription is the Erechtheum. That eleven years should have elapsed between the burning of the temple and its restoration is not surprising when we reflect that in the interval Athens had been besieged and captured by a foreign foe, had languished under the tyranny of the Thirty, and had experienced the horrors of civil war. How soon after 395/4 B.C. the restoration of the temple was completed we do not know. It must have been finished before 376/5 B.C., for a treasure-list of that year[3] makes mention of a piece of gold plate which was kept in the 'old temple.' The temple is mentioned again under the same title in treasure-lists and other inscriptions of the fourth century B.C.[4] At a much later date an inscription[5] records the setting up of a statue beside 'the old temple of Athena Polias.' That the 'old temple of Athena Polias' was identical with the 'old temple' of the earlier inscriptions is highly probable; and that it was the Erechtheum may be taken as certain, since Strabo mentions the Erechtheum under the title of 'the old temple of the Polias.'[6]

Thus, on the hypothesis that 'the old temple' of the inscriptions and of classical writers was the Erechtheum, all is clear and consistent. Not so on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis that the 'old temple' was the restored Pre-Persian temple. If the 'old temple' of the inscriptions was the restored Pre-Persian temple which had been used as a treasury since shortly after 480 B.C. and had been known as 'the old temple' ever since the Parthenon was built or even planned,[7] how is it that the first mention of 'the old temple' as a receptacle for treasures occurs in an inscription of 376 B.C., about a century after the supposed restora-

[1] Dr. Dörpfeld attempts to meet this objection by drawing a distinction between the first and the second part of Demosthenes's list of state offenders (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 44). But I cannot see that the distinction exists. If the union of the two boards of treasurers (the treasurers of Athena and the treasurers of the other gods) took place in 406 B.C., as some suppose (Lolling, in Ἀθηνᾶ, ii. p. 649; cp. G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*,[2] i. p. 270), this would be another proof that the fire in the *opisthodomos* could not have happened in that year, since the words of Demosthenes show that at the time of the fire the two boards of treasurers existed separately. But the earliest mention of the united board of treasurers is in an inscription of 403/2 B.C. (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 129). By 385/4 B.C. the separate boards again existed (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 667).

[2] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 829. The expression referred to in the text is κατὰ τὸ Πανδρόσειον, "on the side of the Pandrosium." The Pandrosium adjoined the Erechtheum on the west (Pausanias, i. 27. 2). A similar expression (πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου) occurs repeatedly in inscriptions which admittedly refer to the building of the Erechtheum (*C. I. A.* i. No. 322; *C. I. A.* iv. p. 151).

[3] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 672.

[4] *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 74, 163, 733, 758.

[5] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 464.

[6] Strabo, ix. p. 396. See below, p. 569.

[7] Dr. Dörpfeld holds that 'the old temple of Athena' mentioned in an inscription dating from before 456 B.C. (*C. I. A.* i. No. 1; *C. I. A.* iv. p. 3 *sq.*) is the Pre-Persian temple. He must therefore suppose that the name 'the old temple' was given to the restored Pre-Persian temple before the existing Parthenon was begun, presumably at the time when Cimon began building the older Parthenon. We have seen that this inscription affords no evidence of the use of 'the old temple' as a treasury at the time when the inscription was engraved (see above, p. 566).

tion of the temple? This long silence of the inscriptions is difficult to explain on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis. But it is natural and indeed necessary on the hypothesis that 'the old temple' was the Erechtheum; since the Erechtheum, after its destruction in 480 B.C., was not rebuilt till about 408 B.C., was destroyed by fire shortly afterwards,[1] and was still rebuilding in 395/4 B.C. Thus in regard to the two expressions 'old temple' and *opisthodomos*, on which Dr. Dörpfeld lays so much stress as designations of the restored Pre-Persian temple and of a part of it respectively, it is most significant that *the expression* opisthodomos *does not occur in treasure-lists till after the completion of the Parthenon, and that the expression 'old temple' does not occur in them till after the completion of the Erechtheum.* This is not only intelligible but necessary if *opisthodomos* designated a part of the Parthenon, and 'old temple' designated the Erechtheum. But it is hardly intelligible and certainly not necessary if *opisthodomos* and 'old temple' designated respectively a part and the whole of the Pre-Persian temple which had been restored and used as a treasury from soon after 480 B.C.

But this is not the only difficulty in the way of Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of the 'old temple' with the restored Pre-Persian temple. On his hypothesis the *opisthodomos* or western half of the Pre-Persian temple was burnt in 406 B.C. and its restoration after the fire is referred to in an inscription[2] which Prof. U. Köhler dates in 395/4 B.C. But we know from another inscription[3] that the *opisthodomos* was in use as a treasury in 398/7 B.C. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld is obliged to alter conjecturally the date of the former inscription from 395 B.C. to some time before 398 B.C. The grounds for dating the inscription in 395 B.C. are, indeed, slight;[4] but so far as they go they are against Dr. Dörpfeld's theory, and the editor of the inscription (Prof. U. Köhler) appears to have no doubt as to its date. Moreover Dr. Dörpfeld is obliged to do further violence to the same inscription by interpreting the expression κατὰ τὸ Πανδρόσειον in it as a direction given from the standpoint of the Pre-Persian temple instead of, as it is much more naturally taken, from the standpoint of the Erechtheum.[5]

Again, we have seen that the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' and the fire in the *opisthodomos* were distinct conflagrations. Hence if 'the ancient temple of Athena' was the Pre-Persian temple and the *opisthodomos* was its western chambers, it will follow that the Pre-Persian temple was twice burnt and twice restored between 406 B.C. and 353 B.C.[6] If to these conflagrations and restorations we add the burning of the temple by the Persians in 480 B.C. and its supposed restoration shortly afterwards, it results that this unfortunate temple was thrice burnt and thrice restored within about a century. And yet not a stone of this triple restoration remains. Fate, which has left us much of the temple as it was before its destruction in 480 B.C., has carefully obliterated every trace of its three subsequent restorations.

Lastly, Dr. Dörpfeld is confronted with the difficulty that Strabo calls the temple which contained the perpetual lamp 'the old temple of the Polias,'[7] and that the perpetual lamp is known to have been in the Erechtheum;[8] from which the inference seems inevitable that in Strabo's opinion the Erechtheum was 'the old temple' of Athena. In his first paper on the history of the Pre-Persian temple Dr. Dörpfeld himself admitted that this inference was indubitable.[9] Yet

[1] This is proved by *C. I. A.* ii. No. 829, independently of the disputed evidence of Xenophon (*Hellenica*, i. 6. 1).

[2] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 829.

[3] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 652.

[4] Only a single letter (I) of the archon's name survives on the stone.

[5] See above, p. 568, note 2.

[6] The speech of Demosthenes (*Against Timocrates*), in which the fire in the *opisthodomos* is mentioned, was composed in the archonship of Eudemus (353/2 B.C.)

[7] Strabo, ix. p. 396.

[8] Pausanias, i. 26. 6 *sq.*

[9] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 48.

in his second paper he not only doubted but denied the inference, maintaining that Strabo rightly described the Pre-Persian temple as 'the old temple of the Polias,' but wrongly supposed it to have contained the perpetual lamp.[1] It is a necessary corollary of Dr. Dörpfeld's present interpretation of the passage that Strabo, who describes only two temples on the Acropolis (the Parthenon and 'the old temple of the Polias') omitted all mention of the unique and beautiful Erechtheum, the shrine of the most venerable monuments of Athenian history, and that too though he mentions the perpetual lamp which is known to have been in it.

Such are some of the difficulties which beset Dr. Dörpfeld's attempt to identify the 'old temple' of the inscriptions and of classical writers (e.g. Strabo) with the Pre-Persian temple. To me these difficulties appear far greater than those which attend the current view that the 'old temple' was the Erechtheum. I therefore accept the current view and reject Dr. Dörpfeld's 'old temple' argument for the restoration and continuance of the Pre-Persian temple.

(iv) The Polias argument. Dr. Dörpfeld argues that the Pre-Persian temple must have been restored and must have subsisted down to the Roman period at least, since it is mentioned by the later writers of antiquity under the title of 'the temple of Athena Polias' or 'the temple of the Polias.'

The current opinion of scholars has hitherto been that the expression 'the temple of Athena Polias' or, more briefly, 'the temple of the Polias' always meant the Erechtheum, the name being given to it because its eastern chamber had been from the earliest times the shrine of the ancient wooden image to which alone belonged the title of Athena Polias. If, then, Dr. Dörpfeld's Polias argument for the restoration of the Pre-Persian temple is to hold good, he must prove that the current view which restricts the name 'temple of Athena Polias' to the Erechtheum is incorrect; he must prove that the Pre-Persian temple was also a temple of Athena Polias. This he attempts to do. He says: "In the fifth and fourth centuries the Parthenon was officially called either 'the temple' or 'the temple of Athena Polias.' Before the building of the Parthenon, its predecessor the old Athena temple (Pre-Persian temple) must have borne the same official titles, namely the short title 'the temple,' the fuller title 'the temple of Athena,' and the exact title 'the temple of Athena Polias.'"[2] Thus Dr. Dörpfeld's view that the Pre-Persian temple was a temple of Athena Polias appears to be a simple deduction from his view that the Parthenon was so. The question therefore reduces itself to this: What is the evidence that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias?

Although Dr. Dörpfeld affirms, in the passage just quoted, that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the full official title of the Parthenon was 'the temple of Athena Polias,' he is unable to quote a single inscription, official or otherwise, of these two centuries in which the expression 'the temple of Athena Polias' occurs at all. Considering the multitude of official documents of the fifth and fourth centuries relating to the Parthenon which have been preserved, the total absence in them of any mention of 'the temple of Athena Polias' raises a presumption, very difficult to rebut, that this cannot have been the official title of the Parthenon. In point of fact, in the whole range of Attic inscriptions from

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[1] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 190.

[2] *Ib.* xii. p. 196. Since Dr. Dörpfeld wrote this passage, the discovery of an inscription (*C. I. A.* iv. p. 137 *sqq.*, see above, p. 560, note 1) has proved that before its destruction the Pre-Persian temple was officially called, not 'the temple of Athena Polias,' but the Hekatompedon. But I waive this objection, and readily grant that if the Parthenon was called the temple of Athena Polias, its predecessor the Pre-Persian temple was probably called so too, although it happens not to be so named on the only existing inscription which indisputably refers to the temple.

the earliest to the latest times, the expression 'the temple of Athena Polias' appears to occur only once, namely in an inscription of the third century B.C., in which there is absolutely nothing to show to which of the temples on the Acropolis the expression refers.[1]

Nor does Dr. Dörpfeld, so far as I see, quote a single inscription to prove that the Athena of the Parthenon was called Athena Polias.

If we put aside assumptions repeated by Dr. Dörpfeld again and again, such as that "if there was a worship in the Parthenon at all, it can only have been a worship of the Polias,"[2] "the goddess of the citadel, Athena Polias, must have been worshipped in the Parthenon,"[3] "when we read of the temple of Athena Polias we must assume that the Parthenon is meant,"[4] his arguments to show that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias appear to reduce themselves to three.

(*a*) "That Athena Parthenos was the Polias is shown by a comparison of Aristophanes, *Birds*, 826, with *Thesmoph.* 1136."[5] I am unable to admit this inference. In one of the two passages cited Athena Polias is mentioned;[6] in the other Athena is addressed under a number of complimentary names, one of which is Parthenos.[7] But the passages, occurring in separate comedies, are wholly disconnected, and a comparison of them proves nothing as to the identity of Athena Parthenos with Athena Polias.

(*b*) From an expression 'the old temple of Athena Polias,' which is conjecturally restored in an inscription of about 100 B.C.,[8] Dr. Dörpfeld infers that there must have been a new temple of Athena Polias and that this new temple was the Parthenon.[9] The argument, even if we grant the correctness of the conjectural restoration on which it rests, does not seem to amount to much. We may allow that the expression 'the old temple of Athena Polias' probably implies a new temple of Athena, but it is not absolutely necessary that this new temple should have been a temple of Athena Polias; it might have been a temple of Athena simply, or a temple of Athena under some other title, such as

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[1] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 332. The inscription contains a provision that a treaty of alliance shall be engraved on a bronze plate and set up 'on the Acropolis beside the temple of Athena Polias.' Dr. Dörpfeld assumes that the reference is to the Parthenon, but there is nothing in the inscription to justify the assumption. The expression 'temple of Athena Polias' is conjecturally restored by Prof. U. Köhler in another inscription, apparently of the first century B.C., which directs that a decree in honour of the girls who prepared the wool for Athena's robe shall be engraved on a tablet of stone and set up *ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθη[νᾶς Πολιάδος . . . .]*. See *Mittheilungen*, viii. (1883), p. 59. If the restoration could be proved to be correct, it would go to show that the temple referred to was not the Parthenon but the Erechtheum. See below, p. 573 *sqq.*

[2] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 192.

[3] *Ib.* p. 193.

[4] *Ib.* p. 193.

[5] *Ib.* p. 192.

[6] ΕΠ. λιπαρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως. τίς δαὶ θεὸς
πολιοῦχος ἔσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον;
ΠΕ. τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῶμεν πολιάδα;
Aristophanes, *Birds*, 826 *sqq.*

[7] ΧΟ. Παλλάδα τὴν φιλόχορον ἐμοὶ
δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος ἐς χορὸν
παρθένον, ἄζυγα κούρην,
ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει
καὶ κράτος φανερὸν μόνη,
κληδοῦχός τε καλεῖται.
Id., *Thesmophor.* 1136 *sqq.*

[8] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 464. The inscription contains a decree for the erection of a statue of Ptolemy VIII. (117-81 B.C.) [*παρὰ τὸν νεὼ τ*]*ὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ*[*ῆς Πολιάδος . . . .*].

[9] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 194.

Parthenos. The opposition between an 'old temple of Athena Polias' and a 'new temple of Athena' is not strict, but it is sufficiently intelligible for popular or even official language.

(*c*) Dr. Dörpfeld's last argument to show that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias is this: "The votive offerings which were preserved in the chambers of the great temple (the Parthenon) belonged for the most part to Athena Polias."[1] What the evidence for this statement is, I have failed to discover. Scholars are aware that lists of hundreds of votive offerings belonging to Athena and stored in the Parthenon have been handed down to us in inscriptions. With the help of the Indices to the *Corpus* of Attic Inscriptions, I have made a list of all the votive offerings which are expressly designated in these lists as the property of Athena Polias, whether preserved in the Parthenon or elsewhere. Here it is:—

One animal's head.[2]
Silver water-jugs (number not specified),[3] some of them new.[4]
One silver tablet.[5]
One silver wash-hand basin.[6]
Two silver cups.[7]
Two offerings of Roxana, wife of Alexander the Great.[8]

This is all. Of these offerings one only (the first) is known to have been in the Parthenon. The two silver cups are proved by a comparison with another inscription[9] to have been in the 'old temple.' The place where the rest were stored is not mentioned. Thus the number of votive offerings of Athena Polias which are known to have been kept in the Parthenon amounts to one. How in these circumstances Dr. Dörpfeld is able to affirm that most of the votive offerings in the Parthenon belonged to Athena Polias, I am at a loss to understand.

The presence in the Parthenon of a single offering dedicated to Athena Polias, or even of a few such offerings (for I have no objection to add, though the concession is gratuitous, the wash-hand basin, the water-jugs, the tablet, and the two offerings of Roxana), cannot prove that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias. For by an exactly similar argument it might be proved that the Parthenon was a temple of Zeus Polieus, or of Brauronian Artemis, or of Hercules, or of all three together, since votive offerings dedicated to these three divinities are known from inscriptions to have been kept in it.[10]

Thus the evidence adduced by Dr. Dörpfeld to prove that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias may be pronounced inadequate. As his view that the Pre-Persian temple was a temple of Athena Polias is merely a deduction from his supposed demonstration that the Parthenon was so, it necessarily shares the weakness of the premises from which it is drawn. Yet on the strength of this supposed demonstration Dr. Dörpfeld considers it probable that many later writers of antiquity who speak of the temple of Athena Polias or of the Polias refer to the Pre-Persian temple. But as, on his view, the Parthenon was also a temple of Athena Polias, he admits that "in writers from Demosthenes downward it cannot always be determined with certainty whether the Parthenon or the Pre-Persian temple is meant by the name 'the temple of Athena Polias.'"[11] On Dr. Dörp-

[1] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 194.
[2] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 649.
[3] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 678.
[4] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 699.
[5] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 724.
[6] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 724.
[7] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 735.
[8] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 737 (where the epithet Πολιάδι is in both cases a conjectural supplement of the editor's, the inscription being mutilated).
[9] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 733.
[10] Zeus Polieus, *C. I. A.* i. Nos. 149, 151, 153-159; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 649, 652, 660. Brauronian Artemis, *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 646, 652, 654, 660, 661. Hercules, *C. I. A.* i. Nos. 165, 166, 167.
[11] *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 198.

feld's theory there is another source of ambiguity which he appears to have overlooked. The eastern chamber of the Erechtheum was also called, as he himself admits, 'the temple of the Polias,'[1] because it contained the ancient wooden image of the goddess. Thus on Dr. Dörpfeld's showing there were simultaneously on the Acropolis no less than three buildings to which the expression 'temple of Athena Polias' (or, 'of the Polias') was equally applicable. The ambiguity to which such a state of things would necessarily give rise must have been very perplexing. Yet the writers to whom Dr. Dörpfeld refers speak of 'the temple of the Polias' without qualification, as if they and their readers knew of only one.[2]

In order to determine this question of the proper application of the title Athena Polias or the Polias, I have examined, I believe, all the passages in the *Corpus* of Attic Inscriptions in which the title occurs, as well as all the passages of classical writers bearing on the Athena Polias of Athens[3] which I have been able to find. If I have overlooked any passage it has been through inadvertence. It may contribute to the solution of the question, which is of some importance for the history of Athenian religion and for the topography of the Acropolis, if I here set down the results of my inquiry.[4]

In the first place, then, there are a good many passages both of inscriptions and of classical writers, which mention Athena Polias, without, so far as I see, furnishing any indication as to whether she was the goddess of the Erechtheum, the Parthenon, or the Pre-Persian temple. They may therefore be left out of account.[5] But when these passages have been eliminated, there remain many others which help to determine the proper application of the title Athena Polias.

Herodotus tells us[6] that at some time before the conquest of Aegina by Athens the Epidaurians begged from the Athenians a piece of the sacred olive-wood in order to make two images out of it, and that the Athenians granted the request on condition that the Epidaurians should send yearly sacrifices to Athena Polias and Erechtheus. This conjunction of Athena Polias with Erechtheus strongly suggests that Athena Polias is here the Athena who shared the Erechtheum with Erechtheus. And this is confirmed by another consideration. The yearly sacrifices which the Epidaurians were to offer to Athena Polias and Erechtheus

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[1] *Mittheilungen*, xii. pp. 198, 203. Dr. Dörpfeld no doubt holds that the expression ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος, as applied to the Erechtheum, designates only the eastern *cella* (ναός) of the temple, whereas the same expression applied to the Parthenon and the Pre-Persian temple designates the whole temple. But this does not alter the ambiguity of the expression, which is the same in all three applications.

[2] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dr. Dörpfeld should have said Philochorus), Clement of Alexandria, and Himerius. The passages of these writers will be examined presently.

[3] Other cities beside Athens had sanctuaries of Athena Polias. See Pausanias, ii. 30. 6; *id.*, vii. 5. 9; *id.*, viii. 31. 9; *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. xiii. (1866) p. 354; *id.*, N. S. xv. (1867) p. 219; *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* v. (1881) p. 337; W. Dittenberger, 'De sacris Rhodiorum commentatio altera,' in *Index Scholarum* (Halle, 1887) p. iii. *sqq.*; *id.*, *Sylloge Ins. Graec.* Nos. 117, 193; Hick's *Gr. Hist. Ins.* No. 124; *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, Vorlaufiger Bericht (Berlin, 1880), p. 76 *sq.*; M. Frankel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, I. Nos. 223, 226.

[4] Most of the passages of classical writers are collected in Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*. A few more have been furnished by Michaelis's *Der Parthenon* and Pape's *Worterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*.

[5] The passages are *C. I. A.*, i. Nos. 188, 190, 273; *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 57 *b* (p. 403), 163, 332, 465 *b* (p. 419), 649, 678, 699, 724, 737, 1171, 1420, 1430, 1439; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 133, 174, 826, 931, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1062, 3853, 3907; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 279 *a* (p. 36); Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 167 *sq.*; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 134; Dinarchus, i. 64; Plutarch, *Praecept. gerend. reipub.* 5; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* xxii. 451, p. 1384.

[6] v. 82.

were to be a return or equivalent for the gift of the sacred olive-wood. Now the Athena of the Erechtheum, above all other Athenas, was intimately associated with the olive. The original olive-tree which she had produced in her contest with Poseidon grew within the precincts of the Erechtheum; and her own most ancient image in that temple was of olive-wood.[1] To no other Athena, therefore, could the thank-offerings of the Epidaurians for the gift of the olive-wood be so fitly presented as to the Athena of the Erechtheum. Hence we may take it as fairly certain that by Athena Polias in this passage Herodotus means the Athena of the Erechtheum.

Aristophanes, in a passage which has been already quoted,[2] plainly implies that the robe, which is known to have been woven and presented to an image of Athena on the Acropolis at the great Panathenaic festival every fourth year,[3] was woven for Athena Polias; and what is only implied by him is expressly stated by the scholiast on the passage and confirmed by other writers.[4] Was then the Athena Polias to whom the robe was presented the Athena of the Parthenon, the Athena of the Pre-Persian temple, or the Athena of the Erechtheum? Apparently she was the Athena of the Erechtheum; for the robe was woven or at least begun by two of the four girls, called *arrephoroi* or *errephoroi*,[5] who were attached to the service of the Erechtheum and dwelt not far from the temple.[6] This is confirmed by other considerations. The custom seems to have been not only to present the garment to the goddess but to clothe her image in it;[7] and such a custom, bearing the marks of high antiquity, would most probably be practised on Athena's oldest image, namely the very ancient wooden idol in the Erechtheum. We read in Homer[8] that the Trojan priestess of Athena placed a fine robe on the knees of the image to induce the goddess to save the beleaguered city. And the Greek images which are historically known to have worn real clothes seem generally to have been remarkable for their great age. Thus the very ancient image of Apollo at Amyclae, which resembled a bronze pillar, had a new coat every year, which the women wove for the idol in a special chamber.[9] Every fourth year a college of sixteen women wove a robe for the image of Hera at Olympia.[10] That the image was ancient we are not told;[11] but as the temple in which it stood was apparently the oldest in Olympia, having been originally a structure with mud walls and

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[1] Schol. on Demosthenes, xxii. 13, p. 597; Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 17.

[2] *Birds*, 826 *sqq.* See above, p. 571, note 6.

[3] The passages of ancient writers are collected by Prof. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 328 *sq.* Some authorities (Diodorus, xx. 46; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 566) say that a robe was presented annually. But the better authorities are in favour of the view that it was presented only every fourth year. To the passages cited by Prof. Michaelis add Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 49 and 60.

[4] Zenobius, i. 56; Diogenianus, ii. 7.

[5] Harpocration, *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 149, *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν.

[6] Pausanias, i. 27. 3. Pausanias seems to have been mistaken as to the number of the *arrephoroi*, for he speaks of only two. Perhaps he confined the name to the two who did not weave the robe.

[7] *C. I. A.* i. No. 93 [ἀμ]φιεννύωσιν τὸν πέπλον. The inscription is fragmentary, but the reference seems to be to the putting of the robe on the image of Athena. Moreover there were officials called *praxiergidai* whose business it was to clothe the ancient image of Athena (Hesychius, *s.v.* πραξιεργίδαι).

[8] *Il.* vi. 87 *sqq.*, 302 *sqq.*

[9] Pausanias, iii. 16. 2, iii. 19. 2.

[10] *Ib.* v. 16.

[11] The limestone head of a goddess, found in the Heraeum at Olympia, has been conjecturally identified as that of the worshipped statue of Hera which stood in the temple (see note on v. 17. 1). If this conjecture is right, the image of Hera must have been ancient, since the style of the head is very archaic.

wooden pillars,[1] the custom of weaving the robe for the image was doubtless of great antiquity. Before setting to work at the loom the women had to purify themselves with pig's blood and water—a mark of an ancient rite. Again, the curious bronze statue of a man leaning on a spear, which stood in the busiest quarter of the city of Elis, was clothed in a garment of fine linen which appears to have been renewed from time to time. That the image was of an antique Eastern pattern seems proved by its history and the title of Satrap which it bore.[2] The image of Aesculapius at Titane was clad in a white woollen shirt and a mantle. It would seem to have been very ancient, for Pausanias tells us that it was impossible to discover who had made it, though some people referred it to Alexanor, the grandson of Aesculapius, who was said to have founded the sanctuary.[3] The ancient image of Hera at Samos[4] possessed a large wardrobe of garments of many hues—white, blue, crimson, purple, and pied, some of them much the worse for wear.[5] The image of Dione at Dodona seems to have been arrayed in fresh garments from time to time; for on one occasion, probably when her clothes were growing shabby, her husband Zeus of Dodona commanded the Athenians in an oracle to adorn her image afresh. The Athenians obeyed and sent a supply of gorgeous raiment, in which the image of the goddess was decked out.[6] From the great antiquity of the worship of Zeus and Dione at Dodona it is safe to infer that the image of Dione was very old; and as along with the rest of the finery the Athenians sent the goddess a new face or mask, it seems probable that the image was of wood. On the Acropolis itself the ancient image of Brauronian Artemis was clad in many robes of various shapes, the offerings of devout women; and the custom was extended to the later image, a work of Praxiteles.[7] These analogies, not to cite others from the customs of barbarous peoples,[8] confirm the view that the image of Athena Polias which was periodically dressed in a new robe must have been the ancient wooden image in the Erechtheum.[9] This probability is still further strength-

[1] See Dr. Dörpfeld in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, p. 139 *sqq.*, and note on v. 16. 1.

[2] Pausanias, vi. 25. 5 *sq.* Pausanias's language (ἐσθῆτα—περιβάλλουσι) points to a custom of renewing the clothes. A Greek inscription containing a dedication to the Satrap God has been found in Phoenicia. See note on vi. 25. 5.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 11. 6.

[4] *Ib.* vii. 4. 4. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, iii. p. 12 *sqq.*

[5] The list of her wardrobe is preserved in inscriptions. See C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*, pp. 10 *sq.*, 17 *sqq.*

[6] Hyperides, iii. col. 35-37, p. 43 *sq.*, ed. Blass.

[7] *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 751, 754-758; Pausanias, i. 23. 7; Jahn-Michaelis, *Pausaniae descriptio arcis Athenarum*, p. 8. Another image of later times which is known to have worn real clothes was the image of Ilithyia at Aegium: it was a work of the sculptor Damophon of Messene (Pausanias, vii. 23. 5 *sq.*) The wooden images (ξόανα) of the Twelve Gods at Magnesia on the Maeander were clothed in their finest robes and carried in procession into the market-place on the twelfth day of the month Artemision, as we learn from an inscription recently found at Magnesia (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 83 *sq.*); but whether these images were ancient or not, does not appear.

[8] Acosta, *History of the Indies*, book v. ch. 29 (vol. ii. p. 378, Hakluyt Society); J. G. Wood, *Natural History of Man*, ii. p. 410; G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 268.

[9] Inscriptions of about 100 B.C. show that at that time there were 100 to 120 maidens who "wrought the wool for Athena's robe." See Prof. U. Köhler in *Mittheilungen*, viii. (1883) pp. 57-66; *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, xiii. (1889) p. 170. This points to the weaving of a large robe suitable for a colossal image. Hence Dr. Dörpfeld believes that the robe was dedicated to Athena of the Parthenon (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 200). It is possible that this may have been the case in later times. But we know nothing as to the size of the ancient wooden image in the Erechtheum, and it is extremely improbable that the custom of periodically presenting this most venerable image with a new robe should ever have been discontinued.

ened by the Dresden Athena,[1] a statue of a thoroughly archaic type wearing a robe embroidered with the very scenes which are known from ancient writers to have been wrought on the robe which was periodically placed on Athena's image on the Acropolis.[2] The statue in question is certainly not a copy of the Athena of the Parthenon, the type of which is now familiar to us from the Lenormant and Varvakeion statuettes and the gold medallions of the Hermitage Museum. It can hardly, therefore, be anything but a copy of the archaic Athena of the Erechtheum clothed in the embroidered robe which her handmaidens wove for her. True, the copy is itself not archaic but archaistic, that is, it is a somewhat late copy of a really archaic image, as is shown by the free style of the scenes on the robe compared with the stiffness and constraint of the statue itself. But this only goes to prove that at the comparatively late time when the copy was executed the robe of state continued to be placed, not on the perfect statue of Athena in the Parthenon, but on a far ruder image of the goddess, most probably on her ancient wooden image in the Erechtheum. On the whole, then, we may safely conclude that when, in the passage under discussion, Aristophanes speaks of the robe of Athena Polias, he is referring to the Athena of the Erechtheum.

Aeschines mentions that the priestess of Athena Polias was chosen from the family of the Eteobutads.[3] That Athena Polias is here the Athena of the Erechtheum is quite certain. For the Eteobutads or Butads, who furnished the priestesses of Athena Polias, furnished also the priests of Erechtheus;[4] their legendary ancestor Butes had an altar in the Erechtheum,[5] and was said to be either a twin brother of Erechtheus[6] or a son of Poseidon,[7] who in the Erechtheum was identified with Erechtheus; the portraits of the family were painted on the walls of the Erechtheum;[8] the statues of some of them stood within it;[9] and a genealogical tree tracing the descent of one branch of the family from Erechtheus was dedicated in the temple.[10] Hence, whenever the priestess of Athena Polias is mentioned in an inscription[11] or by an ancient writer,[12] we may be sure that the reference is to Athena of the Erechtheum. It

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[1] See O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis*, p. 12; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, i. pl. x. No. 36; Roscher's *Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, i. p. 694; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] i. p. 255 *sq.*

[2] The scenes represented the wars of the gods and giants; Athena's triumph over Enceladus is mentioned in particular. See the passages collected by Prof. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 328.

[3] Aeschines, ii. 147, with the scholiast on the passage (p. 308, ed. Schultz); cp. Harpocration and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἐτεοβουτάδαι. On the family of the Eteobutads (originally Butads simply) see J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 113 *sqq.*

[4] [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* pp. 841 b, 843 b c e (where the case is mentioned of a brother and sister who held the priesthood of Erechtheus and the priesthood of Athena respectively). Erechtheus was identified with Poseidon (above, p. 339 *sq.*); hence his priesthood was called sometimes the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus, sometimes the priesthood of Poseidon simply.

[5] Pausanias, i. 26. 5. A fragment of a marble seat bearing the inscription "of the priest of Butes" (ἱερέως Βούτου) has been found in the Erechtheum (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 302).

[6] Apollodorus, iii. 14. 8.

[7] Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* i. 1. p. 13; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 209 *sq.*, *s.vv.* Βουτάδαι and Βουτίδης.

[8] Pausanias, i. 26. 5.

[9] [Plutarch,] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 843 e.

[10] *Ib. l.c.*

[11] *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 374, 1377, 1392 *b* (p. 350); *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 29, 63, 174 *a* (p. 491), 836, 872; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 141 *sq.*, Inscr. No. 14.

[12] Aeschines, ii. 147, with the scholiast; Strabo, ix. p. 394 *sq.*; Plutarch, *De vitioso pudore*, 14; Lucian, *Piscator*, 21, cp. 47; *Biogr. Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 267; Harpocration and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ἐτεοβουτάδαι.

may be added that the fact of Athena Polias and Erechtheus having been served by members of the same ancient family favours the view that from the earliest times, and not merely, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, from the close of the fifth century B.C., the two worships had been conjoined in a single temple.

The antiquary Philochorus, who wrote his account of Attica about 260 B.C.,[1] refers in a well-known passage to the temple of Athena Polias. The passage is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[2] and the context proves that the quotation is literal. It runs thus: "A bitch having entered into the temple of the Polias and gone down into the Pandrosium, ascended the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard which stands under the olive-tree, and there lay down." It is practically certain that 'the temple of the Polias' is here either the Erechtheum as a whole or its eastern chamber, the *cella* of Athena Polias. For the Pandrosium or sanctuary of Pandrosus immediately adjoined the Erechtheum on the west;[3] and the sacred olive-tree, under which the dog lay down, was in the Pandrosium.[4] Further, the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum is on a higher level than the western chambers of the temple, and there seems to have been a communication between the two halves of the building.[5] Thus the dog probably entered the eastern chamber of the Erechtheum by the portico, went down (*δῦσα*) the stairs into the western chambers, and then passed out through the western door into the Pandrosium. This interpretation fits so well with the plan of the Erechtheum that it can hardly fail to be right. Hence we have the testimony of Philochorus that in the third century B.C. the Erechtheum or its eastern chamber was called the temple of the Polias. As an antiquary who had made a special study of the history and monuments of Athens, Philochorus was not likely to be mistaken as to the temple of Athena Polias, and his evidence is therefore of the greatest weight. It will be observed that he writes as if he knew of only one such temple.

Strabo[6] mentions two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, namely the Parthenon and "the old temple of the Polias, in which is the never dying lamp." We have already seen that this 'old temple of the Polias' must be the Erechtheum, since the perpetual lamp is known to have been in the Erechtheum.

Plutarch, in speaking of ancient wooden images, mentions "the wooden image of the Polias set up by the aborigines, which the Athenians preserve to this day."[7] This ancient wooden image is of course the old wooden image of Athena in the Erechtheum. Therefore by 'the Polias' Plutarch clearly understood the Athena of the Erechtheum. The scholiast on Demosthenes[8] also calls the wooden image of Athena on the Acropolis the image of Athena Polias, distinguishing it from the other two famous images of the goddess on the Acropolis, namely the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos and the colossal bronze image of Athena Promachos.

Pausanias, in mentioning the same ancient image of Athena in the Erechtheum, records its great antiquity and says that in the olden time the Acropolis was called the *polis* ('city').[9] The remark is obviously intended to explain

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[1] Cp. *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, i. p. lxxxiv.

[2] *De Dinarcho judicium*, 3 κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσειον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο.

[3] Pausanias, i. 27. 2.

[4] Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1. Herodotus speaks (viii. 55) as if the olive were in the Erechtheum itself; but this may be only a loose mode of expression. The evidence of Pausanias (i. 27. 2) is indecisive.

[5] This is thought probable by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 58).

[6] ix. p. 396.

[7] Plutarch, *De daedalis Plataeensibus*, in Dübner's ed. of Plutarch, vol. iii. p. 20.

[8] xxii. 13, p. 597.

[9] Pausanias, i. 26. 6.

the epithet Polias applied to the goddess of the old image. There can therefore be no doubt that to Pausanias the Athena of the Erechtheum was Athena Polias, and that when a few lines lower down[1] he mentions various antiquities 'in the temple of the Polias' he means his readers to understand that he is still in the Erechtheum.

Lucian represents an imaginary assembly of philosophers taking place on the Acropolis "in the eastern portico (*pronaos*) of the Polias," where they were provided with seats by the priestess.[2] We have seen that the priestess of Athena Polias served in the Erechtheum. It follows that by "the eastern portico of the Polias" Lucian means the eastern portico of the Erechtheum.

Clement of Alexandria says that Erichthonius was buried "in the temple of the Polias."[3] As Erichthonius was identical with Erechtheus,[4] the 'temple of the Polias' in which he was buried can only have been the Erechtheum, where he was worshipped jointly with Athena. Clement's statement that Erichthonius was buried in the temple of the Polias is copied by Arnobius.[5]

Philostratus[6] mentions "the image of Athena Polias" among the oldest images in Greece. He clearly refers to the ancient image in the Erechtheum.

Lastly, Himerius, in speaking of the Acropolis, mentions "the temple of the Polias and the neighbouring precinct of Poseidon," adding "for after their contest we united the divinities to each other in their shrines."[7] Obviously he is speaking of the joint temple of Athena and Poseidon (Erechtheus), that is, the Erechtheum.

Thus it appears that ancient writers from Herodotus to Himerius regularly understood Athena Polias to be the Athena of the Erechtheum. But there is more evidence to the same effect. The sacred serpent, which lived in the Erechtheum and seems to have been neither more nor less than Erichthonius or Erechtheus himself, was called the guardian of Athena Polias.[8] This implies that Athena Polias was the goddess of the temple in which the serpent had his den, namely the Erechtheum. Further, there have been found on the Acropolis and its southern slope some pedestals which, as we learn from the inscriptions on them, formerly supported statues of girls who had served Athena Polias as *errephoroi*.[9] The Athena Polias of these inscriptions is undoubtedly the Athena of the Erechtheum, since, as we have seen already, the girls called *errephoroi* were attached to the service of the Erechtheum and dwelt near it. As if to put

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[1] i. 27. 1.

[2] Lucian, *Piscator*, 21. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that Lucian must have meant the eastern portico of the Parthenon, because "it was the only portico on the Acropolis adapted by its size to be the meeting-place of such an assembly" (*Mittheilungen*, xxii. p. 199). He seems to forget that any portico is large enough to accommodate an imaginary assembly.

[3] *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter.

[4] Schol. on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547, ed. Bekker; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 371, *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς.

[5] *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 6. Apollodorus says (iii. 14. 7) that Erichthonius was buried "in the precinct (*τέμενος*) of Athena."

[6] *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 14.

[7] Himerius, *Ecl.* v. 30.

[8] Hesychius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν*; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* i. 357, p. 1423. Hesychius says that the serpent lived "in the sanctuary of Erechtheus"; Eustathius that it lived "in the temple of the Polias." These were merely different names of the same place. That Erichthonius (Erechtheus) was a serpent pure and simple was often recognised by the ancients (Pausanias, i. 24. 7; Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 13; Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, 9; cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vii. 24, where Athena is said to have been the serpent's mother). As Demosthenes, in his farewell to Athens, coupled Athena Polias with her serpent and owl (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 26), he was probably thinking of the Athena of the Erechtheum.

[9] *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1390, 1391; *C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 887, 916, 917, 918.

this beyond a doubt, one at least of the inscriptions [1] records that the girl served "Athena Polias and Pandrosus." As Pandrosus was one of the three maidens to whom Athena entrusted the infant Erichthonius (Erechtheus),[2] and as her temple was actually contiguous to the Erechtheum,[3] it is certain that Athena Polias with whom she is associated in this inscription was the Athena of the Erechtheum. For a similar reason when we learn from another inscription [4] that the Athenian lads (*epheboi*) sacrificed on the Acropolis "to Athena Polias and to the Nursing Mother (*Kourotrophos*) and to Pandrosus," we may be sure that the Athena Polias to whom these sacrifices were offered was the Athena of the Erechtheum.[5]

Thus far all the passages of ancient authors and inscriptions which we have examined either support the view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum or are neutral. There remain, however, three passages of ancient writers which do more or less countenance Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion that Athena Polias was also the goddess of the Parthenon. The gold and ivory statue of Athena which Phidias made for the Parthenon is called by Clement of Alexandria the statue of the Polias.[6] Here, then, indubitably Clement speaks of the Athena of the Parthenon as Athena Polias. Again, a scholiast on Aristophanes [7] says that the *opisthodomos* was "behind the temple of Athena Polias." If this means that the *opisthodomos* was a compartment at the west end of the temple in question, the scholiast must here be speaking either of the Parthenon or (according to Dr. Dörpfeld) of the Pre-Persian temple, since the Erechtheum had no *opisthodomos*. In either case his statement would favour the opinion of Dr. Dörpfeld, according to whom both the Parthenon and the Pre-Persian temple were temples of Athena Polias. Lastly, Eustathius [8] speaks of "the image of the Gorgon dedicated to Athena Polias." It is possible that Eustathius was here thinking of the ivory head of the Gorgon Medusa which adorned the breast of the statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon.[9]

These three passages are, so far as I see, the only ones in all ancient literature which at all favour Dr. Dörpfeld's view that Athena Polias was the goddess

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[1] *C. I. A.* iii. No. 887; cp. *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1390.

[2] Pausanias, i. 18. 2, &c.

[3] *Ib.* i. 27. 2.

[4] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 481.

[5] For the sake of completeness I will here notice two more inscriptions which might perhaps be quoted to prove the identity of Athena Polias with Athena of the Erechtheum, though I attach little weight to their evidence. (1) Two silver cups preserved in 'the old temple' bore the inscription 'sacred to Athena Polias' (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 735 compared with No. 733). 'The old temple,' as we saw, was probably the Erechtheum; hence, it might be inferred, the Athena Polias to whom these cups were dedicated was the goddess of the Erechtheum. But this inference would be very precarious, since we have seen in the case of the Parthenon that the votive offerings stored in a temple did not always belong to the deity of the temple. (2) A mutilated inscription, as partially restored by Prof. Kirchhoff (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 464, see above, p. 571, note 8), makes mention of 'the old temple of Athena Polias.' If Prof. Kirchhoff's restoration is right, and if 'the old temple' was, as I have shown grounds for believing, the Erechtheum, this inscription furnishes another proof that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum. But as this proof depends on these two conditions, little stress can be laid on it.

[6] *Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 41, ed. Potter.

[7] *Plutus*, 1193.

[8] On Homer, *Od.* xi. 634, p. 1704. Eustathius is here referring to the story that a thief had once stolen the Gorgon's head from an image of Athena on the Acropolis (Isocrates, xviii. 57; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Φιλοῦργος; see O. Jahn in *Berichte d. k. sachs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. hist. Cl. x. (1858), pp. 107-109). But we do not know from which of her images the object was supposed to have been stolen.

[9] Pausanias, i. 24. 7.

of the Parthenon as well as of the Erechtheum. The passage of Eustathius is almost valueless on account of its ambiguity, not to speak of the lateness of the writer. There remain, therefore, to support Dr. Dörpfeld's view the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, a Christian writer living in Egypt in the second century A.D., and that of a scholiast on Aristophanes of unknown date. All other passages of ancient writers and all the inscriptions without exception either support the view that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum or are neutral. In the face of this vast preponderance of evidence we can hardly doubt that Clement of Alexandria and the scholiast on Aristophanes were mistaken, and that Athena Polias was the goddess of the Erechtheum alone. If so, Dr. Dörpfeld's Polias argument in favour of the restoration of the Pre-Persian temple must be given up.

(v) The Pausanias argument. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that the restored Pre-Persian temple was seen by Pausanias in the second century of our era and was described by him in a passage quoted below.[1] At this point of his work Pausanias is describing the Acropolis. In the preceding chapter he had mentioned the precinct of Brauronian Artemis at the south-western side of the Acropolis: and he is now proceeding eastward from it towards the eastern front of the Parthenon, describing in topographical order everything he met with that seemed to him of interest. He is now standing either to the west or to the north of the Parthenon and he mentions a temple. Dr. Dörpfeld holds that Pausanias is now on the north side of the Parthenon and that the temple which he mentions is the Pre-Persian temple. That he is now on the north side of the Parthenon is proved, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks, by the fact that almost immediately after mentioning the temple he mentions an image of Earth praying for rain,[2] which is known from an inscription cut in the rock to have stood a little to the north of the Parthenon, between it and the site of the Pre-Persian temple. The present passage would therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld argues, be a very appropriate place in which to describe the Pre-Persian temple. He believes that there is a lacuna in the passage, that a whole page has probably dropped out, and that it contained a description of the temple and its *opisthodomos*.

I agree with Dr. Dörpfeld in thinking that there is a lacuna in the text of Pausanias at this point,[3] that a fuller description of the temple mentioned at the end of the passage has dropped out, and that the present would not be an inappropriate place in which to describe the Pre-Persian temple, if it still existed. Accordingly if Dr. Dörpfeld's other arguments had convinced me that the Pre-Persian temple had been restored and had subsisted down to Pausanias's time, I should have been disposed to believe with him that Pausanias had described it here. But as his other arguments, in my judgment, entirely fail to support his conclusion, I can hardly think that Pausanias here described a temple the history

[1] Pausanias, i. 24. 3. As printed in Schubart's edition the passage stands thus: *λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκώλους Ἑρμᾶς * * ὁμοῦ δέ σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Σπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν.* For various attempts which have been made to emend it see Critical Note on the passage, vol. i. p. 564.

[2] *Ib.* For the inscription see *C. I. A.* iii. No. 166. It is cut in the rock about 30 feet north of the seventh column on the north side of the Parthenon (reckoning from the west).

[3] The counter arguments of my friend Dr. Verrall have not convinced me of the soundness of the text (see Miss Harrison and Mrs. Verrall's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 610 *sq.*) That a verb such as *ἐποίησαν* has dropped out after *ἀκώλους Ἑρμᾶς* is certain, for as the text stands there is nothing to govern this accusative. And that a fuller mention of the temple referred to in the words *ἐν τῷ ναῷ* has dropped out is nearly certain, for it would be contrary to Pausanias's manner to speak thus of 'the temple' without having specified the temple to which he was referring.

of which is otherwise a total blank from its destruction in 480 B.C. down to the excavation of its ruined foundations in 1886. In these circumstances the view advocated by H. N. Ulrichs [1] is still, in my opinion, the most probable, namely that the temple here mentioned by Pausanias was a temple of Athena Ergane ('the Worker'). Certainly the defective passage opens with a mention of Athena Ergane; and that the goddess was worshipped on the Acropolis under this title is proved by the discovery on the Acropolis of no less than five inscriptions containing dedications to Athena Ergane.[2] As two of these inscriptions [3] were found on the terrace between the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis and the west end of the Parthenon, it is not improbable that there may have been a small temple of Athena Ergane here. The southern part, indeed, of the terrace was occupied by a large building supposed to have been the *Chalkotheke* or 'store-house for bronzes' which is known from an inscription [4] to have stood on the Acropolis. The foundations of this building, which abutted on the southern wall of the Acropolis and had a colonnade along its northern front, were discovered a few years ago.[5] But there is room enough for a small temple on the northern part of the terrace, and this position would fit in perfectly with Pausanias's route. It is true that though this part of the terrace has been excavated no foundations of a temple have been found. But if the temple was small the foundations might easily be removed. Similarly we know that there was a temple of Pandrosus on the Acropolis adjoining the Erechtheum,[6] but none of the foundations has been discovered. It is to be remembered that some of the buildings which Pausanias calls temples were tiny; for example he gives the name of temples to the choregic monuments [7] of which a specimen has survived in the well-known monument of Lysicrates at the eastern foot of the Acropolis. The temple of Athena Ergane, supposing that there was such a temple and that it stood on this terrace, could not be older than the end of the fifth century B.C., since the terrace appears to have been reduced to its present level at that date.[8]

The supposition that in the passage under discussion Pausanias is describing a temple to the west of the Parthenon fits in with the traveller's route rather better than Dr. Dörpfeld's view that he is describing the Pre-Persian temple. For Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis requires that Pausanias should have passed by without mention the image of Earth on his way to the Pre-Persian temple, and that after quitting the temple he should have retraced his steps westward till he came to the image, then faced about once more and proceeded eastward to the front of the Parthenon. Whereas on the other hypothesis Pausanias proceeds uniformly eastward from the Propylaea to the front of the Parthenon, without once in the interval returning on his steps, unless it be to describe the statues on one side of the road after he had first described those on the other.[9]

(vi) In conclusion I venture to state explicitly two architectural considerations, admitted by Dr. Dorpfeld himself, which have already been implicitly

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[1] *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. pp. 148-155.

[2] *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1428, 1429, 1434, 1438; *C. I. A.* iv. No. 373 (271), p. 205; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 138.

[3] *C. I. A.* ii. 1429 (see H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 2. p. 154); *C. I. A.* iv. No. 373 (271), p. 205.

[4] *C. I. A.* ii. No. 61.

[5] See Dr. Dorpfeld, 'Chalkothek und Ergane-Tempel,' *Mittheilungen*, xiv. (1889) pp. 304-313.

[6] Pausanias, i. 27. 2.

[7] *Ib.* i. 20. 1 *ναοὶ θεῶν ἐς τοῦτο μεγάλοι*, where we should probably read *ὅσον* for *θεῶν* with Prof. C. Robert. See vol. i. p. 563.

[8] Dr. Dörpfeld in *Mittheilungen*, xiv. (1889) p. 313.

[9] See Pausanias, i. 24. 1 *τούτων πέραν ὧν εἴρηκα κ.τ.λ.* In Pausanias *πέραν* nearly always means 'opposite to,' not 'beyond.' See Prof. A. Michaelis in *Mittheilungen*, ii. p. 1 *sqq.*

indicated in the course of this paper, and which seem to tell strongly against his theory. In the first place, if the temple was rebuilt twice or even thrice after the Persian war, it is surprising that no vestige of these restorations has survived, and that all the remains of the temple, which are considerable, should date from before the Persian war. In the second place, if Dr. Dörpfeld is right, the Athenians built the beautiful caryatid porch of the Erechtheum, one of the gems of Greek architecture, within about 6 feet of the long dead wall of the Pre-Persian temple; and they not only suffered that temple to remain blocking up the porch, but when it had been providentially burnt, they deliberately restored it. It is hard to suppose the Athenians guilty of such an outrage upon good taste. Dr. Dörpfeld seeks to palliate it by comparing the case of the Parthenon frieze, which was fixed in a position so high and at such an angle to the spectator that it must have been impossible to view it properly from the ground. But the cases are not parallel. The laws of Greek architecture required that the Parthenon frieze should be where it was; they did not require that the beautiful porch of one temple should be blocked up and hidden by the long dead wall of another.

On the whole, then, the balance of evidence appears to incline decidedly against Dr. Dörpfeld's theory that the Pre-Persian temple, shorn of its colonnade, was restored after its destruction in 480 B.C., and that it continued to disfigure the Acropolis all through the rest of the classical ages. But I am far from laying down dogmatically a conclusion which is reached only by a somewhat delicate weighing of the arguments on both sides, and I will withdraw any or all of the objections I have urged to Dr. Dörpfeld's theory if he or any one else can prove them to be untenable.

END OF VOL. II

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